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THE OVIMBUNDU OF ANGOLA

BY
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FREDERICK H. RAWSON–FIELD MUSEUM ETHNOLOGICAL EXPEDITION
TO WEST AFRICA, 1929–30

84 Plates in Photogravure and 1 Map

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1934

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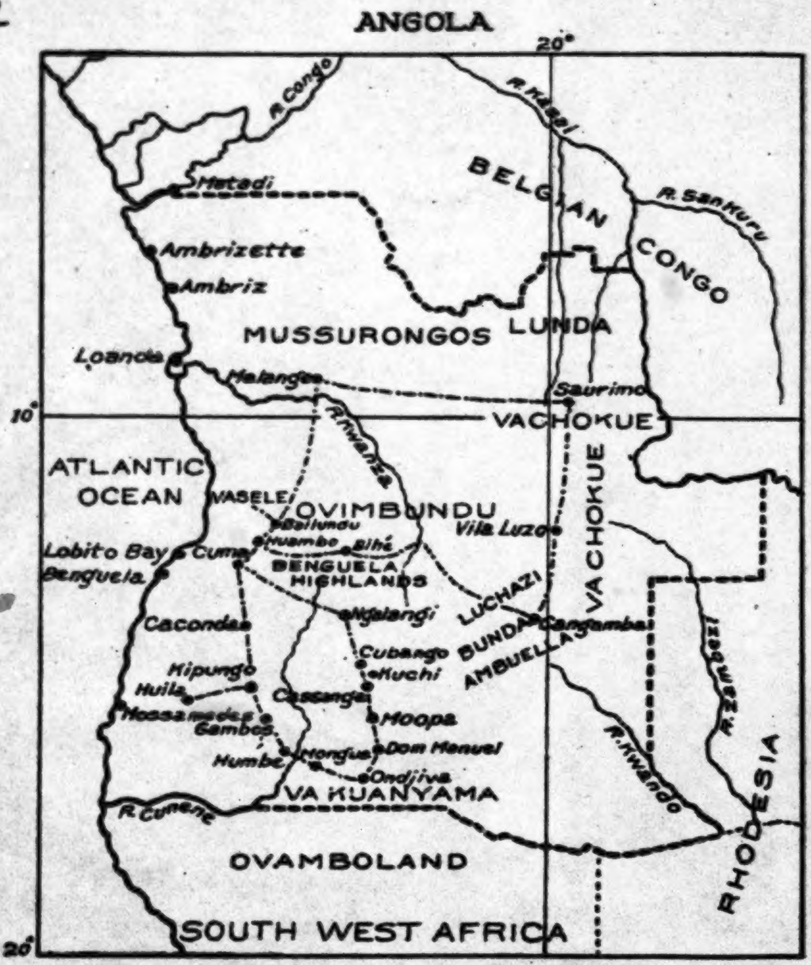
ANGOLA
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MUSSURONGOS
LUNDA
Loanda
Malange
Saurimo
VACHOKUE
R. Kwanza
ATLANTIC OCEAN
VASELE
OVIMBUNDU
Bailundu
Huambo
Bihé
Vila Luzo
VACHOKUE
Lobito Bay
Cuma
Benguela
BENGUELA HIGHLANDS
Ngalangi
LUCHAZI
Caconda
BUNDA
Cangamba
AMBUELLA
Cubango
Kuchi
Kipungo
Huila
Cassanga
Mossamedes
Gambos
Moopa
Dom Manuel
Humbe
Hongue
Ondjiva
VA KUANYAMA
R. Cunene
R. Kwando
R. Zambezi
RHODESIA
OVAMBOLAND
SOUTH WEST AFRICA

MAP SHOWING ROUTE OF EXPEDITION

Scale: 1 inch = 220 miles; —— indicates route

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PREFACE

As leader of the Frederick H. Rawson–Field Museum Ethnological 122
Expedition to West Africa I undertook research in Angola and Nigeria, from February, 1929, to February, 1930. The present publication is concerned with the ethnology of Angola (Portuguese West Africa), where a study of the Ovimbundu and their culture contacts was made.

At the outset I must express thanks to the Portuguese govern- 000
ment for permission to carry on this investigation. Owing to the courtesy of the American Vice-Consul, Mr. Arthur F. Tower of Loanda, I received from the Governor General of Angola a letter of introduction which was of inestimable service during my journey in the interior.

From Portuguese officials much help was obtained, and sound advice accompanied by practical assistance was always courteously given.

In London I was assisted in the most cordial way by Mr. David Boyle, of the Cunard Steamship Lines, and Colonel B. Follett, D.S.O., of the Tanganyika Concessions Company.

My base camp in Angola was pitched near the Elende Mission 122
Station, where Dr. Merlin W. Ennis kindly provided safe storage for collections and a room for photography. Dr. Ennis was ever ready to discuss and aid my investigation among the Ovimbundu with whom he has spent thirty years. Mrs. Ennis and Miss Rounds aided my studies of handicraft among women. Dr. Hollenbeck gave valuable notes on the ailments of the Ovimbundu; these have been incorporated with my study of medicine-men.

Ngonga, my interpreter and chief informant, was secured by 115
Dr. Ennis to assist the investigation, and this he did with the greatest tact and ability. Ngonga speaks English, Portuguese, and Umbundu fluently. These accomplishments were so combined with a deep regard for the customs of his own people, the Ovimbundu, that he made an ideal interpreter.

From the base at Elende three journeys were made into the 122
interior. The first of these led to the far south of Angola, among the Vakuanyama; a second journey took me into the Vasele country of northwest Angola; while the third and longest itinerary led as far east as Cangamba, a center of Vachokue culture, thence northward to Saurimo in Lunda.

122 At the end of each of these journeys, which totaled 5,000 miles, I returned to the base camp, developed photographs, shipped collections, and continued my studies among the Ovimbundu.

In the interior I received help from Mr. and Mrs. H. C. McDowell of Ngalangi, both of whom gave considerable aid in investigating initiation ceremonies for boys and girls, and in securing three medicine-men and a rain-maker to explain their vocations. At Bailundu Mr. G. M. Childs obtained many valuable objects relating to the medicine-man's work, and the worth of these was greatly enhanced by full descriptions, and translations of the Umbundu language in which the explanations were given.

126 Owing to the interest of Professor Edward Sapir, formerly of the University of Chicago, now at Yale, assistance in transcribing phonographic records of the Umbundu language was obtained. The phonetic transcriptions were made by Dr. M. H. Watkins and Mr. R. T. Clarke, whose expert aid was greatly appreciated. Records of drum music were transcribed by Dr. G. Herzog of the University of Chicago. Drawings of objects collected have been prepared by Mr. Carl F. Gronemann, Staff Illustrator of Field Museum.

This recognition of cooperation would be incomplete without gratefully remembering my servants, who shared the fatigue and hazards of the journey. Abilio Esteves proved to be a thoroughly competent guide and adviser. The servants aided in locating ceremonies, acquiring objects, and dealing with the tribes among whom the expedition passed.

WILFRID DYSON HAMBLY

THE OVIMBUNDU OF ANGOLA

I. INTRODUCTION

Research work among the Ovimbundu of Angola indicates the presence of numerous cultural traits revealing what are probably distinct stratifications of culture. These diverse elements have been welded together into a pattern, the examination of which constitutes the present problem. 121

The object of this study is an analysis of these traits with a view to showing the sequence in which they have been received, from whence they came, and the processes which have been responsible for coordinating them so as to form the present social system.

My presentation passes from geographical and historical considerations to an ethnological approach, locally applied in the first place for complete analysis of the culture of the Ovimbundu and surrounding peoples. The traits have to be considered singly and in combination. Then follows an examination of some of these traits which are widely distributed outside Angola. We next seek to ascertain the geographical origin of traits, their history, and the psychology of their combinations and assimilation into an aggregate. What elements have been acquired through adoption? And what has been the historical process? Which traits have arisen through independent invention? What factors have been discarded, and why? To what extent have the Ovimbundu utilized opportunities for enriching their culture, and what possibilities have been neglected?

What are the classes of evidence which might be expected to assist an inquiry into the growth of Umbundu culture?

Field work was of primary importance for obtaining a first hand knowledge of the tribal life of the Ovimbundu as it exists today, and in order to estimate the effects of cultural contacts extensive journeys were made to the north, east, and south of the central territory occupied by the Ovimbundu. The results of personal investigation are given in chapters IV–IX, dealing with the economic, social, and religious life of the Ovimbundu. These facts have been kept free from the observations of other investigators whose reports are summarized in chapter III, "Historical Sources."

Unfortunately there are no archaeological data which can assist a study of historical processes, for archaeology has not yet been approached in Angola. 172

121 Geographical study is valuable in showing that physical factors such as position, topography, soil, and climate have had not only a permissive but a stimulating effect on the development of certain cultural traits.

127 Historical documents dating from the year A.D. 1500 present valuable evidence for tribal movements, the effect of early European contacts, and the existence of certain beliefs and ceremonies. The facts adduced in chapter III are used in chapters X–XII in discussing culture contacts and cultural processes.

197 Inquiry respecting relationships of the Ovimbundu to other African tribes is aided by a study of the Umbundu language, which is shown to be of pure Bantu structure and vocabulary (chapter VIII). The characteristic features of the Umbundu language are those which form the basic elements of Bantu speech in general. These characteristics are alliterative concord (that is, repetition of the prefix before every word in agreement with the noun); absence of grammatical gender; and a position of the genitive in which the name of the thing possessed comes before the possessor. Umbundu, though structurally assignable to the Bantu group, has its own vocabulary, whose degree of relationship to that of surrounding peoples may to some extent be judged by the vocabularies of F. and W. Jaspert (Die Völkerstämme Mittel Angolas, Frankfort, 1930, pp. 144–150). The fact that the language of the Ovimbundu has become the lingua franca of Angola, still further testifies to the thoroughness of the contacts, which from historical sources are known to have been made in the period 1500–1900.

104 The spelling of proper names leaves a wide margin for individual preference. The Umbundu language requires "M" before "B," yet custom has sanctioned the form Bailundu. Nevertheless I have retained "N" in Ngalangi despite the form Galangi on several maps. Maps show great diversity of spelling, but I have adhered throughout to Kipungo (Quipungo) and Kwanza (Quanza). Among tribal names I prefer Vakuanyama to OvaKwanyama and Vachokue to BaKioko or BaDjokue; in making the choice I have tried to imitate the sounds I heard from the natives themselves. In referring to the papers of E. Torday, who knew the southwest Congo well and spoke several Congo languages fluently, I note that he sometimes prefers to recognize the prefix as in BaMbala and BaYaka, but he also writes Badjokue and Bayaka. J. H. Weeks writes Bangala (BaNgala). C. H. L. Hahn uses the form Ovambo (OvaMbo). Ovimbundu I have preferred throughout; the accent is on the

penultimate syllable as is usual with Bantu words. The alternative form would be OviMbundu. Some writers hyphenate after a prefix. *Lu* is the plural prefix in the tribal names Luchazi, Luvando, Luena and Luimba. Ocivokue, Ocimbundu and Uluchazi are singulars. The word Umbundu is used adjectivally as well as for the name of the language. 104

Observations relating to the physical appearance of the Ovimbundu (chapter IV) deal with physique, dress, tooth mutilation, hairdressing, scarification, and personal ornaments. The object of this chapter is to estimate the results of contacts so far as these affect the traits just mentioned. 121

Of great importance in an inquiry into the growth of Umbundu culture is the inferential testimony to be derived from ethnological study of surrounding tribes. This subject is considered in chapter X, "Culture Contacts," with special reference to the Congo basin, Rhodesia, and South West Africa, concerning which there exists an adequate and reliable literature.

In chapter XII, "Cultural Processes," ethnological facts derived from field work and historical sources have been combined with data relating to geography, physique, and language. This has been done in such a way as to present a hypothesis of cultural growth which is consonant with direct evidence and inferential testimony.

Finally, personal acquaintance with the daily life of the Ovimbundu is made the corner stone for behavioristic study. This is intended to explain the operation of social forces and controls in welding the tribal traits whose origin and assembly have been previously discussed.

Should my colleagues of the functional school contend that my approach is too static in its historical and anatomical method, I would reply that my research does at least lay a sure ethnological foundation for those psychological and sociological studies which are today rightly regarded as essential for the adjustment of relationships between Africans and their European administrators. The correlation of all aspects of tribal life, including culture contacts, cannot be too strongly stressed. The headings chosen for chapters are adopted merely for convenience of presentation. But an endeavor has been made throughout the book, and particularly in the final chapter, to emphasize the coordination of economics, social organization, education, language, and religion.

II. GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS

121 This chapter is intended to give an outline of the geographical conditions of Angola and to point out the way in which these have influenced the growth of Umbundu culture in all its aspects.

A presentation of geographical data is of primary importance here, and the actual relationship between the facts of geography and culture is a matter for gradual evaluation in the following chapters. The extent to which geographic determinism has entered into the cultural growth of the Ovimbundu is particularly well seen in chapter V, "Economic Life," which deals with industries, agriculture, domestic animals, fishing, and transport.

The area of Angola is a factor of importance, for the greater the extent of any country the more diversified will be the products and the cultural differences. This is particularly true if there are considerable differences in the elevation, because altitude modifies temperature and affects the distribution of rainfall.

131 Angola has an area of almost 500,000 square miles. The greatest length is a distance of about 900 miles from the river Congo in the north to the region of South West Africa. The greatest breadth is about 700 miles from the Atlantic Ocean on the west to the borders of the Rhodesian plateau in the east. This range over twelve degrees of latitude, from 5° S. to 17° S., in association with differences in altitude, have produced ecological regions which are described in the following paragraphs.

132 The northern part of Angola is ecologically a part of the Congo
311 basin, with conditions of heat and moisture giving rise to a dense
167 tropical flora. *Owing to the presence of tsetse fly, the great heat,* and the lack of open grasslands, such country is unsuited for the rearing of cattle, while agriculture, including cultivation of maize, is restricted to forest clearings. Manioc, palm trees, peanuts, and sweet potatoes are the chief products serviceable to man. This region was, according to the historical evidence of chapter III, the area in which the Ovimbundu moved before they entered the Benguela Highlands of central Angola. Parts of chapters III and X ("Historical Sources" and "Culture Contacts," respectively) are devoted to an analysis of the cultural factors of the Congo area from the year A.D. 1500 to the present day.

131 The central portion of Angola is the area most important in this research because it is the home of the Ovimbundu, whose cultural

growth is under examination. This central plateau, the Benguela 131
Highlands, rises in places to a height of 6,000 feet, an altitude which [133]
reduces the heat of the tropics and so modifies the flora, discouraging
some types of vegetation and encouraging others. Hostility of the
highlands to palm trees and the banana is appropriately discussed [241]
when dealing with cultural losses; while the fostering effect of reduced
temperature and the presence of wide expanses of open country on
the growth of maize and the keeping of cattle is a cultural gain.

The prevailing rains of Angola are from the northeast to the 132
southwest; consequently the high plateau intercepts rain clouds which
give an annual fall of sixty inches. This adequate rainfall is another
factor which has affected economic life, density of population, communal welfare, and powers of expansion.

The villages of the Ovimbundu are built on hillsides having a 361
commanding view of the surrounding country. There is in the
nature of the land a natural protection from enemies. In addition
to this the Benguela Highlands are an admirable base from which
expeditions both predatory and commercial might, and actually did
set out eastward to the interior of Africa, and southwest to the
cattle-keeping country.

It is important to note that this central plateau is the watershed 133
for four large river systems; the Kwanza to the northwest; the Cunene
to the southwest; the tributaries of the Kasai to the northeast; and
the Zambezi and its affluents to the southeast. Fishing, with attendant [226]
beliefs of a ritualistic kind, is of local importance; so also is the
making of canoes. Moreover, the river valleys have marked out a
natural means of communication in several directions.

In connection with the river system the biological factor of the 136
tsetse fly is important, because the presence of the fly locally dis- 231
courages human habitation and prevents the keeping of cattle. The
exact distribution of the fly is imperfectly known, but *Glossinia* [164]
palpalis, the cause of sleeping sickness in human beings, also *Glossinia morsitans*, which carries disease to cattle, are both present along
the Kwanza and parts of the other rivers (J. C. B. Statham, Through
Angola, p. 294).

The western coastal strip is a region of great aridity which has in 132
some years no rainfall whatever, because the northeasterly rains have 137
expended themselves on the high plateau. This region displays
vegetation of the semi-desert type; namely, baobab trees, prickly
acacias, euphorbias, and aloes. Population in this area is sparse, [162]
always nomadic, and in some places non-existent. The coastal strip 005

The coastal strip

131 was at times traversed by the Ovimbundu who know of the sea and 484 call it *kalunga*. Bihéan caravans crossed to the coast with slaves, as history shows, but the nature of the coastal strip marks it as a western barrier limiting the expansion of the Ovimbundu in that direction. The coast line itself is of the greatest moment in the consideration of historical factors. From Loanda, Benguela, and [177] Mossamedes on the coast, the Portuguese penetrated the interior, so making contacts with the Ovimbundu to the encouragement of caravan trade. The importance of this European contact will be seen in subsequent chapters.

The south and southwest parts of Angola are of particular importance in studying the contacts of the Ovimbundu, but to give here the details of the wealthy cattle-keeping culture of these regions, which were accessible through peaceful proximity, trade, and occasional raiding, would be an anticipation of chapter X, "Culture Contacts." [723] One topographical point is of primary importance; namely, the ease with which the Ovimbundu could descend from their strongholds to the low-lying land of the west and south, whereas the reverse journey is much more difficult for a people unaccustomed to manoeuvring and finding their way among hills.

101 Having described the northern, central, western, and southern areas, there remains only the eastern section to consider; this presents several features of peculiar geographical and ethnological interest. [133] The eastern section of Angola is either slightly undulating or flat, the general characteristic is dryness, and vegetation is somewhat [136] sparse though sufficient to shelter many kinds of antelope.

The major population is the Vachokue, a warlike, hunting people, who follow agricultural pursuits but slightly, and do not keep cattle. Examination of the literature describing early exploration indicates [726] the truculent nature of these eastern people with whom caravans of Ovimbundu were in frequent conflict. Umbundu caravans crossed this country when making their way to Rhodesia, culture contacts with which are discussed in chapter X.

The results of contact of Ovimbundu and Vachokue tribes, so far as physical miscegenation is concerned, are mentioned in chapter "Physical Appearance"; while the social effects of slavery resulting from hostilities are described in chapter VI, "Social Life."

174 Rhodesia is a cattle-raising country, but the hostility of the 231 Vachokue, the great distance from central Angola to Rhodesia, and the general dryness of the country to be crossed, discourage the idea that the Ovimbundu obtained their cattle from Rhodesia. If it is

argued that the cattle might have been brought along the course of 174
the Zambezi and Kwando there is the objection that there are here 231
several tsetse fly belts. On the contrary, cattle-producing country
in the southwest and south of Angola is far more accessible than the
Rhodesian plateau.

In the south there is the cultural habit of digging wells, especially 312
among the Vakuanyama; but the Vachokue have not developed this 171
trait. The substrata underlying the sand of southern Angola hold water which serves through the dry season, a fact which is advantageously employed by the cattle-keepers. The Vachokue lack this well-digging habit, and, even if subsurface water were present, the transient Ovimbundu would have lacked opportunity to dig for it when passing through hostile country.

The acquisition of cattle by the Ovimbundu is of great impor- 233
tance, because it is concerned with the grafting of a series of pastoral traits on a culture in no way originally associated with pastoral pursuits. The truth of this will later be made clear by examination of historical and ethnological evidence.

Geographical considerations give a picture of the Ovimbundu 133
situated in naturally fortified country from which they had access to four surrounding areas, whose cultural characters agree well with the determinism of topography and climate. The natural advantages of the central highlands, and the results of contact with each of the adjacent areas, are points which will be developed in appropriate sections throughout the ensuing chapters.

III. HISTORICAL SOURCES

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167 The object of this chapter is the presentation of a summary of literature relating to Angola from A.D. 1500 down to the present day. In this literature there may be accounts of the movements of tribes which will throw some light on the origin of the Ovimbundu, and the date of their migration into the Benguela Highlands. Present-day tradition of the Ovimbundu is unanimous in declaring that the tribe came from the northeast of its present locality, but some historical justification of this belief is desirable. [101] The word Ovimbundu ("people of the fog") may refer to the heavy morning mists of highland regions, and there is the possibility that the Ovimbundu adopted this name when they settled on the high plateau.

121 If there is historical evidence in favor of the traditional home of the Ovimbundu being the region of the north and northeast of Angola, what was the ethnological background of these areas at the time when the Ovimbundu became detached from a matrix of northern Angolan tribes? In other words, what cultural factors are the Ovimbundu likely to have brought with them into the Benguela Highlands? The ultimate origin of these factors is a point which has not been neglected (chapter XI, "Wider Culture Contacts"), but for the moment the primary concern is the historical background of the Ovimbundu, with special reference to tribal movements and cultural traits.

As part of this historical inquiry, contacts of the Portuguese and the Ovimbundu are of importance. When and where did the Portuguese come into contact with the Ovimbundu and with what results to the indigenous culture?

127 Chapters IV–IX deal exclusively with my field work among the Ovimbundu in 1929. Therefore it is pertinent to ask to what extent the ethnological observations of travelers and early explorers will corroborate the information recorded in my own notes. Will there be contradiction or confirmation of personal observations? Possibly the ethnological notes obtained from historical sources will serve, not merely to corroborate my field work, but actually to extend the area of occurrence of important cultural traits which I noted in 1929.

The literature describing Angolan history and customs is here presented in the form of a chronological bibliography, which is annotated so as to emphasize points bearing on the purpose of this historical analysis. That there should be a fragmentary presentation of data is an inevitable consequence of the nature of the literature itself. Observations have been made, not in a well-ordered time sequence, but at irregular intervals. Moreover, the writings of the majority of observers have not been undertaken with any specific ethnological purpose in view. Early explorers in particular were prone to intersperse historical and ethnological notes among a mass of descriptive material relating to incidents of travel, animal life, and meteorological observations. 127

At the conclusion of this chapter an effort is made to remedy the disjointed nature of the historical evidence. This object is achieved by summarizing the points which provide an answer to the queries brought forward in the opening paragraphs of this chapter respecting the origin and cultural background of the Ovimbundu.

The Portuguese entered the Congo in 1482 under the leadership of Diego Cão (E. G. Ravenstein, The Voyages of Diego Cão, *Geog. Journ.*, 1900, pp. 625–649) and from that time onward Portuguese influence of a political and religious kind was exerted along the course of the Congo. Gradually the Portuguese established themselves on the coast of Angola. Paolo Diaz founded Loanda in 1576, and about eleven years later built the fort of Benguela. 175

The year 1590 saw the Portuguese making war in the interior of Angola against the Jaggas, a northern tribe among whom Andrew Battell was held in honorable captivity as a leader against the Portuguese and all natives of northern Angola, who were exploited by the Jaggas. In 1645 another Portuguese punitive expedition penetrated the interior as far as Bailundu, the center from which the strongest caravans of Umbundu traders and slavers set out for central Africa.

Caconda in the southwest of Angola was founded in 1682, and a century later the coastal town of Mossamedes became a starting point from which early exploration penetrated the interior in search of the sources of the Cunene River. (For the details of Portuguese penetration of Angola see Bibliography: T. E. Bowditch; R. F. Burton; E. G. Ravenstein; T. Lewis.)

When the Portuguese landed at the mouth of the Congo at the close of the fifteenth century they came into contact with the kingdom of Congo, ruled with great pomp and ceremony at Ambassa, about 150 miles inland, and identical with the San Salvador of the Portuguese. The old kingdom of Congo was made up of six strong clans of whose rivalry the Portuguese took advantage to strengthen their own commercial and political position. The slave trade was considered to be as respectable as it was lucrative, and there is no doubt

175 that the Church participated actively (T. Lewis, The Old Kingdom of Kongo, *Geog. Journ.*, 1908, pp. 598–600).

Political influence of the Portuguese, working often through the agency of Jesuit priests, led to factions within the Congo Empire, and the resulting disturbances caused movements of peoples that affected the whole of northern Angola and the population of the Benguela Highlands.

Portuguese penetration of the hinterland of Angola, especially from Loanda to Bihé, was concerned with attempts to subjugate native tribes, the establishment of trading posts, and the encouragement of the slave trade (S. Marquardsen, Angola, 1928, pp. 6–10).

439 721 The value of the Portuguese as allies of Umbundu caravans from Bihé lay in their ability to supply guns and powder to their native henchmen, who gave something more than military service in return. In response to Portuguese demand for slaves and ivory, Umbundu caravans made long journeys into the Congo basin, Rhodesia, south and southwest Angola, and possibly across Africa to lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa. The arms supplied in exchange for ivory and slaves must have helped the Ovimbundu in all their predatory excursions.

648 Thus the Ovimbundu were, ~~in~~ the early centuries of contact with the Portuguese, invaders encouraged in the building up of their tribal life and resources. Never were the Portuguese strong enough completely to subjugate northern Angola. Relationships with natives, especially the Bihéan section of the Ovimbundu, were directed toward alliances on a commercial basis. The political result of this was a combination of the Portuguese and the stronger tribes for the exploitation of the weaker.

167 177 The historical ethnology of the southwest Congo is so complex that the elements are difficult to disentangle. The number of tribes concerned is great, and their movements are not easy to follow; but a gradual extension of people from the Congo in a southwesterly direction through Lunda to the Benguela Highlands (1600–1800) seems to be the summation of all the conflict. I regard the Ovimbundu as the most southerly branch of these mass movements, during which they received a discipline that enabled them to make their home in central Angola, despite opposition from the Portuguese and earlier arrivals.

114 For these conclusions reliance has been placed on the extensive field work and historical analyses of E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, whose "Notes on the Ethnography of the Bambala" (*J.R.A.I.*, XXXV, pp. 398–426) have proved of particular value in this connection.

The kernel of the migratory problem of the Ovimbundu is reached 101
when Torday traces out the history of the Kimbundu, for the Kimbundu are present-day neighbors of the Ovimbundu, to whom they are closely allied in language and culture (*ovi* is a Bantu plural prefix, which was perhaps used to express the inclusion of Kimbundu and Babunda under the general name Ovimbundu).

Torday's sifting of the historical evidence results in the conclusion 174
that the Kimbundu came from the northeast, fighting their way to 167
the Luando. These Kimbundu divided, with civil war as a conse- 101
quence. One section crossed the river Kwanza, south of which they specialized in agriculture after becoming sedentary. Their sub-chief they called the *Kalunga*, which is the present-day word used by the Ovimbundu in greeting their chiefs. Traditions of the Ovimbundu point to the northeast as a center from which they spread at least ten generations ago. The rise of the powerful kingdom of Lunda dates from the seventeenth century, and although the details of this concentration of power in northeast Angola are unknown the general effects are understood. There was a great displacement of tribes in a southerly and southwesterly direction. In connection with the suggestion that the Ovimbundu came from the northeast of Angola, there is the necessity for recording the absence of even a fragment of historical evidence or tribal tradition indicating that the Ovimbundu came from the south or the east of Angola.

Cultural affinities of the Ovimbundu with tribes of the southwest 174
Congo in particular, and with western Bantu culture in general, 171
strongly support the foregoing deductions from historical sources (chapter X).

There is a probability that tribal disturbances resulting from the rise of the Lunda Empire led to a spread of the Vachokue over eastern Angola. Some of the effects of this contact have already been mentioned in chapter II, where contacts of the Ovimbundu and the Vachokue were discussed. The journey brought me into contact with the Vachokue at Cangamba, Katoko, and Ngalangi, of which Cangamba is the most easterly.

Witnessing of initiation ceremonies combined with observation of physique, language, and artifacts, leads me to agree with Torday that Cangamba is probably the ancient center of Vachokue culture. As one proceeds from Cangamba westward this type of culture becomes thinner as the borders of the country occupied by the Ovimbundu are approached. On the border line between the cultures of the Vachokue and the Ovimbundu, notably at Ngongo near Ngalangi,

174 there is tribal and cultural miscegenation. Both Umbundu and
171 Vachokue languages are spoken; boys of Ngalangi were seen to wear
[281] initiation costumes similar to those worn at Cangamba by the
Vachokue, but on proceeding farther westward into territory exclusively occupied by the Ovimbundu, such initiation ceremonies are either absent or attenuated in ritual.

144 Elende, one center of research among the Ovimbundu, repre-
101 sents the purest Umbundu speech and culture observable at the present day. But in chapter IV some physical resemblance of the Ovimbundu to the Vachokue is noted. Warfare commonly resulted in the taking of slaves, a fact which might account for an apparent infusion of Vachokue blood in some of the Ovimbundu.

174 The historical data suggest a northern or northeastern starting
point of Umbundu migrations. Therefore an inquiry into the
167 ethnology of these areas will be useful in showing the kind of culture with which the Ovimbundu were in contact before their settlement in the Benguela Highlands. If historical sources disclose the nature of northern Angolan culture from the year A.D. 1500 onward, such evidence can then be considered in relation to cultural traits of the Ovimbundu at the present day.

The establishment of strong cultural resemblances between extant Umbundu culture and older cultural patterns of northern Angola, would tend to strengthen the evidence of history respecting the northern origin of the Ovimbundu.

131 The regions dealt with in the following summary of ethnological
facts are the Cabinda Enclave to the north of the Congo estuary,
174 the region of San Salvador, the hinterlands of Loanda and Benguela, and the area of northern Angola between Lat. 7° and 9° S. and Long. 13° to 22° E. This covers the whole area with which the Ovimbundu are likely to have been in contact before entering their present home.

175 My survey begins with the observations of Andrew Battell in
101 1596. His account deals mainly with the northwestern part of Angola, a country bordering on and actually including territory now occupied by the Ovimbundu, who in all probability came in contact with the Jaggas, whose habits of life are described by Battell.

Torday and Joyce identify the Jaggas with the present-day Bayaka, whose cultural resemblances to the Ovimbundu are examined later. In my opinion, the Jaggas correspond well with the Bihéan section of the Ovimbundu, an itinerant and exceedingly warlike people.

As early as 1600 there were cattle as far north as Benguela, and 175
the Jaggas regarded these as a most valuable part of their plunder. 171
Palms are a characteristic part of the vegetation of Angola north of the Benguela Highlands. Evidently the Jaggas moved extensively in northern Angola because they cut down palms for making wine [824]
(Battell, p. 30). The usual method is to tap the top of a standing tree, but the Jaggas were an itinerant people who did not cultivate palms.

Sprinkling the blood of sacrificed animals on a newly kindled fire I have mentioned in connection with Umbundu rites celebrating the founding of a new village. The Jaggas carried out this ceremony before a raiding expedition, when cows and other animals were sacrificed (Battell, p. 33). Battell mentions the use of red *tukula* [824]
wood for personal decoration. This wood (*Pterocarpus tinctorius*) is used in many parts of Angola at the present time.

Reference to Battell confirms the information given to me in relation to an old iron gong obtained at Ngalangi. He says (p. 20), [534]
"The general did strike his gong, which is an instrument of war that soundeth like a bell, and presently made an oration with a loud voice."

Battell reported that the Jaggas wore beads of ostrich eggshell. [237]
Ravenstein, the editor of this volume in the Hakluyt Series, seems to doubt this statement, saying, "There are no ostriches in Angola, [114]
and as to beads made of ostrich eggs I can give no explanation." I noted the presence of captive ostriches in southern Angola as far north as Gambos. The Vakuanyama women greatly value their long necklaces of ostrich-eggshell beads. Necklaces made in the north of Angola are traded to the south and conversely, each kind of necklace having a high value due to remoteness of origin. This instance, like many other points, confirms the reliability of Battell's observations in Angola.

Father Jerome Merolla (1682) describes the poison ordeal which was used from the Congo estuary to San Salvador (Churchills' [695]
Voyages, II, p. 675). "The aforesaid oath is administered to the supposed traitor by a sort of wizard, who, making a certain composition out of the juices of herbs, serpent's flesh, pulp of fruits, and divers other things, gives it to the supposed delinquent to drink. If guilty (as they tell you) he will immediately fall down in a swoon or trembling to the ground." The marimba was used, and a double iron gong was carried before a chief and struck by an attendant.

175 O. Dapper (Description de l'Afrique, 1732, p. 369) shows a scene
171 in which an ax, such as I obtained from the Vasele country, is being
used for beheading a slave.

[412] Cavazzi (Istorica descrizione, etc., Bologna, 1687) describes the
three kingdoms of Congo, Matamba, and northern Angola. The
[325] poison ordeal, the scapegoat, the blacksmith's bellows (pp. 101, 170)
[534] are all traits known to the Ovimbundu. The musical instrument
made from a large gourd, which has a ridged board attached for
rubbing with a stick, is the type I collected. Cavazzi pictures the
double iron gong and the long drum held between the knees. He
[782] also shows a rain-maker (p. 214) and the sacrifice of two hundred
victims at the accession of a king (p. 210).

174 Consideration of the history of maize in Africa is of importance
243 in connection with these early writings, as this grain is the staple
agricultural product of the Ovimbundu. I am indebted to Dr.
[113] Berthold Laufer for access to his unpublished research on this subject.
From the following facts one may assume that, in all probability,
the maize culture of the Ovimbundu was derived from the Congo
region before their migration into the Benguela Highlands.

175 Father Jerome Merolla remarks that maize was growing in the
243 neighborhood of San Salvador (1688–92). The native names were
mampunni and *massambuta;* from this corn an alcoholic beverage was
prepared. According to Cavazzi (Ehrmann, Geschichte der merkwürdigsten Reisen, XIII, 1794) maize was not intensively cultivated
by the Negroes of lower Guinea, though it thrives well and may be
[177] harvested twice or thrice a year. The natives said that the grain
was brought by the Portuguese, but they did not esteem it highly,
and were accustomed to use it as food for pigs.

Bosman (p. 312) records that prior to the arrival of the Portuguese, Negroes were entirely ignorant of *milho* ("maize"). The account of Duarte Lopez preserved by Filippo Pigafetta states that the Negroes consider maize the vilest of all grains, so that it is given to swine. This contempt and lack of knowledge of the food value, combined with ignorance of methods of preparation, suggest a recent introduction (Pigafetta, translation by M. Hutchinson, 1881, p. 40). Dapper (Description de l'Afrique, 1732, p. 345) also mentions the cultivation of maize. Battell lived as prisoner in northern Angola about the year 1600, consequently his records of the use of the great Guinea wheat (maize), which the natives call *mas-importo*, give early evidence for the use of this grain (Hakluyt Soc., 1901, pp. 9, 11, 67).

The foregoing facts, when compared with field work among the 174
Ovimbundu, indicate that the old culture of the Congo and northern
Angola bears a strong resemblance to Umbundu culture at the
present day. A more detailed analysis of this resemblance is made
in chapter X.

The following notes dealing with exploration in Angola (1800– 175
1930) are adduced for critical comparison with my own observations 171
among the Ovimbundu.

The work of Sir R. F. Burton describing the exploration of Lacerda [114]
and other Portuguese pioneers, is more useful for geographical than
for ethnological information. Lacerda's journey to Czambe, south
of Lake Moero, was performed in 1798. A mention of veneration [769]
for the dead and consultation of the deceased on all occasions of
war or of good fortune, is made (p. 127). These are important points
in the present tribal life of the Ovimbundu.

Bowditch (1824) writes from information given to him by Almeida 175
and Saldanha. There are valuable references to the Vacilenge, a 101
people adjacent to the Ovimbundu, who refused to kill their cattle, 234
"rather than do which they will endure famine to extremity." This
note was made about Long. 15° E. and Lat. 15° S. (p. 34). The
cattle were milked, and cattle-raiding by the Ovimbundu was
common at this time. Many present-day Ovimbundu do not milk
their cattle, but the Vacilenge still follow their milking custom
observed before 1824.

Livingstone's journey through northeast and northern Angola in 175
1853 contains references to the Vachokue who seemed bent on plun- 171
der (I, p. 370). Livingstone noted cotton spinning, which I recorded [283]
as an occupation of males of the Ovimbundu at Elende. Livingstone,
like other early travelers, encountered caravans of Bihéans (Ovim- [439]
bundu) bearing elephants' tusks and beeswax, commodities, which,
along with slaves, formed the chief merchandise of these caravans
from the Benguela Highlands (p. 466). Livingstone notes and
sketches (Plate XIII, Fig. 10) the double-handled hoe (p. 442) which [412]
is still used.

J. J. Monteiro (I, p. 61) saw the poison ordeal administered. The [695]
poison itself was prepared from the thick hard bark of a large tree
(*Erythrophlaeum guineense*). The place of observation was Mongue [824]
Grande, just south of the Congo estuary, and again Monteiro was
present when the poison cup was given to two women at Ambrizette.
Of this ordeal there is more to be said when discussing the culture
contacts of the Ovimbundu, because the ordeal is a basic factor of

171 wide distribution in Africa (C. Wiedemann, 1909) and the ceremony
175 still survives among the Ovimbundu in modified form.

[114] Though an informative writer, Monteiro is sometimes vague; he
says (I, p. 278) that circumcision is a universal custom among the
blacks of Angola. In view of the extent of Angola, the diversity of
tribes, and the fact that Monteiro traveled over only a small part of
the country, this information is misleading.

Monteiro is the only writer in whose works I have found a
reference to the Vasele tribe; probably no part of Angola has been
so neglected as the Esele country in the hinterland of Novo Redondo.
At the present day the Vasele have a reputation for cannibalism.
[266] Monteiro saw human flesh eaten at Cuacra, while the skulls of the
victims were placed on adjacent trees. Monteiro states (II, p. 167)
that on the death of a king the Mucelis (Vasele) put out all the fires
in the kingdom; these were relighted by the succeeding king who
[321] used fire produced by rubbing two sticks together. The flat beads
of shell called *dongos*, made from *Achatina monetaria* (II, p. 168),
are made today and traded to the far south of Angola, where their
novelty assures them a value far beyond their intrinsic worth. I was
fortunate in obtaining an example of the old beheading ax mentioned
by Monteiro (II, p. 157) and sketched by Cavazzi (p. 210). Par-
[262] boiled and roasted rats were offered to me as food; Monteiro mentions
the offering of a roasted rat on a skewer (I, p. 99).

The account of Commander V. L. Cameron, who left Zanzibar
for his journey across Africa in 1873, mentions several points of
anthropological importance in relation to the Angolan section of his
[756] journey. Cameron saw a net-covered medicine-man of the Kibokue
(Vachokue) wearing a mask and a kilt of grass (p. 384). The function
[524] of this man was to frighten devils from the woods. The contest in
which boys discharge their arrows at a rolling root was seen by
Cameron near Kagnombe (Cangamba?). Skulls of victims killed in
[787] war were spiked on poles (p. 399). The diviner was followed by
attendants who struck iron gongs, while the diviner himself shook a
rattle made of basket-work in the form of a dumb-bell (p. 404).
Cameron gives an accurate description of the divination basket and
its use without going into details. These I have been able to supply
[482] (chapter IX). The explorer met caravans of Bihéans, renowned
carriers then as they are today. They were usually drunk and
abusive; in some instances they attempted to rob the stragglers.
000 The use of caterpillars as food is noted (p. 416): "A man cut open

The use of caterpillars as food is noted (p.416): "A man cut open [262]
a large cocoon, extracted the contents, and smacked his lips with 171
great gusto." My field notes mention the use of caterpillars as food. 175

Capello and Ivens (1877–80) remark on the burial places of [766]
hunters which are distinguishable by the skulls of antelopes, buffalo, and hippopotamuses, stuck on upright poles, mixed with skulls of oxen killed in honor of the defunct. The writers noted that a heap of stones protected the body. I photographed two types of cairn in the regions of Ganda and Luimbale respectively. Capello and Ivens are not precise in their locality, but I judge it to have been Long. 17° E. and Lat. 13° S., a considerable distance from my own observations (Plates XXXII, Fig. 1; LXXIV, Fig. 1).

I photographed the stilt-walkers at the final stages of the initiation [481]
ceremonies at Cangamba. These men had no costumes; on the
contrary they were almost naked but were covered with white clay. [292]
Capello and Ivens (p. 295), saw a stilt-walker with a feathered mask and a netting costume. Such attire I saw on an Uluchazi medicine-man, but not on the stilt-walkers (Plate LXXXI, Figs. 1, 2).

I was unable to obtain information about the stilt-walkers, but 693
Capello states that they castigated misdemeanants, punished shameless women, and accused criminals. Capello and Ivens were 187 miles to the northwest of my area of observation. The Uluchazi medicine-man, who appeared with the stilt-walkers during my visits, was said to make bad magic for women. The men ignored him but women gathered round in a derisive way; they quickly scattered when he pursued them.

Serpa Pinto, who made his journey across Angola in 1878, has 175
so many references to customs and objects still extant, that I propose 114
to tabulate his observations because of their value in showing the preservation of indigenous traits in spite of Portuguese contacts.

The body of a chief is buried with a covering of oxhide. Many 175
oxen are sacrificed at the death of a king. The heir to the deceased 766
is bound to sacrifice his whole herd in order to regale his people and give peace to the departed (S. Pinto, I, p. 63). The Ovimbundu conform at the present time to similar methods of burial and sacrifice.

Near Huambo, Serpa Pinto saw in every village a kind of "temple 175
for conversation." This is the *onjango*, that I have described and [345]
photographed (Plate XLVIII, Fig. 1). It is the house in which all males foregather for the evening meal, which is brought by their women (I, p. 96).

The gathering and eating of caterpillars is described. This con- [262]
tinues today (I, p. 120).

175 [316] [325] Serpa Pinto saw shafts for the working of iron ore in the neighborhood of Cubango. The ore was mixed with charcoal and smelted in shallow pits. It is stated that the iron was sometimes tempered with ox-grease and salt. The bellows are of the type made at Elende (I, p. 128). Of the tempering process I have no confirmation.

175 787 [764] Somewhere near Bihé Serpa Pinto saw the ceremony of questioning a corpse which was made to sway to and fro, the people believing all the while that it does so without human intervention. The diviner declared that the soul of a dead person will tell who caused the death (I, p. 130). I observed and photographed this ceremony (Plate XLV, Fig. 1).

[695] The ordeal of the poison cup is described; blood-letting, and divination by shaking articles in a basket are also mentioned. Pinto says that in the articles that appear uppermost the diviner reads what his hearers are desirous of learning of the past, present, or future. Sorcery and rain-making are likewise briefly mentioned (I, p. 132). The divination basket, the poison ordeal, and rain-making, are Umbundu cultural traits today.

171 224 Here Pinto illustrates the existing practice of mounting the skulls of animals killed by a hunter on a pole in the village. There is a further reference to this custom among the Ambuellas (I, p. 333). These instances, combined with those personally noted, give a wide distribution for the practice (I, p. 177).

175 [304] Pinto saw the operation of tooth mutilation among the Luimba. The operation was performed with a knife which was struck by repeated light blows (I, p. 209).

[411] Pinto illustrates arrowheads in use in 1879 (I, pp. 277, 346). These are exactly the same as those made and used in 1929 (Plate XVII, Figs. 1–9).

[412] Axes used by the Luchazi are sketched with a detail that shows the old forms to persist without alteration (II, p. 36).

[321] Water-pipes made from horns and gourds by the Luina of eastern Angola are of the forms now used in that region, also by the Ovimbundu of the present day (II, pp. 33, 37).

175 114 For use in checking and supplementing my observations Serpa Pinto's book was found to be of the greatest service, though the precise locality was sometimes difficult to identify. This explorer, in common with others, scattered his ethnological observations among descriptions of the route and botanical, zoological, and other notes.

Lux traveled from Loanda due east, following the Kwanza on the northern bank between 9° and 10° S. Lat., and so into Lunda.

He draws the crescentic arrowhead (p. 123) still common among 175
the Ovimbundu and Vachokue; the double iron gong (p. 122); and 114
the musical bow, which he calls a viola (p. 121). [534]

Sogaur states that iron-working had an advanced technique at 175
Dindo, more than half a century ago. According to Sogaur, the 326
blacksmith was using scrap iron from European sources (II, p. 14).

Perhaps the most valuable of Chatelain's books is "Fifty Folk 173
Tales of Angola." The stories are accompanied by translations and [114]
ethnological notes, the most important of which are references to the
carrying of a corpse on a pole; the building of a cairn of stones over [764]
the corpse of a hunter; matrilineal descent and the power of the [611]
maternal uncle over the persons of his nieces and nephews (sisters'
children). My observations included some details respecting the [604]
pawning of a sister's children to redeem the debts of their mother's
brother. Chatelain adds that sisters' children are successors to [428]
private property and chieftainship (pp. 8–10). My notes agree that
property is inherited by children of a deceased man's sister, but my
informants said that a new chieftain is normally the eldest son of the
principal wife of the dead chief. Chatelain's folklore stories, fifty in [538]
number, relate chiefly to animals; this was the only kind of story
told to me, but W. C. Bell has recorded a few tales of another type.

Marquardsen (1928) devotes only one-fourth of his book to the 114
ethnology of Angola, which he treats in a very general way; there is 177
no section dealing specifically with any particular tribe. The author
calls attention to Chapman's observation of rock paintings of South [531]
African Bushman type, between Cuma and Luimbale in northwest
Angola. I have elsewhere remarked on the occasional occurrence of [144]
physical types which show a strain of Bushman blood. Today
Bushmen penetrate southern Angola from the Kalahari (Plate LXIX,
Figs. 1, 2), but their presence in times past or present does not affect
the course of history or the data of ethnology to an appreciable extent.

Marquardsen gives some notes of a general kind on Vaheneca, 114
Mahuila and other tribes of southwest Angola. The suggestion is 101
feasible that the Umbundu name Suku, for a supreme being, is the
same as the Nzambi of Lunda and the Congo. Marquardsen refers
to the importance of the maternal uncle in Umbundu society, to the
poison ordeal, and to the burial of an Umbundu chief in oxhide, all
of which points were recorded in my observations at Elende.

Ferreira Diniz's book is unobtainable, but, judging from the summary given in *Anthropos* (XX, 1925, pp. 321–331), the information was collected by a questionnaire widely distributed among adminis-

114 trative posts. I agree that people between Caconda and Huila
101 represent a racial mixture of the Ovimbundu and the Ovambo. The
record speaks of painting-houses for girls at Cabinda, an item which
agrees with reports from other sources. The jottings concerning
tribes from Cabinda to the far south of Angola are too vague to be
used in ethnological work with confidence.

There are many points on which the work of A. Schachtzabel
should be consulted for the purpose of making comparisons with my
[621] own observations. The chief of these are a note and photograph on
[281] village construction (p. 130); the musical bow (p. 32); the loom
[775] (plate VI); transmigration of the soul of a chief into an animal (p. 51);
[524] and the game of mancala (p. 52). My observations of initiation at
[881] Katoko, Ngalangi, and Cangamba agree well with that of Schachtzabel at Katoko, but I was able to obtain more detail and more
[283] numerous photographs of the ritual of initiation. The spinning of
cotton (p. 143) is exactly the process so frequently witnessed now at
Elende. Iron-working (p. 111) appears to be comparable with the
technique at Elende, but Schachtzabel seems to have missed the
ritual. I was not so fortunate as this author in finding the old type
of iron-smelting furnace in use.

114 The work of Statham is devoted primarily to hunting and descrip-
136 tions of plant and animal life. The chapter given to a casual description of people among whom he passed is not useful as ethnology;
but the book is of service in providing a background of natural history.
Information on the tsetse fly in Angola (p. 294) assists ethnological
work by showing the determining effect of this biological factor.
[231] Presence of the fly is prohibitive to cattle-keeping, therefore cattle
are not kept along the river courses which are infested with this pest.

114 Alexander Barns made no pretence of writing more than a travel
book; nevertheless he publishes photographs of ethnological value,
gives useful historical summaries, and deals with economic problems
of production and transportation.

114 Tucker's book "Drums in the Darkness," though written to
175 interest the American public in mission work, contains many ethnological statements. The chief of these relate to the structure of the
compound (p. 37); the dress of women (p. 39); naming of twins and
triplets; and other items which agree well with data from the district
in which I worked. There are notes on drum signals (p. 74) and
[202] cannibalism (p. 77). Apparently drum signals were in use at Bihé
half a century ago. Forty years ago a slave was killed and eaten
[266] at the installation ceremonies for a new king, a point that was noted

in the works of Battell, Cavazzi, and other early writers. A descrip- 114
tion of the whipping of boys at initiation (p. 99) agrees with my own 175
records, but details of the period and place are not given by Tucker. [881]
Questioning a corpse (p. 102) is a ceremony I have witnessed and
described, but the instance referred to by Tucker relates to the [643]
interrogation of the corpse of a chief with regard to his choice of a
successor; there are laws of succession, but these may be waived.
The ceremony described in my monograph was conducted to discover
the cause of death and not to determine succession. If Tucker
has any detailed information with regard to puberty ceremonies for
girls his reticence is regrettable (p. 142). Tucker says that suicide [762]
among women is common (p. 143). A mention of *ocisunji*, a feast
for spirits at which meat is offered to idols, is interesting (p. 168)
but details are lacking, and the use of the word idols is ambiguous. [778]
The information respecting use of charms is corroborative of my
own observations in two other centers, Elende and Ngalangi.

The most recent publication on the ethnology of Angola is that of 114
F. and W. Jaspert of the Städtisches Völkermuseum, Frankfort, 1930.
Their journey was undertaken primarily to make collections for a museum, but linguistic and ethnological information was recorded among several tribes, notably the Kimbundu, Vachokue, Luchazi, Luimba, and Kusongo. The farthest point attained in a southerly direction was just north of Kipungo, and the general line of march was from Benguela to the northeast, into Lunda. There is very little overlapping in the work of the Jasperts and myself. My itinerary took me to the extreme south into the Vakuanyama country, and to the far east of Moxico among the Vachokue.

My work is presented as a monograph on the Ovimbundu only, and of their culture I treat exclusively, with some reference to the culture contacts observed on all sides of them. The Jasperts do not give an entire section to any one tribe; but combine their information respecting the tribes in a concurrent way, under such subjects as technology, language, and art.

If the sections relating to history and languages are excluded there remain a hundred pages, only one-sixth of which refer to the Ovimbundu; but there is a difficulty in reading through the book without being confused as to the tribe and exact locality under discussion.

The pages devoted to a comparative vocabulary form an important 114
part of the work, and one which I barely touched, though I prepared 126
an outline of Umbundu grammar and made dictaphone records of the

114 Umbundu language. The illustrations in photogravure are excellent,
126 but the small-scale map is difficult to follow.

114 As might be expected in a work covering an enormous tract of
241 country, the information is of a very general kind; I have nowhere
been able to check in any detail on my own observations. F. and W.
224 Jaspert recognize that Umbundu culture is primarily based on
agriculture, maize being the most important crop, but they do not
admit the importance of hunting (p. 16).

I saw many successful parties of Umbundu hunters, tested their precision with the bow and arrow, and was able to record the ritual connected with the initiation of a professional hunter. There is also a ceremony before the hunter sets out. It would be more accurate to say that, although Umbundu culture is based primarily on agriculture, hunting still retains some of its earlier importance.

114 The diagrams of houses in different parts of Angola are a useful feature of the work. I made many photographs but did not record details of planning.

114 The masks I obtained are exactly like those pictured, but my
881 observations were carried out a long way to the southeast of the
point where the Jasperts touched the Vachokue culture. I do not understand from their description whether the writers saw an initiation ceremony. They state that boys are circumcised and girls are excised when very young, even at the age of five or six years. I observed initiation camps and dances at three centers, Ngalangi, Katoko, and Cangamba; the last named is the main center of Vachokue culture. The male novices varied in age from twelve to sixteen years hence they were older than the novices mentioned by the Jasperts. I was informed that there were no excision operations for girls, though at Ngalangi, Vanyemba girls were secluded in the bush during initiation rites lasting for a month.

Bibliographical references to the research of H. Baumann will be found useful for comparative study. His detailed record of initiation among the Vachokue is valuable as a check on my observation, as we worked independently in areas separated by several hundred miles.

Consultation of historical sources gives the following answers to questions which were asked as an introduction to this chapter.

174 On the grounds of tribal tradition, historical evidence, and cultural affinities, the original home of the Ovimbundu was likely to have been in the southwest Congo. The Ovimbundu undoubtedly possess important cultural traits that have been characteristic of the southern Congo region from the earliest time for which a record exists.

In northern Angola the Ovimbundu could not have had other than 174
a warlike existence, which trained them in military tactics and the 178
building up of an aggressive confederacy. In this they were aided by contact with the Portuguese, who supplied guns and powder in exchange for slaves and ivory from the interior. This accumulated wealth further stimulated the building up of Umbundu tribal life.

Introduction of maize by the Portuguese gave the Ovimbundu a 177
knowledge of this grain, which later became their staple wealth and food supply.

The cultural pattern of the northern Congo was the same in the 174
year 1600 as it is today, and consideration of the ethnology of the Congo region reveals numerous similarities with Umbundu culture of the present time.

Writings of explorers in Angola from A.D. 1800 to the present day bring out many points which are in agreement with my field observations. There are no discrepancies which would make me question the validity of information given by my informants.

In early records, Battell's observation of cattle in the hinterland [231]
of Benguela (1600), is important in showing that at such an early date the Ovimbundu had access to cattle when raiding from their home in the Benguela Highlands.

From these fundamentals of geography and history the inquiry turns to a detailed account of my observations among the Ovimbundu and surrounding tribes.

IV. PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

142 Among the Ovimbundu there are two main physical types. One
of these is of brown skin color and slender build. In this type the
calves and thighs are poorly developed, and the chest girth is slender
in keeping with the general development. In general the physical
144 characteristics are distinctly different from those of a typical West
African Negro as represented by the Kru and the Ibo tribes.

The Ovimbundu are Bantu Negroes who possibly result from a
crossing of Hamites and true Negroes, a hypothesis which would
account for both the light-colored slim type and the shorter, darker,
more sturdy type. But E. Torday (Herbert Spencer, Descriptive
[114] Sociology of African Races, London, 1930, Preface, p. iii) thinks that
differences of physique among Sudanic and Bantu Negroes are
sufficiently accounted for by isolations and environmental differences.
Torday denies the need for postulating an infusion of Hamitic blood,
but his opinion is opposed to that which has found general acceptance.

The darker Ovimbundu with more facial hair may represent an infusion of Vachokue blood because there was warfare between the Ovimbundu and the Vachokue of eastern Angola with the result that some of the latter were taken as slaves. Types of the Ovimbundu are shown (Plates LII–LIV).

The Vasele, an Umbundu-speaking people of west-central Angola,
101 form a linguistic and cultural pocket because of their isolation in
142 rugged country. Their physique shows no pronounced differences
[304] from that of the Ovimbundu, but the methods of scarification, tooth
mutilation, and personal ornament are in distinct contrast with those
of the Ovimbundu. The Ovimbundu have only a V-shaped notch in
the two upper central incisors, whereas the Vasele chip all their teeth
to points (Plate LXXVI, Figs. 1, 2).

[302] The Luvando of southwest Angola resemble the Ovimbundu in
general physique, though the great difference in hairdressing and
personal ornament is likely to give a contrary impression (Plate LIX,
Figs. 1, 2).

The Vaheneca are particularly well developed (Plate LXII, Figs. 1, 2). Not until Mongua is reached does one find a people who are distinctly different from the Ovimbundu in all respects. The Vakuanyama of Mongua are noticeably tall and slim, much taller and slimmer than the Ovimbundu, while their physiognomy is more refined (Plates LXIII; LXVIII, Fig. 2). The Vakuanyama are a pastoral tribe whereas the Ovimbundu are principally agricultural.

The picture of types gathered at Ngalangi (Plate LXXXIX, 142
Fig. 3) shows, reading from left to right along the back row, then 101
along the front row in the same direction: an Ocimbundu; an Ocivokue; a man of the Vangangella; an Uluchazi woman; a Lunda man; and two types of the Vangangella.

The M'Bunda man and woman photographed at Cangamba
display characteristic deformation of the upper central incisors [304]
(Plate XCI, Figs. 1, 2). Photographs of a Mussurongo man and two women, taken about a hundred miles east of Malange, show no great difference from the Ovimbundu except in their shorter stature (Plates LXX, Figs. 1, 2; LXXI, Figs. 1, 2). The Bushman (Plate LXIX, Figs. 1, 2) shows a type found wandering in small bands in the south of Angola. These photographs were taken at Cassanga.

The dress and personal ornaments of the tribes dwelling to the 171
south of the Ovimbundu (Plates LIX–LXVIII) are entirely different 301
from the clothing and decorative styles observed in the areas occupied 304
by the Ovimbundu. This statement is true with regard to bodily covering, ornaments, tooth mutilation, use of pigment, scarification, and hairdressing.

In respect of all these factors, males and females of the Ovimbundu
have distinctive patterns which do not appear to have influenced, [177]
or to have been influenced by the styles around them.

In working southward from Elende I passed through typical Umbundu cultures until the vicinity of Kipungo was reached. At this place the change in physical appearance, ornaments, and hairdressing was remarkable both for its abruptness and distinctiveness. But the change from agricultural to pastoral pursuits is gradual.

A comparison of photographs indicates at once the truth of this statement, which can be further illustrated by a detailed description of the ornaments observed from Kipungo to Mongua.

By far the most important of these is the circular *ombo* shell 301
made from the basal part of a gastropod shell of the genus *Conus* 321
Linn; and allied forms. These are highly prized, not because of any [825]
intrinsic worth, but on account of strong sentiment arising from their
bequest, which is usually in the female line. I have, however, seen [562]
a few males of the Vakwanyama wearing these shells. For the old *ombo* shells monetary offers equal to the earnings of a woman for a period of six months were made, but without success. One woman wavered somewhat, but finally decided that she dared not return to her home without her *ombo* shells. From a Portuguese trader I bought, for a small sum, *ombo* shells showing stages in manufacture.

301 The new ornaments had acquired no sentimental value, therefore
321 their price was moderate.

[171] *Omba* shells are to be seen in use from Kipungo southward through
Huila, among the Luvando, and among the Vakuanyama of southern
Angola. In the places mentioned one may judge the social status
[554] of a woman by the number of *omba* shells she wears. A principal
wife is usually well supplied with these ornaments.

302 In this southern journey it was noticeable that there was an
171 increasing use of red pigment which is lavishly employed for smearing
[294] every kind of ornament, the body, and the hair. Leather belts and
skirts of Vakuanyama women are thickly coated with red pigment
which is invariably mixed with grease. The red powder is prepared
[824] by desiccating a red wood called *tukula* by the Vakuanyama, a name
which is used through Angola and the southern Congo area.

412 From Kipungo southward through the Vakuanyama country
171 there is a notable absence of decorative wooden hair combs. On the
contrary, delicately carved combs are used by both men and women
of the Ovimbundu. The Vasele make such combs, but by far the best
[552] examples are made and used by the Vachokue tribe of eastern Angola.
Here the decorative design usually includes a well-carved human
figure at the top of the comb.

301 Among the Vakuanyama, necklaces of disks made from ostrich
[237] eggshell are worn by the women only. A woman of importance has
[559] a dozen loops of such necklaces, each loop being about 125 cm long.
These necklaces are so greatly esteemed that only after much persuasion
can a woman be induced to part with a single link. Perhaps, as
is the case with *omba* shell, there is more than the intrinsic value to
be considered. One point is constantly noticed in considering social
status and ornament. All the wives of a wealthy man, especially
among the Vakuanyama, are made to advertise their husband's position
by the profusion of their ornaments and the quality of their
leather skirts and belts.

There is, in addition to the necklaces of ostrich-eggshell beads, a
[321] highly prized necklace made from small perforated disks of shell
having a diameter of about a centimeter. The Vakuanyama women
smear a necklace of this kind with grease and *tukula* powder; the
[435] value of a necklace 125 cm long is equivalent to that of an ox. In
describing these necklaces there is interest in noting that they are
traded to the south of Angola from places six hundred miles to the
[439] north; therefore their value is to some extent dependent on rarity
and distant origin.

Young unmarried girls of the Luvando tribe wear a large number 301
of leg-bands which extend from the ankles to the knees as a sign that 924
puberty has not been reached. These leg-bands are somewhat roughly [881]
twisted from fibrous roots and twigs from which the cortex has been
removed. Collars of tough, elastic, cane-like substance are worn by
Luvando women, and so numerous are these that the neck is entirely
covered. These cane neck-bands are ornamented with burned, [531]
incised, geometrical patterns, and, in keeping with other ornaments,
are thickly smeared with grease and red powder from *tukula* wood
(Plate LIX, Figs. 1, 2).

Women of the Vakipungo and Vakuanyama wear heavy coils of 171
brass or copper wire on their forearms. In southern Angola women 301
wear bracelets of twisted wire which are identical with those worn 439
by Zulu women. Bracelets of beaten trade brass, ornamented with [531]
incised geometrical designs, are worn by women of the Ovimbundu,
Vakuanyama, Luvando, and Vakipungo tribes. Ovimbundu women
now depend largely on trade goods for personal ornament.

Ovimbundu men and women are dressed in trade cloth. Unmar- 291
ried girls wear one piece of cloth which hangs from the armpits to the 171
knees. A married woman drapes herself with two pieces of cloth,
a skirt hanging from her girdle, and an upper piece so folded as to
hold her baby tightly to her back. Men wear a single piece of cloth
as a skirt; the upper part of the body is bare (Plates XLIX–LI).
From the region of Kipungo to the southern border, clothing is of
leather. The Vachokue wear trade cloth or bark cloth.

Hairdressing is of many styles. Ovimbundu women braid their hair 302
neatly in strands across their foreheads, and small blue and white 171
trade beads are used to decorate the braids. The hairdressing of the
Ovimbundu women is different from that in any other part of Angola.
At an early age the hair is trained into two long loops at the back
of the head. Then these are covered with black cloth which is bound
tightly. The two loops are afterwards studded with brass-headed
tacks obtained from a store (Plate XL, Fig. 3).

Luvando women in the region of Kipungo dress the hair to form a large triangular projection from the back of the head. Girls of the Vaheneca tribe near Huila mass the hair with clay to form large "cock's combs." Women of Gambos pass each small plait of hair through hollow reeds. Humbe women do not redden or grease their hair which is massed into three high ridges on the top, while at the sides there are hornlike projections. Vakuanyama women dress their hair with grease and *tukula* powder. A principal wife builds up her

A principal wife builds up her
302 hair into five high cones. Vachokue women mass their hair into
[595] separate balls shaped and held by clay and red coloring matter.
171 I know of no hairdressing for Vachokue men, but ornamental wooden
combs are sometimes used.

304 In only one place have I seen a nose pin worn, namely, the Esele country of Vila Nova de Selles. The fashion is out of date, but women of only twenty-five years of age have the septum of the nose bored; evidently the custom has not been obsolete for a long period (Plate LXXV, Fig. 1).

177 The most popular European importations are blue cloth with
439 white spots, metal hair combs, beads, and bright metal crosses
bearing a figure of the Virgin Mary with the infant Jesus. This
301 ornament has penetrated to districts far away from Christian missions, and its wide dispersal shows that a newly introduced and attractive ornament from a foreign source may readily be accepted by tribes of different cultures.

517 There are interesting points of psychology in the attitude of the
301 Ovimbundu toward European importations. Only a few patterns of cloth are favored, and there is no sale for any other design. Some designs are thought to be appropriate for young girls while others are favored by older women. The same may be said of colored beads, for whereas both blue and white beads are the usual decoration for young women and immature girls, red beads are worn chiefly by the elderly women.

178 A consideration of personal ornament establishes the general truth that in scarification, hairdressing, tooth mutilation, the use of red powder and grease, the anointing of the hair with palm oil, and the wearing of trade cloth, leather, or bark cloth, there is little exchange of styles. There are diffusions in language and other cultural traits, but decorative elements which have for a long period been regarded as distinctive of tribal life are rigidly preserved.

V. ECONOMIC LIFE

The words "economic life" are here used with a wide connotation 182 including nature lore, food supply, trade, transport, and industries; all these are combined to form a foundation for every aspect of the social life of the tribe.

The truth of this is realized if one pays attention to the rites 788 connected with occupations. For the hunter there is special training, 782 ritual, and a peculiar mode of burial. Final ceremonies in the initiation of a young blacksmith are associated with sacred acts such as sacrifice of animals and the sprinkling of the tools with their blood. Even the simple occupation of pounding corn requires that the rock shall be dedicated to this purpose by sprinkling the blood of a chicken on the surface. Similarly, a clay pit has to be consecrated before the raw material may be taken for making pottery. A caravan [787] journey is not merely a commercial undertaking; the accompanying medicine-man carries a wooden figure which he consults with regard to the route (Plate XXI, Fig. 5).

Division of labor according to sex is one of the most important 462 principles involved in the economic life, more particularly in occupational groupings, which are strictly observed. Moreover, within any one activity, such as house-building, there are tasks for men only, while other parts of the work are performed exclusively by women or children.

The study of industries is of great importance when a comparison 322 of Umbundu and adjacent cultures is being made. This is particu- 177 larly true in the instance of wood-carving, an occupation yielding highly specialized products some of which are connected with religious [778] belief and ritual. All artifacts are valuable as criteria of cultural contacts, though their reliability as evidence of trait diffusion naturally varies with their degree of complexity. Study of native industries in relation to European contacts illustrates a cultural process which may result in acceptance, rejection, or ingenious adaptation of new ideas.

That a study of the economic life of a tribe is not merely a record- 182 ing of material processes and artifacts, is illustrated by observation 231 of the treatment of cattle. This pastoral pursuit naturally falls under a heading "Domestic Animals," but the ideas associated with cattle, including funeral feasts, use of horns on graves, and the wrapping of the royal corpse in oxhide, lead directly into important matters of belief and ritual.

825 824 Nature lore of the Ovimbundu rightly forms an introduction to other aspects of economic life, because there is no better introduction to ethnological research in the field than that of associating with the people in daily occupations connected with the food supply and industries. In this way a field worker realizes that observation on the part of hunters and food gatherers is fundamental, not merely to economic and social life, but to the growth of language and folklore.

Observation and experiment have led to the selection of many kinds of timber, each having one or more specific uses. Collection of plants is connected with the making of dyes for baskets, a varnish for pots, and a pharmacopoeia for the medicine-man. Minute [538] observation of the habits of animals, primarily carried out to ensure successful hunting, is clearly reflected in the growth of vocabulary, and likewise in the realism and humor of folk tales and proverbs (chapter VIII).

This chapter is concerned chiefly with a presentation of factual material whose psychological and cultural bearing is more fully dealt with in chapters X–XII.

NATURE LORE

825 The Ovimbundu are keen observers whose knowledge of the natural history of plants and animals is comprehensive. Almost any boy of twelve years of age is able to give the information detailed here. Some of the birds have been identified by Mr. Rudyerd Boulton, Department of Zoology, Field Museum.

Ombo. Ostrich. The knowledge of this bird must come from the south of Angola. In traveling south I first saw ostriches at Humbe. These were domesticated birds.

Epanda. Wattled Crane (*Bugeranus carunculatus*). The informant said, "*Epanda* is a big bird which has long legs and a long neck."

Epumumu. This is the Ground Hornbill (*Bucorvus cafer*) whose black wings are tipped with white. I have observed them from Ganda to Vakuanyama country. They take to flight slowly after hopping heavily for a few paces.

Ocamukongo. From the Umbundu word *ukongo*, a hunter. This bird lives on small buck and rabbits.

Etokaila. This is the smaller bustard called by the Boers knorhaan.

Ohanga. The Guinea Fowl (*Numida meleagris*).

Onjava. Spur-winged Goose (*Plectropterus gambensis*).

Ongonga. An eagle. The word is used generally for a large bird of prey.

Ohokohoko. The Bateleur Eagle (*Terathopius ecaudatus*). The bird is almost without a tail. This bird is not predatory. It kills snakes but does not take chickens or other small animals.

Ociselele. A kite, well known because it preys on chickens.

Elaiakonga. A hawk which waits in the trees then volplanes on its prey.

Okapamba. A small hawk which preys on chickens.

Engamakuti. A hawk.

Ocikuamanga. The White-breasted Crow (*Corvus albus*).

Onguali (wa-wa). This is the Red-necked Partridge (*Pternistis afer*).

Ekalanga. A species of francolin without red coloring on the legs. 825

Esusi. This is a bird which comes out at night. It can catch spirits and make them die a second death.

Onjimbi. This nocturnal owl (*Bubo maculosus*) is thought to be very dangerous. People who hear the cry of this bird are frightened because the noise is the sound of death.

Kacakucuku. The Barn Owl (*Tyto alba affinis*).

Ongongayulombo. An eagle which eats small buck, pigs, and rabbits.

Ekuti. Is a Red-eyed Dove (*Streptopelia semitorquata*) which says "oo–oo–oo" very sharply all day.

Onende. A dove (*Streptopelia capicola*) which makes the same noise as *ekuti* but on a higher note.

Ondusa. This bird is of great importance to the Ovimbundu, because the feathers are used for decorating the head of a dead king. A medicine-man sometimes uses them for decoration when he is performing.

Ondonga. Is a little bird, which, like *ondusa*, belongs to the royal family of birds.

Ukaku. A water bird.

Ocisandombunji. This is a bird which feeds on white ants.

Epandacokocoko. This is a bird (*Geocichla litsipsirupa*) whose cry tells the people of a village to make the guest house ready as strangers are coming.

Ocilonga. Is a beautiful yellow bird, an oriole (*Oriolus monarchus angolensis*).

Etua, singular; *ovatua*, plural. A species of bustard.

Etioko. A small bird of the plains (*Anthus leucophrys*).

Okakelekele. This is the Spur-wing Plover (*Hoplopterus armatus*), a large bird which lives on flat land near rivers.

Ocikandi. An unidentified bird. My informant said, "*Ocikandi* can cry in the same way as any other bird."

Okakongongala. This is a bird somewhat like a pigeon but larger. It has long legs and is able to run well.

Undolo. A small spotted bird which always looks in the direction of the sun.

Omiapia. This is a swallow.

Ocikungumiapia. My informant said, "This bird is like *omiapia* but larger."

Omuipui. "He has a crest on his head and when he sings rain is coming."

Esunguagulwe. This bird has a long beak. It lays eggs on the ground. The bird is as big as a man's fist.

Omanula. A woodpecker (family Picidae).

Okangengo. Has a white breast spotted with black; the head is blue.

Ocinjonjo. This is a little bird having a long beak which is used to probe into flowers.

Kosesielekele. A little black bird which makes a small fine nest.

Ocituku. A river bird. These birds go about in flocks.

Ongombo. A small yellow bird.

Epilili. A yellow bird rather larger than *ongombo*. This bird is kept in cages very cleverly made of reeds by small boys. The birds are caught by smearing a sticky substance on the branches of trees.

Ocikenge. *Agapornis roseicollis.* A small green parrot.

Okalusondonjovo. Is to be seen at the time of *onjovo* (spring). These birds fly in flocks.

A description of bird-calls illustrates a method of reasoning by analogy. This results in a transference of human thoughts and emotions to animals, a process which gives animal fables their strong 538 825

538 825 appeal. For example, the pigeon says, *Tu kolela oku iva* ("We believe in stealing"), and the following are further instances of the same kind.

> *Ocinganja* is a bird which has several calls. Early in the year the female says as she looks at the newly hatched brood, "This year I have borne white children." Later the little birds grow black feathers. Then the mother cries, "Each year disappointment." Sometimes the female says to the cock bird, "A stick has stuck in my eye. I wonder whether it will make a growth there." The bird is probably the Black Flycatcher (*Melaenornis pammelaina*).
>
> *Epandacokocoko* says, "Where will the guests stay? Where? Where? Where?" This is an unfailing intimation that strangers will visit the village.
>
> *Omanula.* This is another bird which announces the approach of strangers by saying, "*Akombe! Akombe! Akombe!*" ("Guests! Guests! Guests!") Two birds are supposed to carry on a dialogue.
>
> *Sankanjuele* says, "He who has eaten should leave the rest for the important ones," meaning himself.
>
> *Ondonga* answers, "Do you mean me? The way you scold hurts me to my heart."
>
> *Ungolombia.* The male and female birds *ungolombia* are about to cross a stream. The female says, "I am wearing four yards of cloth," meaning that she will get wet. The husband says, three times, "If you are wearing four yards of cloth, why do you not cross at the source of the river?"
>
> *Ombovo* says, "When I lay my eggs on the ground, the white ants destroy them." The call continues, "When I lay them up high, *kalupamba* steals them." *Ombovo* cries, "Such hardship, goodness gracious me!" The exclamation is, "*A mai we,*" literally, "O my mother!"
>
> *Kocukuku* the Barn Owl (*Typo alba*) and his mate speak together. The female says, "*Cimuku,* do you eat rats?" He answers, "I do not eat them, they have tails."
>
> *Ungungu* says, "No big animal lays eggs, so the crocodile must be a bird, too."
>
> *Ocimbamba* (night hawk) may be heard on moonlight nights saying, "O lion, here are the people."
>
> *Ekuti* says, "My child is gone to *Kopulu.*" *Kopulu,* in Umbundu, means a far off place. Possibly *Koputu* is a corruption of Oporto. This bird makes a monotonous and continuous cry from sunrise to sunset.
>
> *Epumumu* (hornbills) are large black birds. The female says, "I'm going, I'm going, I'm going to our village." The male replies, "Don't go, don't go, the rain has come; let us plant."
>
> *Katendipanga.* This bird is quiet until September, the month in which rain begins to fall. Then the bird says, "Save! Save! Save!" He means this as a warning to people who eat their corn instead of saving some for seed. The seed should be sown in October when the rains have begun. The derivation of the name of this bird is important. *Okutenda,* to count; *ovipanga,* the rows of corn in a field.
>
> *Kalusundanjovo.* The female bird says, "Let's throw away the big drum." The male answers, "When we have thrown it away, what shall we do for dances?"

821 Observations of the weather are of importance in fixing dates for sowing and reaping; such dates are the base of time reckoning. Rainfall is important where cattle are kept, and a knowledge of the stars is of service to hunters and caravan leaders when following unfamiliar routes.

[789] The weather is thought to be controlled to some extent by the *ocimbanda* ("medicine-man") and his performances. The rain-

maker's dance seen at Ngongo, a village of Ngalangi in east-central Angola, will be described in dealing with the *ocimbanda* (chapter IX). 821

No man thinks that the course of the sun can be altered, but there seems to be a hope that the setting of the sun may be delayed. A man who is likely to be overtaken by darkness breaks a piece from an ant hill. This fragment is placed in the forked branch of a tree while the supplicant says, "Sun, wait a little while for me." (786)

Months are reckoned by observation of the moon. The new moon is *osai* ("moon") *yokaliye* ("new"). There is no word for half moon. The phrase for full moon is *osai ya tunga ohumba. Ohumba* means "basket"; therefore the idea appears to be that the full moon is round like the big basket used for field work.

A star is called *olumbungululu*. To describe a shooting star, the word *luenda* ("it goes") is added. The large bright morning star is *tanda*. Another bright star is *tielele*. Three bright stars in a line are the hunter, the dog, and the quarry. The three stars are *ukongo* ("hunter"), *lombua* ("the dog"), *locinyama* ("the animal").

An eclipse of the sun is *uteke vutanya*. The former word means "night," the latter word means "daylight." Hence the meaning is "night in daylight."

Small mammals are captured in cane traps or stunned with blunt wooden arrows. The pursuit of such animals is a pastime for boys who thereby receive their early training in hunting. Rats are used as food after being boiled and roasted. This fact accounts for interest in the following small mammals. 224 825 [262]

Umbili. This is a big black river rat, the largest of the water rats.

Ocifelefele. A big gray water rat (*Cricetomys?*), not so large as *umbili*.

Kaleñe. A river rat something like the preceding one in appearance. *Kaleñe* can stay in the water for a longer period than that endured by *ocifelcfele*.

Epeke. This is a bush rat which is light gray in color.

Ekolongonjo. This rat stays in the bush. It builds a nest in an ant hill from which it comes out only at night. The color is gray.

Elima (*Epomophorus*). This is the name given to the fruit bat. The word *elima* means "not one thing and not another." Thus *elima* is the word applied to a mulatto; he is not a Negro, not a white man.

Osili (*Rhabdomys*). This is a large light brown mouse having white stripes on his back.

Ongenge. A mouse.

Epengue. A black rat.

Ocipili. A mouse with a long thin nose; probably a shrew.

Osinge. This is a very fat mouse.

Nakalongaka. This very small mouse makes a hole around which he piles grass to conceal the entrance.

Onjomboloka (*Lemniscomys*). A mouse with a stripe on his back.

Kandoti (*Dendromus*). A very little mouse something like *nakalongaka*.

825 Observation of reptiles is a necessary self-protection as there are many poisonous snakes. The flesh of the python is eaten. Snake-[524] skin and lizard-skin are occasionally used; for example, in covering a round, hard fruit in order to make a ball for playing a game.

When collecting lizards and snakes I found that each kind had a well-known name, though there was occasional disagreement among the men consulted.

Ocisangoko is a lizard (*Agama planiceps*) about ten inches long whose tail is covered with sharp spines. This reptile has colors of bright blue, red, and orange. *Osangu* is a large spinous gray lizard (*Agama atricoll*). *Ekangala* (*Gerrhosaurus nigrolineatus*) is a brilliantly colored lizard which burrows deeply into the ground.

Olutanjila is a long slender green snake which hides in trees to capture birds. *Ombandanjila* is a long gray-backed snake with a light green belly. The generic name for snake is *onyoha*. The python is *omoma*. The chameleon (*eloñailo*) seems to be feared, as the men and boys refuse to touch a dead one but always move it with sticks. There is a proverb to the effect that the chameleon though slow always gets there. The refusal to touch even dead reptiles is due to an exaggerated fear of being bitten. I could find no other reason.

824 313 Trees are of importance in connection with building houses and wood-carving. The qualities of different timbers are well known to the Ovimbundu. For the main part, the collection of medicinal plants and their uses will be described in connection with the medicine-man. The following are the most common trees which are of economic importance.

Usia (pronounced *oosha*). This tree has an edible fruit the size of a walnut. The kernel is valued as a food.

Ombula. This tree provides wood which burns readily. The small skin-covered stools to be found in every hut are often made from this wood.

Ukengo. The fruit has a hard rind.

[757] *Owindo*. This tree has a small acid fruit from which a medicine is made for the cure of painful menstruation.

Usilosilo. The leaf is compound and palmate. The fruit is black.

Usiambiambia. Bears a little red, oval fruit.

Usole. Has a large red fruit.

Usombo. Grows near streams. It has a fruit like that of *okulakula*, but smaller.

[223] *Ukuliangu*. Has a fruit like the berry of a coffee plant. The fruit is used for making mucilage which is used for capturing small birds.

Omonda. When this tree is small, the wood is springy, and is therefore useful for making bows. The wood of the older trees is burned for preparing charcoal which is used in the blacksmith's fire.

Osunda. This is an erect tree having no branches on the lower part. The wood is extensively used in building native huts.

Omue. A large tree having clusters of small white flowers which are visited by bees on account of their content of honey. The tree yields a hard wood from which charcoal is prepared. The bark and leaves yield a pigment which is used for dyeing cloth a yellowish brown. 824 313

Ovui is valuable because it gives a hard wood used for the corner posts of houses. White ants do not attack this wood, which is therefore useful for making the uprights on which granaries are erected.

Okapalongolo. A tree from which planks of hard red wood are obtained. These are used for making doors in village fences.

Omue or *ekenge* or *usamba.* These trees have small compound leaves which are very similar. The bark of the latter two is used as rope for binding the uprights and the crosspieces in the framework of native houses. *Ekenge* and *usamba* also yield a bark which is beaten into bark cloth in the Ngalangi district.

Ocipeke. The bark is used for binding posts, also for the fabrication of bark cloth.

Ungola. The roots of this tree yield a dye for cloth. The leaves are said to have a value for curing sore eyes. The mother of a child afflicted with sore eyes chews the leaves, then spits into the child's eyes. [757]

Ongaya. Yields a wood used for making pestles and pounding sticks.

Omalo ("iron wood"). This tree has a hard wood which is used for the same purpose.

Onjunga. Gives a wood used in the making of houses, doors, and beehives.

Omove. A large tree which gives planks for building purposes.

Usanje. Yields a useful red timber.

Ulondongandu. A tree with very rough bark. The word *ongandu* means a crocodile. This is the tree which even a crocodile can climb. [75?]

Ongenje. A tree which yields a fruit having a value as a purgative. The antelope is said to be fond of the fruits of this tree.

Ocikambalombe. Gives a resinous fluid which is used in the preparation of lime for snaring birds. [223]

Ulembe. This word is derived from the word *ulembo*, meaning shade. The *ombala* (native capital) of Ngalangi is surrounded by such trees.

Omia. A tree which produces yellow flowers in September. The fruit is not edible but oil is made from it.

Okulua. A tree having fragrant flowers like those of honeysuckle. The thick bark is used in making mats.

Ocewe. A soft wood which is easily whittled with a knife. The figures from Bailundu (Plate XXI, Fig. 5) are often carved from this wood.

Umbolombolo. A soft wood which is not very strong.

Umbangalanda. A small tree which produces bright red fruits. These are used by women for the manufacture of bead necklaces.

Ocilavi. The wood is used for the heads of arrows for shooting birds. This timber is used in the building of pigpens. The branches have projections which are said to guard (*okulava*, to guard) the occupants of the pen.

Jiota. From the roots of this tree a medicine for pulmonary complaints is made.

Ukua. This is the baobab, whose habitat is the dry regions. Some of the trees have enormous girth. They are leafless for a great part of the year. The long fruits make gourds. The seeds in the fruits are bitter.

Ulualuo (pronounced *ooluáluo*). From the wood the Ovimbundu make wooden platters and spoons used for serving mush from the large cooking pot.

Onjiliti. This tree yields a hard red wood which takes a lustrous polish. For this reason the wood is employed for making ornamental sticks and clubs.

Upondonjamba. This small tree has roots which girls use for making ankle-bands.

824 *Okaiaiaka.* This tree has leaves which are used in treating a skin diseas
813 *Usendangulase.* This small tree, only three feet in height, gives straigh twigs which are used in making arrow shafts.

FOOD SUPPLY

COLLECTING AND HUNTING

222
462 Collecting of natural products which serve as food substances i chiefly in the hands of women and children, though an exception ha to be made in the instance of honey, which is gathered by me and boys.

Boys diligently search for nests, noting their location so as to b able to visit them again when the fledglings are large enough t serve as food. Large numbers of women and children may be see
252 gathering caterpillars in gourds. The insides of the caterpillars ar
222 squeezed into boiling water to make soup.

When a cloud of locusts appears, as in 1925, the creatures ar gathered. They are sometimes fried, or they may be boiled in water dried, and preserved with salt in earthenware pots.

A number of miscellaneous items of the food supply were mentioned in connection with names of trees whose fruits are gathered]

223
[411] Boys engaged in food-gathering usually carry small bows an blunt wooden arrows (*ocilan*). One type of bird arrow is fixed t the bowstring. The forward end of the arrow is split so that i may contain small stones that are ejected when the string is released From the wild fig tree mucilage is obtained and this is boiled unti it forms a thick paste which is smeared on the boughs of trees
[231] Some of the small birds captured in this way are eaten, others ar kept in wicker cages made by children.

343
171 In all parts of Angola large cylindrical beehives may be see fixed high in the trees (Plate XC, Fig. 2). Two types of hive hav been noted in particular. In the Elende district a hive is made b opposing two half cylinders of wood each about three feet long, a forming a hive which has a diameter of one foot. The ends ar covered, with the exception of a small round hole. The whole struc ture is bound round with grass which is kept in position by lashing of bark. In the neighborhood of Cassanga a difference in the structur of the hives was noticed. This type of hive is made from a cylinde of strong reddish bark, the edges of which are fastened togethe with stout wooden pegs. The dimensions are the same as for th hive used in Elende, but the hive of bark is uncovered.

231 In the Elende district honey of wild bees is removed from th hives in the months of August and December. One man ascend

[see pp. 138-140, category 116]

the tree in order to lower the hive with a long rope of bark or plaited 231
fiber, while beneath the tree men are prepared to take the hive, which is opened over a smoky fire. The men wear no protection, consequently they are badly stung. Boys are encouraged to help, and those who run away receive no honey. Honey may be eaten 263
alone or with manioc. No drink is made from honey only, but 273
ochosa is the name given to beer with honey in it. *Ovingundu* is a drink made from pounded corn which has been soaked in water to which a little honey has been added. The drink is allowed to remain untouched over night; thus it becomes sweet and is mildly intoxicating.

Wax is a very important item of trade. In the remote places 439
natives bring to small trading posts balls of wax which are about 257
two pounds in weight. These in former days were a standard of [436]
exchange in terms of which other values could be measured. These balls of wax are made into large cakes for foreign export. In the Esele country a fiber strainer is used for cleaning the wax. Honey is sometimes dried in very large baskets which are three feet in diameter and two inches deep. These baskets were not observed among the Ovimbundu, but they are used in the region of Cassinga in southern Angola. The honey of wild bees when eaten in the comb is palatable; it would be more so if one could disregard the presence of numerous dead bees.

The bow is the chief weapon of the hunter. The release of the 411
arrow is made with the index and middle fingers (Plate XXXIX, 171
Fig. 1). I have observed this method among the Ovimbundu of 224
the Benguela Highlands, in the region of Kipungo, in the far south among the Vakuanyama, and among the Vasele of the Novo Redondo hinterland. Arrows differ considerably in pattern as the illustrations show (Plate XVII, Figs. 1-9); the Ovimbundu have arrow-points of excellent workmanship. The manufacture of these arrow-points is [326]
one of the most skilled occupations of the blacksmith. Each man makes his own shafts and feathers them. The arrows of the Vasele have leaf-shaped iron points; so also have those used by the Vakuanyama.

Among the Ovimbundu are specialists who make bows from [463]
elastic woods called *usia* and *osambia*. The bow itself is *ohonji* and the arrow is *usongo*. At the third shot I saw a young Ocimbundu boy split a cane which was placed upright at a distance of thirty-three feet. The throwing club (*ohunya*) is used for killing small game such as hares.

411 [237] The only spear (*unga*) that I have seen is made entirely of iron. The shaft is covered with the tail of an ox to which the tuft of hair remains attached. This is the spear formerly used in warfare. The distribution is wide. Such spears were purchased from the Ovimbundu of Elende and Bailundu and also from the Vakuanyama [439] living in the far south of Angola, but I do not think that the Ovimbundu make these spears, which are probably traded from the south.

224 (411) A hunter is considered exceptionally fortunate if he possesses an old muzzle-loading gun (*uta*). I have seen only two hunters who owned such a weapon. In one instance the barrel was bound to the stock with hide thongs, while the woodwork was decorated with brass tacks. Powder and fragments of metal are carried in a leather pouch which is attached to a broad, leather waist belt (Plate XIII, Fig. 6). There is certainly a feeling among hunters that the sale of a well-tried weapon will be followed by bad luck. The gun is sometimes fixed to form a trap in such a way that an antelope may tread on the string and so discharge the gun. Sometimes a piece of meat is attached to a string which is fastened to the trigger. A heavy beam of wood into which an iron spike is fastened was used in districts where the hippopotamus and elephant were hunted. Such a trap was fixed over a path known to be frequented by these animals. Big game of this type is now rare.

In the Esele country the following traps are in use: (1) A deep, narrow, grass-covered pit from the bottom of which sharp stakes project upward; this trap is known as *okueve*. (2) A simple trap consisting of four long sharp stakes which are fixed in the ground so that they incline toward a gap through which a buck is likely to jump (Plate LXXIII, Fig. 2). (3) The trap (*ocisonga*) for lions and leopards. This is a heavily built structure provided with a panel-like door which slides down when the entering animal releases a cord fastened to the bait (Plate XCII, Fig. 2). (4) A heavy trap triangular in form. This trap is not an enclosure, but a covering under which the animal has to go in order to reach the bait. In addition to the foregoing examples there is a trap (*onjanjo*) which is used for snaring antelope. The essential of the device is a loop which is bound to the end of a supple branch lightly fastened to the ground. This, however, did not come under my observation.

Long, cone-shaped, cane structures are placed in the grass, which is then fired. Animals disturbed and frightened by the fire rush into the wide end of the trap, then make their way to the narrow end (Plate XV, Fig. 5). One such trap is modified to form a snare with

a noose which hangs over the entrance. From Ngalangi I obtained 224
a trap formed by suspending a heavy block of wood inside a box. The animal enters a small circular hole, passes under the heavy block and begins to nibble the grain which is strewn on the bottom of the box. Presently he releases a fine string which brings down the block in such a way that he is pinned underneath. I am informed that this trap is used at Elende, but I have not seen it there.

Some hunters note the feeding and drinking places of their quarry, which is shot from a hiding place in a tree. Young animals may be run down by a hunter in open chase. Screens are not carried in front of a hunter, but he does sometimes dress in the skins of animals. His disguise is completed by wearing a tuft of the animal's hair on his head.

Dogs are used for tiring out young animals in the chase, and also for catching hares. There is a tendency at the present time
to improve the breed of native dog by crossing with a large hunting [232]
dog from South Africa. In the Esele country I have seen, high on a granite rock, a small cairn of stones which covered the skull of a famous hunting dog. Dogs are used most commonly when the hunt is communal (Plate XXIII, Fig. 1), but the best hunters work alone without the aid of dogs. In the general hunt women and children may take part in driving the game; often a fire is started in the grass, which is very dry in the months of June and July. A hunter who works alone may excite the curiosity of an animal by blowing through a horn of an antelope. Spider's web covers the wide end of the horn.

I have observed a general hunt in which thirty men and boys participated, each carrying a bow and arrows. The party was accompanied by many dogs. The antelope which had been killed was carried on a pole slung on the shoulders of two men. There was intense excitement as the troop advanced toward their village, shouting and jumping. In another hunt of this kind muzzle-loading guns were carried. The Ovimbundu do not use nets in hunting, neither do they poison animals. Decoy animals are not used, but in the large wooden trap (*ocisonga*) a living goat or pig is placed.

It is necessary to distinguish between hunting as a general pas- [463]
time, in which all males, and even women and children join to a certain extent, and the hunting of animals by a professional hunter. The professional hunter is usually called *ukongo* (less frequently
enyanga); but there is no name for the non-professional hunter. A 874
boy who wishes to become a professional hunter has to serve for a 224
time with an *ukongo* before he himself receives this title. There is

224 874 an initiation feast when the training is ended. At the feast all people of the village may be present but they do not dance; only the professional hunters may do so. The boy who is to be initiated must not speak or move until he "feels the spirit on his head"; then he gives meat to the people. After hunters have captured game for the feast, the blood from these animals is used to smear over the bow, arrows, and spear which have been made for the novice by his tutor. [326] This is analogous to the initiation of the young blacksmith who receives blood-sprinkled tools made by the master blacksmith.

224 788 There is in connection with the life and death of the professional hunter a certain amount of ritual and precaution. The night before setting out to hunt is a time of dancing and renewal of the implements of the chase, which are kept in a house specially prepared for them. A hunter who is on the eve of departure calls in other professional hunters to share the ceremony, which includes the rubbing of the bows and other implements with palm oil. A libation of beer is poured on the bows, spears, and arrows, but no medicine-man is present. Some of the bows are never used, because they are merely the symbols of the personality and prowess of dead hunters whose names they have taken. The food and cooking pots of a hunter must never be associated with those of ordinary household use. If a hunter is following the tracks of an animal he must not point with his finger as this action will drive the animal away. The correct way to point is by use of the feathered end of an arrow. [834] The hunter must not sleep with his wife the night before setting out in quest of game.

224 782 I have frequently seen in front of the hut of a hunter a number of skulls of antelope and other animals mounted on poles arranged in circular formation (Plate XXXII, Fig. 2). These skulls seem to be trophies, which are invariably taken away by the hunter if he finds a new home. There is no reason to doubt the statement that these skulls are an offering to the spirits who give good luck in hunting, because such a belief would be in harmony with the general respect for ancestral ghosts, which are thought to influence the affairs of the living.

764 224 On several occasions, notably near Ganda and in the Cassonge country, I have seen the tombs of hunters. These are large structures built of slabs of granite laid with some symmetry. The rock tomb is invariably placed on the top of a commanding eminence of granite. The skulls of animals which the hunter has killed are piled on the top of the cairn, but I do not know whether these are the trophies

which are fixed on poles in front of the hunter's home during his lifetime (Plate XXXII, Figs. 1, 2). 764 224

There are at the funeral of a hunter special observances which will be mentioned under the heading of funeral rites.

FISHING

In the region of Elende there is fishing with both basket and line; a method of poisoning fish is also practised. Usually a male fishes with a bark line. Women catch fish by the poisoning method, and in addition to this they generally follow the procedure in which baskets are held or weighted in the stream. If the water flows swiftly men may take charge of the fishing operations. At times both men and women fish with nets. Husband and wife may not sleep together the night before fishing, as this is believed to make the male and female fish stay together at the bottom of the river. 226 462 [834]

The fishing line consists of tough green bark which is cut into strips whose length depends on the height of the river's bank. A hole is bored through the body of a grasshopper, a worm, or a grub taken from under the bark of a tree. Through this hole is passed a short stiff piece of grass about half an inch long, to which the line is attached. The fish is caught when the crosspiece of sharp grass becomes fast in its throat. [283]

When the fisher throws the line he sings: "O fish, come and take your good thing. Do not send the little fish to spoil the good thing. Better you come and take the good thing with all your strength."

In order to make fish poison the tuberous roots of a plant are taken and soaked in water until a scum rises to the top. The solid part of the poison is not given, because it would sink and the fish which ate it would remain at the bottom of the river. Therefore only the scum of this poisonous infusion is thrown in the water. The stupefied, gasping fish remain at the surface, whereupon they are seized by women who transfer them to gourds or baskets worn around their necks. Usually poison is used only in the dry season when the rivers are shallow.

Sometimes there is fishing by means of a weir (*olunja*) which has an opening in the middle. On the lower side of this gap a basket trap is placed.

There is no fishing by torchlight. At the coast, and along the river Kwanza I have seen heavy dugout canoes in use; these were about twenty to thirty feet long and hollowed from single trees (Plate LXXII, Figs. 1, 2). At Ambrizette I noted the use of a fishing [501]

226 spear eight feet long, the end of which consisted of ten sharp prongs
462 of palm stem (Plate LXXIII, Fig. 1).

Near Cangamba in eastern Angola, fishing in the Kwando River
[171] occupied numerous men and women of the mixed tribes in the district, namely, Vachokue, Luchazi, and Babunda. Men paddled into midstream in small bark canoes from which fishing operations were directed. The fishermen carried small conical string nets, which were attached to stakes in such a way that the openings of the nets faced upstream. Vachokue women, working in pairs, dragged baskets against the current (Plate LXXXV, Figs. 1, 2).

AGRICULTURE AND COOKING

343 *Osila* is the Umbundu word for the granary which stands on
243 wooden supports (Plate XLIV, Fig. 1); this *osila* is for the restricted
family, and there is one *osila* for every house. The Ovimbundu
store their corn in bulk, but in the Esele country I noted that the
cobs themselves were carefully packed. Each Ocimbundu girl culti-
[432] vates a small patch of ground, the produce of which she is at liberty
to sell in order to buy brass ornaments, beads, and palm oil.

In addition to maize, barley, oats, and wheat, with here and
241 there a little rye, are occasionally grown. There are three colors of
beans, red, white, and black. There is no attempt to keep the varieties
[651] separate, so they cross-fertilize freely. The Ovimbundu try to
[438] cultivate a surplus of beans and maize which they use to pay their
taxes to the Portuguese, likewise to sell at the stores of traders.

252 Corn is pounded on the rock which has been used for generations
512 after it has been consecrated by sprinkling the blood of a chicken.
Pounding begins as early as five o'clock in the morning, before sunrise, and from that time to sunset the pounding-rock is in use. The
[521] rock is evidently regarded as a meeting place for social intercourse;
it is undoubtedly the center of village gossip so far as the women
are concerned (Plate XXXVI, Fig. 2).

As corn alone is considered a poor food, it is sprinkled on boiling water to which beans are added. Cooking goes on from early morning to sunset over a slow fire. Children sometimes receive as their evening meal a thick plastic cake of mushed corn to which green leaves of a squash are added.

252 There are five kinds of manioc resembling one another in general appearance, but the Ovimbundu distinguish the plants, and reserve for each what they consider to be appropriate preparation. The method varies for sweet and bitter varieties of manioc.

Olungunga is not a sweet manioc, so is not eaten raw. The roots 252
are placed to soak in a stream for three or four days before they are
roasted on a fire, after which they may be eaten with impunity.
As an alternative the roots may be dried in the sun; they are then
pounded into meal which is scattered into boiling water so that a
mush is formed. The Ũmbundu name for this preparation is *iputa
viutombo,* meaning "mush of manioc." The leaves of *olungunga*
are not soaked in water; on the contrary, they may be cooked as
soon as they are gathered, but they must not be eaten when warm.
There is no danger in eating them after they have been boiled and
have been allowed to become cold. The leaves are served with [263]
salt or fat.

All the manioc, with the exception of *olungunga,* is sweet.
Kandona has roots which may be eaten uncooked, but both leaves
and roots are sometimes cooked in water. Other varieties of manioc
known as *otetu, elemba,* and *esela* are eaten in the same way as
kandona. Manioc is in use all the year, but the greatest quantity [221]
is consumed in November and December, a period when the growing
corn is not ripe and the storage supplies have dwindled.

Sweet potatoes are plentiful all the year with the exception of
the months of November and December. They are placed in the
pot, without removal of the skin, and boiled for a period of twenty
or thirty minutes. They are taken out, peeled, and eaten. European potatoes are sometimes peeled and made into a mush. The
variety of garden produce naturally depends on proximity to a [177]
trading post, a mission, or some other European settlement.

In propagating manioc a stem is cut off from the parent plant 244
which is about three feet high; but probably two or three years pass [221]
before the tubers are considered large enough for use. Sweet potatoes
are planted in January, but there is very little of this food available
in February and March. Toward the end of March or early in April
a few potatoes may be ready for consumption.

Peanuts (*Arachis hypogaea,* Leguminosae) are planted in October by women who prepare patches of ground which are drilled with holes one inch deep and eight inches apart. One nut is placed in each hole after the shell has been removed. Above the ground small leaves appear. After the flower-stalk withers it has the peculiarity of elongating and bending down. In this way the young pod is forced underground, and the seeds mature a little way below the surface.

Some natives employ irrigation by leading small channels of 312
water from a hillside stream to a garden containing maize and

312 bananas, but one could not say that irrigation is generally practised, even when circumstances permit.

245 The papaya and the banana are increasingly cultivated, but they are by no means generally distributed. Here and there I
[249] have seen a little sugar-cane cultivated by natives for their own
[244] use. Near the main railway natives may be seen selling their products, which include cabbages and tomatoes. Some natives are today planting the guava tree which yields sweet palatable fruits. The fruits *olosia* are collected from the *usia* tree. When ripe, the fruit is yellow, round, and about two inches in diameter. These fruits are gathered in September, and the kernels, which are about the size of walnuts, are eaten uncooked. No fruits are collected for storage. *Olombula* fruits ripen in October, when they are eaten raw.

264 Each wife sends the food which she has cooked in her own kitchen to the *onjango* ("council house"). After carrying the food to this house of assembly, where the men meet each evening, the women return to their houses to eat alone, or with the young children.

343 When there is a plurality of wives each has her own house and
252 kitchen. Ngonga states that separate kitchens built outside the
[598] living houses are becoming more rare. The poor have their kitchens in the living room because they cannot provide separate structures for living and cooking.

264 The first meal is taken between five and six o'clock in the morning,
262 the most usual food being meal sprinkled on boiling water to form
252 a paste which is eaten with sweet potatoes. A mush of beans is eaten at night; generally there is no meal at midday. Three pounds of cooked beans are eaten by a person for one meal. Over the cooking pots leaves are placed to keep in the steam, especially when the pot contains sweet potatoes. I have made a meal from the sticky, gluey paste which results from sprinkling meal on boiling water. The chief objection to this food is the unpleasant quantity of grit in the meal, owing to the fact that it is pounded on the rocks. Manioc and sugar-cane are chewed at irregular intervals of the day.

262 The amount of meat consumed by the Ovimbundu is small in comparison with the quantity of vegetable food used. This adoption of diet of a particular kind is largely a matter of habit, and there is no good reason why meat should not form a larger proportion of the food supply. The Ovimbundu do not kill their cattle for food though they will eat the meat of oxen which have died from natural causes.

The flesh of goats, sheep, and pigs might be more frequently 262
used if these animals were bred and cared for under some system [232]
of animal husbandry. The Ovimbundu are familiar with the preser- 251
vation of meat by smoking and drying it, because flesh of animals killed in the chase is sometimes preserved in this way by hunters, yet the method is not widely and constantly applied in order to assure a regular supply of meat.

Failure to utilize the milk of cattle and goats is another example 234
of the neglect of useful commodities. The Vacilenge, who are near 171
neighbors of the Ovimbundu, milk their cows as do the Ovimbundu themselves in some districts, though the practice is by no means general. Even where cows are milked, butter and cheese are not made, though the Ovimbundu know of the process, which is practised by the Vakuanyama of southern Angola.

There are three kinds of beer. *Ocisangua* is a sweet beer which 272
even children may drink because it is not intoxicating. Water is heated slowly in the pot but not boiled; meanwhile meal of Kafir corn or maize is added. Pounded sweet potato is strained in such a way that the liquid part goes into the beer pot; the residual mush is given to pigs. After the beer has cooled out of doors, it is transferred to a large gourd and allowed to stand over night. Next day it is considered a fit drink to consume or to offer to visitors (Plate XXIII, Fig. 3).

The making of an intoxicating beer *ekundi* proceeds as for 273
ocisangua, but instead of adding strained liquid from sweet potatoes a root called *ombundi* is included in the brew. The large pot containing this beer is covered tightly and allowed to stand untouched for twenty-four hours, at the end of which time it is a potent drink. It is important to note that the corn is allowed to sprout in the ground before it is made into the infusion to which the root *ombundi* is added.

Ocimbombo is a strongly intoxicating drink. In order to prepare this brew, corn is soaked for a week; then it is left in the ground for the same length of time until it has germinated. It is then pounded on the rocks and placed in large pots filled with water to which sweet meal of corn is added. Simmering over the fire is continued for two days with constant stirring. This brew differs from *ekundi* in the longer germination of the corn and the longer period of simmering. On the fourth day after the simmering is completed the drink is said to be ready for consumption. If the people have honey, they add some to the brew on the third day of standing. My inform-

273 ant said, "Sometimes a man who has drunk this beer will sleep on the ground all day and say nothing."

263 438 Salt is a welcome gift in all parts of Angola. Native tribes appreciate its culinary value but show no eagerness to barter for the commodity. At the present time salt is sold in every trader's store, but in earlier times the substance had to be obtained along caravan routes from the coast and was therefore more highly prized than it is today. 317 [231] The Ovimbundu realize the value of salt in the diet of cattle; therefore the animals are occasionally driven to a salt lick in the hills. The Ovimbundu do not use this salt for their own diet, possibly because the salt enjoyed by the cattle is some form of potash and not sodium chloride.

[171] The Vachokue extract salt from the leaves of a river plant by burning it to ashes which are soaked and strained. This is a common African method, but I did not hear of it among the Ovimbundu. The probability is that the Ovimbundu have always obtained salt from the coast.

372 In connection with cooking and brewing beer, methods of making fire are of importance.

Matches are coming into use among the Ovimbundu, but the necessity for them is not great as the hearth fire is not extinguished. [354] In the center of each hut is a fireplace made of three hearth-stones over which logs of wood are placed with their ends in the fire which is kept alight by pushing the logs forward from time to time. A blaze is made by breaking off bark from the logs, placing it on the center of the fire and blowing. Fire is carried from one place to another by conveying a smoldering log. In the Esele country boys may be seen setting off at dawn to scare birds in the corn field, each carrying fire with him.

Usually the children or some other members of the family sleep on mats close to the fire, which requires no attention other than a pushing forward of the logs.

372 171 The Vasele make fire by the twirling method, and at Ngalangi the same procedure was witnessed. In the twirling method two different kinds of wood are used, soft wood for the base and hard wood for the twirling stick. The twirler used at Ngalangi was a piece of cane into the end of which a piece of hard white wood was secured by binding. Ngonga, my interpreter and informant, thinks that any man of the Ovimbundu could make fire by the twirling method if the necessity arose, but the performance witnessed at Ngalangi led me to doubt the truth of this statement. The operator

undoubtedly knew the apparatus and the method, but he appeared 372 to have lost the dexterity which is necessary for a rapid moving of the 171 hands from the bottom of the twirler to the top. There was consequently a long period of smoldering before the flame appeared.

Among the Vachokue a little wooden box of tinder, a piece of quartz, and an iron blade are carried for fire-making. From an Esele man a bag containing tinder and quartz was obtained.

The making of fire ceremonially in connection with ritual and sacrifice is described among the functions of the medicine-man, because the sacred and profane uses of fire are quite distinct.

Tobacco is a very important item of trade. The cultivation is a 249 domestic industry followed usually by women but to some extent by 462 men. In former days when the Ovimbundu traded extensively in Africa every man had a field of tobacco which he himself cultivated. At the present time each man is likely to have a mound of tobacco plants in the middle of a corn field (Plate XXIX, Fig. 1). Women do sometimes cultivate tobacco near their huts, but in this case the little plantation must be strongly fenced. Goats are numerous, and they eat the leaves of the tobacco plant with avidity.

Toward the end of September, when the rains begin, tobacco seed is sown on a patch of ground a yard square to raise seedlings which are planted out in October. A few flowers only are left to produce seed. As a further effort to improve the quality of the tobacco many of the lower leaves are removed. The cutting of leaves intended for use as tobacco is done by men in the months of February and March; women and children assist if the field is large.

After the midrib has been removed from each leaf, the leaves are suspended from the roof in a bundle. At the end of five days, when the leaves have turned brown, they are twisted into a long straight roll which is hung in the sun for three days. At intervals the roll is twisted in another direction. This gradually exposes all parts of the leaves, so that the drying is thorough. There are three methods of making up the rolls: *ombola* is an oval roll; *ongalo* is the round coil; *ocine* is the name given to tobacco which has been dried and twisted 276 round a stick. Tobacco-pipes are varied in size and design (Plate XV, Figs. 1-3); those for men are larger than those used by women. A mixture of tobacco and hemp is smoked in a water-pipe made from the horn of a cow. Details of structure and ornament are given under "Wood-carving."

In order to make snuff a piece of dried tobacco is slowly baked near the fire on the end of a pointed stick which is turned frequently.

276 [531] The snuff is pounded and placed in a small wooden box of cylindrical shape. Usually the box is ornamented with incised, burned patterns. The Ovimbundu of Bihé add ashes of wood to their snuff, so producing a mixture called *ulelemo*. The Ovimbundu of Elende usually use the [249] snuff without adulteration. Two main species of tobacco plants are grown.

Women smoke in all parts of Angola. The Ovimbundu do not chew tobacco, neither have I seen it so used elsewhere in Angola. Boys and girls are not allowed to smoke before the age of thirteen years.

576 [834] In the *ombala* of the Vangangella near Ngalangi, I asked a girl for her pipe which I desired for my collection. The interpreter took the pipe when she proffered it, explaining that, according to local custom, I had asked for the girl. If I took the proffered pipe *from her hand* I accepted her. Another social custom associated with tobacco is the passing of the communal pipe from hand to hand in the men's council house.

276 171 Ngonga, my interpreter, says that he has never seen an Ocimbundu woman smoke hemp, but he has seen a woman of the Vangangella (people to the east of the Ovimbundu) smoking hemp. Hemp (*epangue*) is cultivated only by the Ovimbundu men who smoke it. Pure hemp is smoked in the water-pipe which is not passed from hand to hand. Only tobacco is used in communal smoking. Smoking of hemp or tobacco consists of a few deep inhalations; there is not usually a prolonged placid smoking. When hemp is placed in the bowl of the water-pipe it is covered with large grains of sand or a piece of tin. This intervening substance prevents the hot coals from coming into contact with the hemp. The object is to secure slow ignition.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231 The principal domestic animals are cow (*onjindi*), ox (*ongombe*, which is also the generic name for cattle), bull (*onui*), sheep (*omeme*), goat (*ohombo*), pig (*ongulu*), dog (*ombua*), chicken (*osanji*) (Plates LV, LVI, LVII).

492 The transport animals, donkey, horse, and mule, are not used by the Ovimbundu of Elende and not to any extent by Ovimbundu of other parts; but in the south of Angola the Vakuanyama have sturdy ponies and well-kept mules. The ox when ridden by Portuguese is provided with a leather saddle which is very comfortable if covered with a blanket. The brass stirrups are broad and massive. Through the septum of the bullock's nostrils there is a short brass rod to the ends of which the reins are attached (Plate XXX, Fig. 1).

I have seen an Ocimbundu male riding an ox without saddle. A cord was passed through the animal's nose to serve as reins. 492

The Portuguese name for horse is *cavalo*, a word which the Ovimbundu use in the form *okavalu*, though there is an Umbundu word *ocingongovala*, which means "going with his neck up." The Umbundu words for donkey and mule are *ocimbulu* and *omula*, respectively. 192

Generally speaking, the ears of animals are not clipped, neither are cattle branded or otherwise marked to indicate ownership, but sometimes the ears of pigs and goats are cut to aid identification. When asked why the tips of the ears of dogs are mutilated an Ocimbundu will say that a dog with uncut ears does not hear when called (Plate LVI, Fig. 2). 231

Not many families own large herds of cattle among the Ovimbundu, and I did not see a big kraal until I was in southwest Angola. Cattle, which are a measure of wealth, are used for paying fines, making funeral feasts, paying debts, and securing wives. The cattle throughout Angola are well-developed, handsome animals (Plate LVII, Fig. 1). The bull remains with the herd the entire year; there is therefore no particular season for the birth of calves. Usually cows are not milked by the Ovimbundu, consequently these people have no milk, butter, or cheese. The Vakuanyama of the south milk their cows and churn butter in calabashes slung on a pole. 233 556 [171]

The Ovimbundu say that milking the cow makes the calf thin, but where the idea of milking the cow is borrowed from the Portuguese the Ovimbundu have a procedure which is as follows: The calf is allowed to suck for a few minutes in order to deceive the cow; then the milker begins his work. At intervals of a few minutes the calf is allowed to suck in order to continue the deception. 234 [177]

Cattle are killed at the funeral feasts of the rich, and the horns of the slaughtered animals are generally mounted on a pole in the vicinity of the grave (Plate XLVI, Fig. 2). [765]

The horns of the cow may be used for making water-pipes in which tobacco is smoked, or they may be employed as magical horns when filled with medicine. The hide is pegged out in the sunlight for one day after it has been scraped; it is then rolled and kept until required. When about to be used, the skin is soaked in water for one day. The hide is used to cover the tops of stools, to make pouches and to manufacture bags for carrying corn. In bygone days each king had a wooden box covered with hide, which contained his powder and metal when he went to war. The cow's tail is used 237 281

The cow's tail is used
237 as a sheath for covering the iron shafts of assagais, and it is sometimes made into a switch which the rain-maker uses during his performances.

233 [232] [492] Bulls are castrated when two years old. The wound is rubbed with ashes, salt, soot, and palm oil. Bullocks are used for riding, also for pull-carts introduced by the Boers. The herd obtains most of its food by grazing. In the dry season grass withers, with the result that the animals become thin and stall-feeding is necessary. In former days cattle-raiding was a practice of the Ovimbundu, who
233 robbed the Vacilenge. It is certain that the Ovimbundu did not own
174 cattle when they entered Angola. If the general tradition is correct the Ovimbundu came into Angola from a northeasterly direction, from the borders of the Belgian Congo as it is called today; this is not a cattle-raising region.

The Ovimbundu of Elende have a joke against the people of Bailundu, because the latter on first seeing a cow offered the animal some food on a wooden platter. This story suggests that the Bailundu people, who are of the Ovimbundu confederacy, did not know the animal and its habits as early as did the Ovimbundu themselves.

233 Although the Ovimbundu do not usually kill their cattle they may do so in the months of June and July, because at this time pasture is withered and food is scarce. Animals which are diseased, aged, or injured, are killed and eaten.

231 The native pig is distinguishable from European breeds by its long thin snout and slender development. This breed is said by the Director of Animal Husbandry, Humpata, to be the Keltic breed (Plate LV). There is, he says, no evidence to prove that the
[176] Ovimbundu have at any time domesticated pigs from the wild hogs which are to be found in Angola. There is no family which does not own a pig, and on the whole the pig fares much better than the sheep or the goat. The pig receives water and a daily ration of food, which is usually sweet potatoes and their leaves, together with some
232 corn. Male pigs are castrated at any time between the ages of six
[463] months and one year by an operator who is a paid specialist. The fee for castrating a bull is four yards of cloth, but a small gift is considered sufficient reward for performing the operation on a pig.
[282] If a pig is thin, the leather is said to be of good quality and therefore
252 suitable for making sheaths for knives. Usually the flesh of the pig is eaten shortly after the animal has been killed, but the meat of the bullock, on the contrary, is sometimes dried over a fire and preserved. But this is not a general practice as the animals are too valuable to be slaughtered.

Goats are more common than any other animal; there are few, 231 if any, families which do not own one or more goats. These animals are not fed or watered. Goats are able to exist on almost any kind of vegetation; consequently these animals are, almost without exception, well nourished. Goats are not milked. Kids are born at any time of the year, and the young males are castrated. The hides are used for making bags. The goat has the misfortune to be the most [782] desirable sacrificial animal. This is not entirely due to the fact that it is cheap and easily obtainable. The sheep is said to be unsuitable as a sacrifice, because it does not make a noise when killed. The [237] hair of the goat is used for making an ornament named *osala*, which is worn by medicine-men.

Sheep are of the long-tailed Syrian breed. Like the goats, the sheep are not cared for in any way; they find their own pasture and water, and in doing so may wander for a considerable distance, though they always return to the village at sunset. The males are not castrated. Sheep are not so frequently kept as are goats and pigs. The skin is used for making bags. Twin births of calves, kids, or lambs are not regarded with awe; on the contrary, such births are welcome.

Almost every man keeps one or more dogs, and I have rarely seen a hut in which there were no dogs. Usually young puppies are near the fire, and on the whole dogs are well treated because they are valuable in hunting. They also give warning of the approach of hyenas, lions, and leopards. I have frequently seen a person run into the road to pick up a dog when an automobile is approaching. A tendency to improve the breed of dogs by crossing the lean native animal with a breed of large dogs from South Africa has been mentioned. In contrast with the generally considerate treatment of dogs by the Ovimbundu one has to note the very emaciated and diseased condition of dogs in the Esele country. Among the Ovimbundu dogs [262] are regarded as desirable food.

Sacrifice of a dog at the inauguration of a blacksmith will presently be described. A medicine-man who is about to perform a ceremony for curing the sick has to make a meal of dog's flesh, but otherwise the flesh of the dog is taboo to him. These points of ceremony, taken in conjunction with the food value of the animal, and its use in hunting, show that the dog is highly esteemed.

Poultry are of very mixed breeds. The standards of size and 235 weight are higher than is usual in African chickens, a fact which is perhaps attributable to contact of the Ovimbundu with the Portu-

235 guese for a long period. The chicken is highly esteemed as a sacrificia
[262] animal, but it could not be said that the flesh is in common use. This failure to develop and utilize to the full, again raises the point of social custom and economic habit. Chickens are cared for, as may be seen in the way they are cooped at night. Sometimes a hen may be seen sitting on her clutch of eggs in a dark corner of a hut, unmolested by people and dogs; yet it is certain that there is no concentration on the rearing of poultry.

Eggs are laid, and chickens are hatched throughout the year, except in the months of November and December when corn supplies
[262] are at their lowest ebb. Eggs are boiled, or fried on a fragment of
[264] pottery, but they are not sucked.

231 The domestic cat is not raised by the Ovimbundu. Wild cats are common, but there is no evidence of their domestication. Small birds and monkeys are sometimes kept as pets.

TRADE AND TRANSPORT

438 Caravan trade, which was at one time an important factor of tribal life, is now confined to short journeys for transporting corn, beans, and beeswax to traders' stores. But in spite of present-day
439 decline of transportation the memory of more prosperous times still exists.

Names of distant places survive in the Umbundu language; thus Tanganyika is called Nakandundu, while the name for far eastern Angola is Muacimbundu, the name of a one-time important chief. The Umbundu language is understood in all parts of Angola, far away from typical Umbundu centers of culture.

484 In the old days there were professional leaders of caravans, and a
788 ceremony was conducted before starting. The medicine-man and the
778 village chief were the principal performers in a rite which consisted
787 of bringing from its box the head of a former chief, sewn in oxhide. An animal was sacrificed so that the blood could be used for sprinkling on the chief's head, and on some occasions of this kind the head was sewn up in a new piece of oxhide. Direct appeal was made to the preserved head by the reigning chief, who asked for good fortune on the journey.

The medicine-man who accompanied a caravan carried with him a female wooden figure decorated with feathers (Plate XXI, Fig. 5). When a branching of the paths gave rise to doubts concerning the correct way the wooden figure was consulted by the medicine-man.

At the present time a day's march is twenty-five miles, during 481 which a man carries sixty pounds, while the load for a woman is half [482] that weight. The gait of the Ovimbundu includes a limp at every step, so suggesting that the carrier is lame or tired. This appears to be a method consciously adopted as a protection against fatigue, because all muscles are momentarily relaxed. Loads are carried on the head in a long forked stick to which they are lashed. When the carrier rests, the load is not placed on the ground, but is held upright on the stick (Plate XXX, Fig. 2). Such a method avoids the strain of lifting the load from the ground after each rest pause.

Although the Ovimbundu have an exchange of products among 438 themselves by both barter and the use of Portuguese money, there [436] are no large markets, with the exception of those at the coastal towns of Loanda, Lobito, and Benguela. There is absolutely nothing in Angola which can be compared with the great markets in Nigeria.

Despite the absence of a system of exchange on a large scale, 804 the Ovimbundu have many terms describing units of measurement. There are native standards of length, area, and capacity, but no measures of weight which are undeniably of Umbundu origin.

The unit of length (*epaluma*) is the distance from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the middle finger when the hand is outstretched. The term for two of these units is *apaluma avali*. These words are the plural of *epaluma; avali* means two. These units are used to measure tobacco before it has been coiled.

Cloth is measured by stretching the arms to their full extent in line with the shoulders; the distance between the tips of the middle fingers is *epeka*. The stride for measuring land is *elianga*.

Onjimba is an area about twenty-five feet square. *Etemo* ("hoe") is an area of land two hundred yards long and thirty feet broad. A large field covers two or three *atemo*.

Measures of capacity are provided by various types of baskets. The large conical basket (*ohumba*) has an interwoven mark which [285] indicates a measure for corn, meal, and beans. *Ocitenge* is a coarsely made basket used as a unit of capacity. *Uhamba* is a basket two feet long and one foot deep. The basket on a rectangular base is also *uhamba*, but at the present day cans are taking the place of all these old measures. Palm oil is measured in a gourd (*ocitau* or *ombangi*) of definite size. This little gourd is also used for measuring a viscous [314] substance from trees. The word *ekokoto* is used to describe this mucilage.

436 804 Balls of wax and tobacco were, and are now, definite standar of trade. To some extent rubber as a medium of exchange has be used through contact with eastern Angola. The Umbundu wo *ocilila* expresses a weight of about thirty kilos.

805 221 There is no measure for minutes or hours. I have seen a ma of the Luchazi tribe keep account of the number of days taken on journey by cutting notches on a stick. Ngonga says that the Ovimbundu reckon by cutting notches, also by knotting a piece of strin Three days would be expressed by the words *akumbi atatu* ("thre suns"). The word day or sun is used in fixing a time. There is n word for week. A month is *osai*, which is the word for moon. Whe the corn is ripe the people say, "We are in a new year." Anothe yearly time mark is the arrival of the first rains, probably in th middle of September.

The words *oku lima* ("to cultivate") yield the word *ulima*, which designates the period between the beginnings of two rainy seasons Corn is planted about the time of the first heavy rains, which occu in late September or early October. Naturally, this important occasion forms a somewhat uncertain time base; nevertheless it is th one used to express the lapse of years up to five in number. Afte such a period the estimation of time is unreliable.

INDUSTRIES

IRON-WORK

326 Among occupations of primary importance is that of the blacksmith (*ocivinda*). Owing to the increasing importation of hoe blades and other iron goods, together with the facilities for collecting scrap iron, the winning and smelting of iron is increasingly rare. There are probably very few places where the old type of conical clay furnace now exists. Almost any fragments of iron are melted at the forge where a box is kept to hold nails, hoop iron from packing cases, and other fragments resulting from proximity to a European culture.

Nothing is mixed with the iron, neither is there any casting in molds. The only process is the forging of red-hot iron. The Ovimbundu do not draw iron wire, although they know of the process which is practised by the Vachokue.

The work of the blacksmith was studied at the village of Njongolo in Elende. The men were for a time reticent respecting the nature of their training and the ceremony of initiation, but the chief of the village helped considerably by persuading the men to speak freely.

326 874 Any boy who wishes to become a blacksmith may be trained for the work. It is not necessary that his father should have been a blacksmith. When the youth begins his training he must be eighteen years of age and physically robust. His first duties are the beating of hot iron on the anvil; he is also required to collect and soften fragments of iron. He works very hard but is never allowed to finish anything; the master has to complete the work.

At the end of two years the youth asks the master blacksmith to examine him. What is more important still, the master is asked to make the heavy hammer (*onjundo*), which is used for beating hot iron on the largest anvil (Plate XXXVIII, Fig. 1). There is no doubt as to the sacredness of this hammer, which is a symbol of the completion of apprenticeship. There is also the idea of the master handing on his skill to the pupil by personally making and presenting the tools. I made repeated efforts before being able to purchase one of these hammers; finally it was procurable only at a high price. The value is due to ritualistic associations, the large quantity of iron used in the making, and the labor required to weld the head to the shaft.

326 796 On the day of his inception the boy has to purchase four chickens, two male and two female, one pup, and a goat. The master blacksmith makes all the tools for the apprentice, but ritual centers chiefly in the fabrication of the big hammer (*onjundo*). While the master is making this the boy stands on the small anvil which is close to the ground, between the forge and the large anvil under the tree.

[782] When the hammer (*onjundo*) is made, and while it is still red-hot, the handle is pushed into the belly of the dog. The goat and the four chickens are then killed. All the tools are brought together so that blood from the slaughtered animals may be sprinkled over them. The flesh of these animals is eaten with corn and beans. "The blacksmith calls many people to help him, and they like to eat the food," concluded my interpreter.

During the entire ceremony, also throughout the feast, the boy stands on the anvil. There he remains until the master says, "You may speak and tell us what name you want." Perhaps the boy says, "I am Ndumbu." The people in the crowd clap hands and make a trilling with their fingers in their open mouths. The boy steps from the anvil; he is a blacksmith. My interpreter continued, "He must work hard and people must pay him. He used to work hard, but the master took the money."

326 778 There was an ancient belief that a blacksmith owed his skill to the help of the spirit of a person he had killed. Wooden effigies

326 778 of the murdered man were placed near the large anvil (p. 163), or they might be kept in the home of the blacksmith. Such figures are still used (Plate XXI, Fig. 3) but the killing of a victim is not now possible. Blacksmiths are free to marry without restrictions other than those imposed by the classificatory system of relationships.

325 348 The blacksmith's forge is a thatched house about twelve feet square with low eaves that almost reach the ground. The height from the floor to the point of the dome is fifteen feet. In the middle of the floor is a pit ten inches deep in which there is a quantity of charcoal brought from the charcoal burner's fire about half a mile away. At the sides of the pit are three stone seats for the workers. Two of these seats are occupied by men, each of whom works a pair of bellows. The two-chambered bellows is hewn from a block of wood in such a way as to give two circular air chambers from which wooden tubes lead to the fire. These wooden tubes are continued by clay tubes which project into the fire. Over the two round wooden chambers a piece of hide is stretched and tied over the woodwork. Two slender upright sticks, which the operator works up and down, are attached to the hide. In one corner of the hut there is a heap of charcoal, and in another corner lies the scrap iron. An iron rake with a wooden handle is used for stirring the charcoal in the fire. Plates XVI, XXXVII, and XXXVIII illustrate tools and processes.

413 The principal tools are:

(1) A flat stone anvil resting on rocks under a tree. The anvil is at such a height that the striker stands upright. At this anvil the metal is beaten with the heavy hammer *onjundo*.

(2) *Onjundo*, the most sacred of the tools, is 12.5 cm long. Its value is about that of an ox.

(3) There are tongs which can be clamped by a sliding metal ring. The larger tongs are 63 cm long and the smaller ones are 35 cm.

(4) The cutter is boat-shaped and triangular in cross section. The back, which is grasped in the hand, is 0.5 cm thick, tapering to a fine cutting edge.

(5) An iron holder for an axhead during the heating and hammering is 23 cm long. It is octagonal, hollow, and fits like a sheath over the shaft of the axhead.

(6) For heating the iron on the small anvil, after it has been roughly pounded to shape with the hammer (*onjundo*) on the large anvil, there is a smaller hammer (*usonjolo*) of which there are three varieties. These differ only in size.

The principal products of the forge are axheads, which can be 326 reversed in the shaft so as to form adzes. Hoe blades, tools for matmaking, brass bracelets, knives, and implements for gouging out the pith of gourds or hollowing out a drum, are also made. Arrowheads are likewise an important manufacture.

The blacksmith makes a saw blade, 47 cm in length, from hoop iron. The teeth of the saw are turned alternately to the right and left and the serrated blade is roughly hafted in wood (Plate XVI, Fig. 4). Another product of the forge is an iron tool hafted in wood. The pointed blade, which is round in cross section, tapers to a point used for boring holes in wood, after the tool has been made red-hot. Small axes, many of which are used ceremonially in dances, have remarkably well-fashioned blades decorated with punched designs in the form of geometrical patterns.

WOOD-CARVING

A glance over the list of trees named and used by the Ovimbundu 314 indicates a complete knowledge of woodcraft which is in the hands of specialists. To name only a few; there is the *omanda* tree, also the *omue*, which yield charcoal for the smithy. *Ombula* wood is used for stools, while the elastic timber from the *omanda* tree is suitable for bows. The *ekenge, usamba,* and *ociyeko* trees supply bark for binding crosspieces to the upright poles when making the framework of a house; the same bark is used by Ovimbundu and Vachokue of eastern Angola for making bark cloth. In addition to the use of bark for these purposes it is made into large cylindrical receptacles for maize, while its use for beehives is general throughout Angola. Beehives are often made by professional hunters. A traveler notices the mutilation of trees from which complete cylinders of bark have been removed (Plate XL, Fig. 2); half of the cylinder makes a receptacle for carrying on the shoulder.

When a small pig is to be transported, four holes are bored in the 482 bark container. Through these holes the legs of the animal are placed and tied together on the under side (Plate XXXI, Fig. 1). This is a more humane transportation than that of tying the feet of the animal to a pole which is supported on the shoulders of the two men who are carriers.

In the neighborhood of Cangamba fishermen make and use canoes 501 of bark about fifteen feet in length (Plate LXXXV, Fig. 2). This illustration shows a man taking his nets into midstream where they will be pegged to the river bed.

322 532 The tools used by the wood-carver are the saw, ax, adze, and knife. The products of this craft may be conveniently divided into the following groups:

(1) Figurines of human form (Plate XXI, Figs. 1–6).

(2) Animal forms, chiefly snakes, tortoises, birds, and lizards. The dog is sometimes represented (Plates XIX, Figs. 1–5; XLI, Fig. 1).

[534] (3) Parts of musical instruments, such as drums and the baseboards of *sansas*. The latter often have the metal keys mounted on boards decorated with elaborately incised patterns (Plates XLI, Fig. 2; XXII, Fig. 5).

[415] (4) Domestic implements and utensils, chief of which are heavy wooden beaters for flattening mud floors of houses, grain pounders, stools, cups, platters, bowls, and a heavy pestle and mortar (Plates XIII, Fig. 3; XVIII, Figs. 1, 2).

[531] (5) Carved sticks and clubs; these often show elaborate incised decorations of geometrical patterns. Frequently the head of the stick is carved to represent a human head or a full-length figure. [293] The ornamented stick or club is carried as part of the personal dress and artistic equipment. The throwing club is usually a straight stick with an undecorated knob at the end (Plate XX, Figs. 1–10).

(6) Carved wooden posts representing the human form. These are set up at the wayside. One has been obtained from a grave near Bailundu.

(7) Tobacco-pipes and snuff boxes (Plate XV, Figs. 2, 4).

177 532 Figurines of human form require special consideration, because they have claims other than that of aesthetic expression. The figures representing Europeans, or natives using some article of foreign introduction, illustrate the grafting of foreign ideas on older methods of work.

113 The art of the African Negro has of late years been accorded a place of honor in critical circles of Europe and America (P. Guillaume and T. Munro, Primitive Negro Sculpture, New York, 1926). Usually, however, the formal technique of lines, curves, and the general aesthetic effect have been discussed to the exclusion of the ethnological background which determines style and function.

532 By far the best example of carved human figures collected in Angola was the one from Cangamba (Plate XXI, Fig. 4). This female figure, 60 cm high, is carved from hard, dark, red wood in such a way as to achieve a graceful result by the employment of a few

straight lines. The legs show the usual flexion of the knees and a 532
shortening which is out of proportion to the body length. The lower
limbs of most Angolan figures have these characteristics. The body
of this figure is hollow and the head detachable. The incised head-
dress is imitative of the coiffure of Vachokue women.

Cangamba, a village in eastern Angola, is a confluence of tribal 171
elements, namely, Vambuella, Luchazi, Babunda, and Vachokue,
whose physical appearance, hairdressing, tooth mutilation, and
tribal marks differ considerably. The man who sold the figurine
brought it furtively. He was an Ocimbundu, but the work is of
Chokue origin. The figure, I am informed, was filled with medicine, [755]
then placed near a patient who was undergoing curative treatment.

The figurine (*ngeve*) of a woman having a number of dark feathers 484
attached to her back has only one use. A caravan setting out for a 778
long journey is accompanied by a medicine-man whose outfit includes 787
such a figurine. Should the caravan leader be in doubt when choosing
between two paths, the medicine-man sets up the image at the parting
of the ways. He kneels before it and asks questions, then plugs his
nostrils in order to make replies in a falsetto voice supposed to come
from the figurine. Thus advised respecting the route to follow, the
caravan continues its journey (Plate XXI, Fig. 5; p. 156).

The wooden figure (Plate XXI, Fig. 3) is of exceptional interest 326
because of its connection with the blacksmith's craft, which is asso- 775
ciated with introductory rites for apprentices. In former days a
newly initiated blacksmith was expected to disappear for a period
during which he killed a man. On returning to the work of his forge
the blacksmith made a wooden figure of which this example, one of
five obtained, is typical. The spirit of the murdered man took up
its abode in the effigy and in this way helped with the work. The
figure, which is of the usual dimensions, namely, 36 cm high, has the
greater part of its surface covered with reddened earth (pp. 159–160).

Two figurines (Plate XXI, Figs. 1, 6) were obtained from 171
women of the Vachokue tribe in the village of Ngongo, Ngalangi. 842
Here the Vachokue and the Ovimbundu mingle to such an extent
that customs are no doubt transferred from one culture to the other.
These wooden images are used by childless women, or by women
whose infants have died. The woman who sold these figures pressed
them to her breasts to show the manner of use. People standing
around smiled and nodded their approval. A wooden figure of this [845]
kind is substituted for a dead twin.

787 532 A common type of small figurine, some of which are female, others asexual, is represented by an illustration (Plate XXI, Fig. 2). Such little carvings are a normal part of the miscellaneous contents of a divination basket described in chapter IX. These figures have been obtained from Elende, Bailundu, and Caconda, all of which are centers of Umbundu culture.

322 532 756 In addition to the figurines described, the collection contains many more whose use may be conjectured. The interrogation of Ovimbundu people indicates clearly that there are specific uses of wooden figures which are consulted by the medicine-man. The foregoing explanations illustrate the nature of the beliefs associated with carved wooden figures, but it is not always possible to elicit a clear account of the specific use of each one.

171 532 Consideration of this aspect of the wood-carver's art has an important bearing on the culture contacts of the Ovimbundu. In studying this question I have instituted comparisons between these figures from the Ovimbundu of Angola and similar figures from the Kasai area of the Congo region (chapter X). The publications of the Musée Congo Belge provide illustrations for comparison with the figures in Field Museum's collection.

The carving of animal forms (Plate XIX, Figs. 1–5) is no more than a means of aesthetic expression resulting from accurate observations of animal life as recorded under "Nature Lore." Inquiry failed to show that figures of animals are, or were at any time, used in rites and ceremonies.

[643] The carrying of a carved stick is essential when a chief is visiting, attending a council in his own village, or receiving visitors. The ornamental paddle (Plate XX, Fig. 8) was owned by the chief of the capital village (*ombala*) of the Vangangella, near Ngalangi.

[765] At the death of a chief his staff of office, with his tobacco-pipe and sleeping mat, are placed in a small house where such relics of deceased chiefs are kept permanently (Plate XLVI, Fig. 1). Plate XX, Fig. 6, shows a staff of this kind which was preserved in a sacred house in the capital village of Ngalangi, and on the same plate are drawn short ornamental clubs which French ethnologists call *batons de promenade*, an appropriate name because of their use as part of the full dress equipment.

[276] The Ovimbundu have specialized in the carving of small objects, for, in addition to clubs and staffs, tobacco-pipes and snuff boxes are often elaborately carved (Plate XV, Figs. 2, 4).

276 The water-pipe of the Ovimbundu consists of the horn of a cow into the side of which a short hollow pipe stem is introduced; at the top of the stem is a clay bowl for the reception of tobacco, or a mixture of tobacco and hemp. The wide end of the horn is plugged with clay, while a hole is made at the tip in order to provide a mouthpiece. A gourd water-pipe, similar to that used by the Vachokue, is also found among the Ovimbundu.

276 531 Cylindrical snuff boxes are ornamented with incised, burned, geometrical patterns. The lid is usually attached to the box by a leather thong. One large snuff box is ornamented with three well-carved female figures. The smoker's equipment is sometimes carried in a leather pouch fastened on a waist belt, or the container may be a hollow cylinder of ivory with a leather cap at each end.

276 171 To this information respecting the smoking and snuff-taking outfit of the Ovimbundu, some observations on the pipes and snuff boxes of other tribes should be added. When making a journey from Cangamba to Saurimo I seldom met an Ocivokue man who was not carrying a gourd water-pipe for the smoking of tobacco and hemp. Such pipes are usually ornamented with brass nails and are finely bound with thin brass wire (Plate XV, Fig. 3). One long pipe from Ngalangi has a pair of metal tongs attached for taking charcoal from the fire in order to ignite the tobacco (Plate XV, Fig. 1). A pipe with two bowls, closely resembling some Zulu patterns, was smoked by an Ocimbundu woman at Ngalangi. The Vachokue make snuff boxes from a yellow wood, which they ornament by burning portions of the surface in such a way that the yellow color is here and there visible.

Both men and women of the Vakipungo and Vakuanyama tribes carry snuff boxes of conical shape on their leather waist belts. At the top and bottom such snuff boxes are neatly bound with brass or copper wire.

DOMESTIC IMPLEMENTS

412 At an early age girls become accustomed to the use of the V-shaped pounder which is made from hard heavy wood (Plate XXXVI, Fig. 2). The small end of the shaft is a convenient thickness for grasping in such a way that the knuckles are on the under side of the shaft. This is the very reverse of what appears to be the natural grip. Women use the pounder with an easy, circular swing so that the flat round surface comes into contact with the grain on the rock. Endurance in this work is remarkable, and there is no doubt that

412 fatigue is avoided by the method of holding and swinging so that the work of crushing is done by the weight of the implement.

412 252 Two less usual methods of pulverizing grain are by use of a long pestle, which is worked up and down in a heavy wooden mortar as shown by Plate LXXXIV, Fig. 1, in which Vachokue women are so employed, and the crushing of grain with a cylindrical stone which is rolled on a flat slab. This latter method I judge to be very old, for on a pre-Umbundu site encircled by stone walls I have seen flat slabs of stone and cylindrical rollers. Some of the flat slabs were worn extremely thin in the middle and a few were perforated by the friction.

It is noteworthy that there are rocks especially reserved for the pounding of grain with the wooden mallet. Such rocks are to be [782] found close to every village, and the dedication of a new rock for this purpose requires the killing of a chicken whose blood is sprinkled on the rock.

252 [512] Work of this kind is begun before daybreak. From that time to sunset the pounding of the wooden mallets, accompanied by the singsong of the women, marks the progress of the day's work. At intervals the pounded grain is sifted through the hands and spread out on a basket-work tray, which is shaken to separate the fine meal. The unbroken and partly broken grain is replaced on the rock for further pounding. A small brush of grass is used for bringing together the grain which is dispersed by the blows.

412 171 [862] The sole implement used in agriculture, which is entirely in the hands of women, is the hoe. Of this implement there are several variations according to locality. The Ovimbundu and others of Ngalangi employ the form illustrated in Plate XIII, Fig. 10. The long handles measuring 85 cm no doubt reduce fatigue by minimizing bending. Both hands are used, and, furthermore, the increased length of the handles must give a greater leverage. The smaller hoe used by Ovimbundu women of Elende has short handles only 51 cm (Plate XIII, Fig. 9), while that from the Esele country is distinguished by a broader blade and still shorter handles only 36 cm in length.

412 ✓ Included in the outfit of every Umbundu home is the heavy wooden floor beater. This implement, which is fashioned from a single piece of wood, consists of a narrow handle, round in cross section, and a flat portion for beating the moist, newly made, mud floor of the hut. The total length is about 83 cm.

Not only the carpenter, but almost every Ocimbundu man 412
possesses an implement which may be readily adapted as ax or adze
(Plate XIII, Fig. 2). The wooden shaft, from 50 to 70 cm in length,
terminates in a narrow grip at one end, while the other end expands
into a large oval knob into which a circular hole is bored. The
strong iron blade, one of the main products of the local forge, can
be removed. If the round tang of the blade is inserted so that the
cutting edge is in the same plane as the shaft, the implement is an ax.
On the contrary, insertion so that the cutting edge is at right angles
to the shaft converts the implement into an adze. When placed
over the shoulder this implement is used for carrying utensils in a [482]
fiber bag (Plate XXVIII, Fig. 1).

Gourds are of three main kinds, which may be found growing on 415
the ground or resting on the roofs of houses at the ends of the climbing [244]
stems that bear them. *Ombenge* is a gourd which is narrow in the
middle. It is often converted into a dipper for ladling liquids. The
narrow neck is the handle, while a round hole is cut in the larger part
so that the dipper can be filled with liquid. *Onganja* is round, or
perhaps oval in form. There is a size used as a measure of capacity.
Onganja can be used as a ladle by fixing it at the end of a stick.
Olukuembo has a round body and a narrow hook-shaped neck; like
the gourd *ombenge*, it is used as a ladle.

Gourds are elaborately decorated with incised and burned designs 531
(Plate XII, Figs. 1–6). Usually these patterns are geometrical, but 415
human figures and animals are sometimes included. Decorated
gourds from Bailundu, used for containing beer at a wedding, are
among the best examples of their kind (Plate XII, Fig. 6). The
owner of a decorated gourd takes great pains to repair a crack with
rattan, which is threaded through holes bored in the edges of the
fracture. A large gourd is sometimes carried in a native-made net
of vegetable fiber.

POTTERY

A large and varied collection of pottery has been acquired from 323
the Ovimbundu, the Vachokue, and the Vasele. The shapes and 171
styles are best indicated by the illustrations in Plate XIV, Figs. 1–5.

Among the Ovimbundu, only women make pots, which are inferior [462]
in workmanship to those of the Vachokue and the Vasele. At Elende,
among the Ovimbundu, I was surprised to find a man making pottery.
Further inquiry showed that he had learned his craft when young
in the Vachokue country of eastern Angola. This man, whose work
was not copied at all by Ovimbundu women, was regarded as a
specialist whose products were in great demand.

323 171 [531] specialist whose products were in great demand. Instead of making crude patterns with a piece of gourd, as do the Ovimbundu women, he presses a brass bracelet round the rims of the pots. The bracelet is deeply indented with geometrical patterns which appear on the clay (Plate XIV, Fig. 5). This man selects a very fine clay for his work, his products are symmetrical, and a polish is given with a smooth pebble after baking. Like all other potters of Angola, this artisan has no knowledge of the potter's wheel.

323 171 531 The vessels made by Vasele women, among whom the trade is confined to female specialists, are unlike the products from any other part of Angola. The chevron design is characteristic, so also is the ornamenting of the pot by laying on strips of clay below the rim. This is appliqué work which may consist of only a few bands of clay, or the strips may pass repeatedly round the pot until one-half or two-thirds of the surface has been covered (Plate XIV, Fig. 2).

323 At Elende two Ovimbundu women were observed during the pot-making processes (Plates XXXIII, XXXIV). Woman *A* built up the pot in a basket lined with wet leaves. Woman *B* pounded the clay on a stone with the heavy wooden pounder used for pounding corn on the rocks. Between the two women was a gourd of water in which *A* moistened her fingers. Operator *B* poured water on the clay which she was pounding. *A* made a cup of clay five inches in diameter and four inches deep which served as a base on which the pot was built up by the coiling process. This cup was placed in the basket containing moist leaves.

The rim of the cup was built in height and breadth by the addition of rolls of clay supplied by woman *B*. As the rolls of clay were laid on the edges of the pot, the inside was smoothed with a piece of gourd. Meanwhile the outside of the pot was supported with one hand. Shaping of the pot proceeded by applying smaller and smaller rolls of clay as the neck of the pot was approached. Gently smoothing pressure forced out the greatest breadth of the pot just below the base of the neck. A pause was made to allow a partial drying before the neck was built up. Ornamentation consisted of making deep incisions with a piece of gourd while the pot was still wet. During these processes there was constant wetting of the hands.

The pots were sun dried, then fired several at a time by placing them in a kiln of dry grass. Polish was given to a pot while it was still hot by covering the surface with liquid made from a tuberous root, during which process the pot was quickly turned on a stick.

323 When the clay was being mixed an old pot was broken and pulverized so that some of the powder might be added to the new pot. There may be the underlying idea of continuity in the potter's art. The potters said, *Sanga yi pita* ("Lest it leak"). There may be no purpose other than the imparting of stability to the new clay.

[462] [782] I was unable to find any trace of ritual except with reference to the opening of a new clay pit. When a pit is first opened both men and women attend. The head of a chicken is twisted off by a medicine-man, then the bird is held over the pit by either a man or a woman. There is no law or ceremony to determine who shall take the first clay from the pit. The art of making pots is in the hands of female specialists so far as the Ovimbundu are concerned. Observation makes clear that women will go for a long distance to obtain clay from the pit which has been opened in a ceremonial manner. On their way to such a pit they pass clay which would serve their purpose well, but they do not use it. [857] Children sometimes amuse themselves by making animals of clay.

[415] The pottery of the Ovimbundu includes cooking vessels of many sizes, water containers, and very large pots for brewing beer (*olombia vi okukela*).

MATS AND BASKETS

462 285 This occupation illustrates division of labor on a sex basis. Baskets are made by women, while mat-making is an occupation for males. As with other trades there is specialization. The majority of women are able to make baskets though the skill of individuals varies. All women who have a knowledge of basketry understand the manufacture of dyes. Only a few men make mats; my informant thought that perhaps one man in ten would have the necessary skill. [463] Such specialization is continued into other occupations; for example, only a few men spin cotton thread, while the majority of people buy pottery from expert female potters.

285 The mat-maker, generally an elderly male, uses two tools, a borer and a needle, both products of the native forge. The borer (*utomo*) for piercing the reeds, consists of a long thin blade in a wooden grip. The needle (*osinja*) is threaded with bark fiber and passed through the holes made by the *utomo*. The bark thread is *ombanja* (plural *olombanja*).

The sleeping mat (*esisa*) is made of reeds which are gathered in the early morning by a man who wets and binds his material into bundles, each of which contains reeds of the same length. The length of the reeds varies, of course, with the size of mat he intends to make.

285 The name *esisa* is given to the raw material as well as to the mat. The worker begins by laying out the reeds on the ground, side by side; then the slender tool *utomo* is passed through the reeds near their ends. This position is made permanent by sewing, and the process is repeated at intervals along the length of the reeds (Plate XLII, Figs. 1, 2).

Evinda is a large mat, about 120 cm long and 20 cm wide, while each strip of coarse elephant grass is about 3 cm wide. Ability to make the rush mat (*esisa*) is fairly common, but skill in making *evinda* is less usual. The mat *evinda* has several uses; it may be stretched on the floor or bed as a sleeping mat, or possibly it is rolled so that the ends can be fastened together; so treated it forms a cylinder which may be filled with grain when stood upright on the ground. A number of these mats is sometimes used to form a temporary storage place or shelter. The technique is of the twilled variety in which each weft passes over and under two warps.

Ocala is a coarse mat made from long stalks which are called "elephant grass" by the Boers; the agricultural term is "Napier's fodder." The long rods are white and glazed, so forming an artistic contrast to the crossbinding, which is of black bark. The technique is known as check, a term used to describe a structure in which warp and weft pass over and under each other singly.

The large mat (*ocikanga*) which is of soft texture shows neatly woven, diamond-shaped patterns of dark brown grass. The technique of this mat is of the twilled variety in which each weft passes over and then under two warps.

283 String bags, which are used for suspending gourds or hanging them over the shoulder, are made by men only. The root *ombundi*, mentioned in connection with brewing beer, is used for making string bags. Two fibers that have been teased out from the root are rolled tightly together by rubbing them between the palm and the thigh.
[462] Strong rope is sometimes made by plaiting coarse grass; this occupation is in the hands of males.

386 [531] In basket-making the preparation of dyes is of great importance because colored strands of grass are inwoven to make named geometrical patterns (Plates IX; X). The Umbundu expression for dyeing is *oku lisa olosovo*.

[515] Red coloring is produced by taking leaves of a plant named *evava* and cooking them in water along with the bark of the tree *ukondo*. *Ukondo* is the "tooth brush" tree because small pieces of its wood are chewed and used for cleaning the teeth. After the grass has

simmered in this infusion of *evava* leaves and *ukondo* bark, it is buried 386 in a heap of ashes and earth. These processes produce the red coloring.

Yellow dye is made from the roots of a wild rhubarb (*ocilunguluila*) which has sagittate leaves. The roots are pounded and mixed with cold water, after which the grass is placed in the mixture. A pot containing the mixture is put on the fire and the contents are boiled for half an hour; at the end of this time the grass is an amber-yellow in color.

In order to dye grass black the leaves of *evava*, the plant used for making red dye, are mixed with an iron solution obtained from the mud of stagnant pools. If the grass which has been cooked in this mixture is not sufficiently dark it is reboiled in the *evava*-iron mixture to which the pounded leaves of *ungalo* are added. Brown coloring is made by mixing the red dye with the yellow.

Baskets made by the coiling process are the most common type 285 manufactured by Ovimbundu women (Plate XV, Fig. 6). The large basket *ohumba* is a woman's field basket in which she carries corn, sweet potatoes, and manioc, along with her hoe and pounder (Plate XXVIII, Fig. 2). Each coil consists of a large number of strands of fine grass which are tightly bound. The coils of the better baskets are wrapped with the grass called *osoka;* this wrapping fastens each coil to the preceding coil. Coarser baskets have the coils wrapped with strips from the leaf of the screw pine (*emañalālo*). There is a sewing process in which the coils are bound to one another with the bark *olondovi*, which is kept damp during the process. I have seen a needle, threaded with bast, used for sewing coils together; the needle was rethreaded every time it passed through a coil. Success in basket-making depends largely on the ability of the worker to keep the coils of uniform thickness. There is constant inspection and plucking out of a strand of grass here and there (Plate XXXIX, Fig. 2).

In making basket trays (*ongalo*), the same coiling process is followed, but the work is kept flat. These trays are used for winnowing corn. Wicker-work is used for making conical traps for small game such as hares and rats. Conical fish traps are made of wicker-work. Names of patterns, which are of a simple geometrical kind, [531] are well known to basket-makers. Sometimes a pattern is woven round the basket at a certain height to indicate a generally accepted standard for measurement of capacity.

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171 Among the Ovimbundu are to be found baskets which they themselves seldom copy. These examples are from the Vachokue country of eastern Angola. The Vachokue specialize in making winnowing trays and rectangular baskets which are twilled by passing each weft over two or more warps.

By this technique, combined with the use of brown and black weft and warp, a great variety of geometrical patterns is produced. Trays of this kind vary in diameter from 50 to 200 cm. The Vachokue also make large strong trays in which honey is exposed to dry.

In the neighborhood of Cassanga wicker-work baskets are made. The warps or stakes are rigid while the more flexible wefts bend in and out. At this place there are both Ovimbundu and Vachokue inhabitants.

Women of the Vakuanyama in southern Angola make exceptionally neat little conical baskets by lashing coils very tightly. The lashing is done in such a way as to leave the outer surface covered with small chevron-shaped designs.

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285 There is an intrusion of European influence which tends to mar the work of the Ovimbundu and other native craftswomen. Soft dyes produced by methods described are sometimes replaced by brightly colored, imported dyes; old ribbons from typewriters are soaked in order to extract coloring. The Ovimbundu are imitating European forms of basketry in a few centers, though the native method of coiling is still used.

WEAPONS

411 The bow of the Ovimbundu is made of hard red wood which takes a high polish after use. It is round in cross section and tapers considerably toward the ends. The length is usually 150 cm, not an inconvenient size in view of the fairly open bush through which the hunter has to make his way. The bowstring is made of a thin strip of twisted hide, which is looped over each end of the bow by a slip knot made of two half-hitches. A shoulder at each end of the bow shaft prevents the slip knot from passing down the shaft. In some examples only one end of the bow stave is notched. Usually, after completing the slip knot, the hunter leaves a surplus of bowstring which is wound round the shaft. One bow which is not notched has rattan wound round the stave to prevent the loops from slipping.

The bow for shooting bird arrows is small and is used only by boys; the string is of twisted vegetable fiber.

411 171 The foregoing description applies to all bows collected in Elende, an Umbundu center; neither is there any appreciable difference between these bows and those of the Vachokue of the area from Cangamba to Saurimo in Lunda. The bows collected in the Vachokue region are on the average 10 cm longer than those collected at Elende, a structural difference probably connected with the heavier arrowheads used by the Vachokue (Plate XVII, Figs. 1–9).

The Vakuanyama of southern Angola make and use a bow which bears very little resemblance to those already described. The arrows, too, are entirely different from those used by the Ovimbundu and Vachokue.

The lengths of three bows collected at Mongua, a typical Kuanyama center, are 111, 123, and 123 cm. The bow stave, which is made from a monocotyledonous wood, is 5 cm broad in the widest part, while the cross section is a flattened ellipse. The bowstring is of twisted leather, looped at each end for slipping over the ends of the bow shaft (Plate XVII, Fig. 8).

[114] According to L. S. B. Leakey (A New Classification of the Bow and Arrow in Africa, *J.R.A.I.*, LVI, 1926, pp. 259–294), the bows and arrows of Angola have not been studied. I am inclined to place the bows of the Ovimbundu and Vachokue with Leakey's "knotted string bows" (pp. 266–269).

Leakey states that the technique employed in stabilizing flight forms the best basis of classification of arrows, but so far as Angola is concerned, the shapes of arrowheads form a basis of classification according to locality. Ovimbundu, Vachokne, Vakuanyama, and Vasele, have distinctive patterns. Naturally there is borrowing of patterns where Ovimbundu and Vachokue intermingle, but, even so, there are distinguishing signs of Vachokue workmanship. The information respecting bows and arrows of Angola is best presented in paragraph form, and comparison of types is facilitated by reference to Plate XVII, Figs. 1–9.

The following arrows are used for killing birds: 411

(1) Elende. Ovimbundu boys use a wooden arrow with a heavy blunt head which is carved into five nodules (Plate XVII, Fig. 3). The head is tanged into a reed shaft and bound there with fine fiber covered with wax. The feathers are whole, bent over, and tied. The number of feathers varies considerably in different examples. 223

(2) Kipungo. The Vakipungo have a wooden-headed arrow with nine well-carved barbs (Plate XVII, Fig. 7). The head is socketed

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fairly tightly into a reed shaft bound at the junction to prevent further splitting of the shaft. There are four whole, untrimmed feathers at the butt; these feathers are bent over and bound.

(3) Vakuanyama. Wooden arrows having eleven sets of barbs are in use. The head is bound into a reed shaft with strong gut. Another type of wooden arrow has three sets of barbs with three barbs in each set. There are four whole feathers at the butt.

(4) Vasele. The Vasele use an arrow, pointed with fine pieces of sharp bamboo, for shooting lizards (Plate XVII, Fig. 9).

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The foregoing information (1–4) relates only to wooden arrows which are used by boys when hunting birds. The following paragraphs summarize the structural details of arrows used by men, and the data are arranged to call attention to differences in the patterns of arrows used by several principal tribes of Angola.

The Vasele make the arrow shafts of hollow reeds, and into these the narrow, ovate, iron heads are tanged and bound in position with fine bark which is not waxed. Three unsplit feathers are bent and tied to the shaft with fine bark fiber. The nock at the butt of the arrow is rectangular in shape and 0.3 cm deep. No quiver was observed.

The Ovimbundu form arrow shafts from hollow reeds, the average length of which is 76 cm. All arrowheads of iron are tanged and the tangs are inserted in the hollow reeds. A binding of fine bark fiber is given, and this is covered with wax. From five to ten feathers are used for each arrow. The feathers may be split or they may be left in the natural state. The trimming of the feathers is roughly executed. The depth of the rectangular nocks is 0.5 cm, and splitting of the shaft is prevented by binding the nock with fine bark. No quiver was observed.

The Vachokue of Cangamba, and thence northward to Saurimo, make arrow shafts of hollow reeds whose average length (79 cm) is a little in excess of those made by the Ovimbundu. The shapes of the iron heads are shown in comparison with those of the Ovimbundu (Plate XVII, Fig. 1). All arrowheads are tanged and bound into the hollow shaft with bark fiber which is then waxed. The feathers are split and bent with a neatness much greater than that shown in examples of Umbundu arrows. The rectangular nocks are 1 cm deep. No quiver was observed.

The Vakuanyama make solid wooden arrow shafts having an average length of 65 cm. The arrowheads of iron are socketed.

Three prevailing shapes of arrowhead are conical, narrow ovate, and V-shaped. The quills are split, bent over, and tied. The usual number of feathers used for each arrow is eight. The workmanship is neat and symmetrical. The rectangular nock is 0.5 cm deep. A quiver of hide is used.

In addition to the assagai (Plates XIII, Fig. 8; LXVIII, Fig. 2) commonly used by the Vakuanyama and adopted to a very limited extent by the Ovimbundu, there are spearheads which originate in eastern Angola among the Vachokue, whose blacksmiths are expert.

Typical spearheads were collected at Munyangi where Ovimbundu and Vachokue cultures meet. The leaf-shaped blade and tang have a length of 30 cm and an average breadth of 4 cm across the blade (Plate XVI, Fig. 1). The upper part of the tang, made for insertion into a wooden shaft, is round in cross section while the lower part is square. The blade, which has a keen edge, is well graded from a central, raised midrib to the margin.

I did not observe many spears among the Ovimbundu and Vachokue. The former value highly a type of assagai which is owned by every man of the Vakuanyama. At Elende and Bailundu I obtained from Ovimbundu men assagais identical with those collected in the Vakuanyama country. The assagai is made entirely of iron; it has a narrow, leaf-shaped iron blade which is socketed to the iron shaft. The butt is sharply pointed. The shaft passes through a cow's tail on which the tuft of hair remains. Consequently the iron shaft is encased in hide for part of its length.

At Elende I obtained from Ovimbundu men two spears said to be a product of the local forge. The flat, narrow, leaf-shaped blades were tanged into very rough wooden shafts. Wax was thickly smeared over the junction. The workmanship, which followed the tanged method of hafting arrowheads, was extremely crude.

By far the most distinctive knives made in Angola are those manufactured and used by the Vakuanyama of the extreme south (Plate XVI, Fig. 10). I have never found this knife in use elsewhere in Angola, and similar types are to be found only among the Ovambo to the south of the Vakuanyama.

These knives vary in length from 48 cm to 73 cm, with a breadth of 5 cm to 7 cm across the scabbard. The general outline is a well-balanced ellipse. The wood used is hard in texture and dark red in color. On one side the scabbard is left open in such a way as to display the blade, which is long, keen, and tapering. A leather thong attached to the back of the scabbard provides means of attach-

411 171 ment either to the arm or to the belt of the wearer. The crescent-shaped expansion at the tip of the scabbard is sometimes held between the toes while the blade is withdrawn.

A small knife obtained from an Ocivokue man near Saurimo in the province of Lunda, northeast Angola, has a black wooden haft neatly bound with fine brass wire (Plate XVI, Fig. 2). The steel blade of Vachokue workmanship is eminently suitable for the purpose for which it is employed, namely, that of carving pipe bowls and snuff boxes, which are sometimes elaborately incised. The knife has a distribution from Saurimo to Cangamba, an area of intermittent Vachokue culture, but I have never observed it in the possession of an Ocimbundu. Men of the Ovimbundu have knives of somewhat poor quality. The roughly made wooden haft is attached to a blade which is protected by a sheath of lizard skin. More frequently than not, an Ocimbundu does not carry a knife; neither does he appear to have borrowed knives or the art of making them from the expert Vakuanyama or Vachokue, who are reluctant to part with their tools and weapons.

A knife used by Vasele men in the region of Vila Nova de Selles, in the hinterland of Novo Redondo, resembles one used by the Bangala of the Congo (Plate XIII, Fig. 1). The distribution of the implement, which is used for cutting branches from trees, is local in the Esele country. I have never seen such a knife in use among the Ovimbundu or in any other part of Angola. The preservation of this peculiar form, in common with other specialized traits of Esele culture, is due to isolation of the Vasele among hills difficult of access.

LEATHER WORK

282 [411] Leather pouches worn on a broad leather belt are part of the essential equipment of a hunter. The pouch usually contains scrap metal and powder for muzzle-loading guns. This type of firearm is, under present Portuguese regulations, difficult to obtain and still more difficult to furnish with powder, which is forbidden to the native. Consequently such a pouch may contain only a pipe and tobacco.

The pouch itself is either square, rectangular, or semi-cylindrical in shape (Plate XIII, Fig. 6). The hair may or may not have been removed from the hide. Some examples show signs of careful workmanship in stamping cross-shaped patterns. Brass-headed nails are used for decorative effect on these pouches among the Ovimbundu of Elende and as far south as Huila.

In addition to pouches, hide is used by the Ovimbundu for the 282
seats of four-legged wooden stools. Before stretching the hide over
the wooden frame the edge of the leather is cut into strips which are
interlaced on the under side of the stool (Plate XVIII, Fig. 1). There
are few evidences of the hide having been dressed; usually the hair
is attached. The Ovimbundu understand the dressing of hides in
a crude way. The hide is soaked, after which the inner surface is
rubbed with ashes. The hair is scraped away and the hide is tightly
pegged out. Hide was formerly used for covering wooden boxes
in which a king carried his powder and possessions to war. Scraped [534]
hide is used to form the tympanum in tubular wooden drums.

In only one part of Angola, notably in the south among the 171
Vakuanyama, is leather used as clothing. Women wear pleated 282
skirts of hide and several broad leather belts, while the men have [291]
small leather aprons in front and behind. Men only are the leather
workers. The hide is soaked and trampled under foot for many 462
hours in order to soften it and make it pliable; the hair is not removed.
Before leather clothing is worn it is thickly greased with a mixture
of fat and red powder from *tukula* wood (Plates LXV, Figs. 1-3;
LXVII, Fig. 1).

SPINNING AND WEAVING

My interpreter Ngonga remembers the use of a heavy upright 286
loom about twenty years ago, but this loom is not used at the present 177
time among the Ovimbundu. The Ovimbundu have been in contact
with Europeans for three centuries. This has not been a close and
permanent contact, but it has been sufficient to account for the
disappearance of a one-time essential art. There are in Elende some 287
very fine raffia palm trees, but no use is made of the leaf fiber for 171
manufacturing clothes. Bark cloth is not made by the Ovimbundu
of Elende, but I have seen the Vangangella and Ovimbundu of
Ngalangi engaged in stripping, beating, and preparing bark for use
as clothing, which is formed of one piece wound round the body.
The bark cloth is not dyed or decorated with patterns.

Frequently at Elende men are seen engaged in spinning cotton 283
which is used for repairs, and not for fabricating garments. The 824
cotton is obtained from a shrub which has reddish leaves and yellow
flowers. The cotton may be seen protruding from the calyx in the
months of June and July. The man who is winding holds high in his
left hand a slender stick which is wrapped for a length of two feet
with fluffy cotton. All work of pressing and twisting the cotton into
a thread is done by the thumb and index finger of the right hand.

283 In the beginning a thread from the fluffy mass on the stick is fastened to a corncob or to a potato, the weight of which keeps the thread taut (Plate XXXVI, Fig. 1).

[462] I have never seen a woman spinning and am informed that in former days the working of the loom was a task for men only.

463 791 In presenting facts bearing on the economic life of the Ovimbundu attention has been paid to the importance of ritual, specialization in industry, and division of labor on a sex basis. Clearly, the economic life is one of the fundamentals of social structure, while at many points it is a field in which the magician works.

132 241 Topography and climate have fixed certain conditions which, so far as the Benguela Highlands are concerned, favor agriculture on an extensive scale, also the keeping of cattle. In the Benguela Highlands a moderate temperature, combined with sufficient rainfall, has produced a type of vegetation which provides timbers serviceable to the craftsman, together with bush that affords shelter for game.

128 The bearing of these economic facts on the probable origins of traits, and their assembly to form the tribal life of the Ovimbundu, is reserved for discussion in chapters dealing with culture contacts and cultural processes. In chapters X–XII the factual material presented here under "Economic Life" is correlated with what is known of similar activities in cultures surrounding that of the Ovimbundu.

VI. SOCIAL LIFE

SEXUAL RELATIONS

COURTSHIP

584 836 There is a certain humor and quaintness of language used by Ngonga in describing sexual relations of the Ovimbundu. So far as possible the interpreter's style of expression has been preserved because of its value in revealing the native attitude.

When a man begins to like a girl, he looks at her for several days. Perhaps the boy will talk to the girl who will tell him to go to her father and mother. The boy must ask the parents for a friendship, which may last for one or two years. During this time the boy must not do anything to the girl, and if he tries she ought to tell her parents. If a baby were born to them in this time it would be a shameful thing. After the boy has told the parents that he wishes to marry the girl he must find something to give to them. The girl must have agreed to marriage before the boy asks the parents. The first token may be no more than a ball of wax or a present of salt. This token says, "The girl is mine," and no other boy will ask for her because it is understood that she is promised to somebody. [582 In former days there were restrictions against marriage with other tribes, but in eastern Angola at the present day the Ovimbundu occasionally marry with the Vachokue.

584 481 Soon the boy will start building a house on his father's plot, because he intends to bring the girl to his father's land. The boy must at this stage make a further present to the parents of the girl. In the old days he would take about five kilos of salt; but now he will take a bottle of Portuguese wine, two or three blankets, or a piece of cloth. The people who carry the present must be the brother, father, or a male cousin of the suitor. These relatives will say, "This is the day we have come for our boy's wife." Then the parents will examine the things. Perhaps they will say, "You must bring a better blanket." The father or the girl's mother's brother must call the relatives of the girl to a council (*onjango*) where the relatives of the boy and girl are gathered.

584 577 The parents say, "We are taking these things for our daughter; we hope she will be a good girl and not shame us. She is a good girl to us and we hope she will be a good girl in your house." The girl's parents turn to her and say, "We should like to hear that you are hospitable; give food to your husband's relatives when they visit you."

584 you." There is no infant betrothal. There is not and never was any [567] compulsion of a girl in marriage, but slave girls were disposed of in marriage by their masters.

832 A girl is not allowed to do anything to show that she loves a boy, for it would be a great shame for her to tell the boy that she loves him. Often a girl who prefers a boy will pretend that she does not like him. [539] The Ovimbundu have a story which states that a man said, "I will bring my cow to the green grass"; he did so, but the cow would not eat. This expresses the idea that a boy would not like a girl who confessed a preference for him.

MARRIAGE

585 The prospective bride chooses one married woman and six unmarried girls to accompany her to the house prepared by her husband. Here a feast consisting of a pig and some chickens is provided by the husband for the relatives of both families. For three nights the girl returns to the house of her parents while the boy sleeps at his home. The married woman and six girls sleep at the house prepared by the bridegroom. During these days beer is provided by the boy's parents. The prospective husband is ironically addressed as *sandombua*. *Ndombua* means bridegroom, *sa* is an abbreviation of *isia* meaning father. The term "father bridegroom" refers to the fact that the youth is a potential husband only; the marriage has not been consummated.

On the fourth day the bride brings her supply of domestic utensils. These are the cooking pots (*olombia*); the wooden spoons (*ovito*); the brush of grass for sweeping (*olueyo*); some meal; also the pounder (*upi*). For the first month the wife is not allowed to cook in her own home; she cooks food in the home of her husband's parents and sends [264] it to the council house (*onjango*) where her husband takes his meals with other men according to Umbundu custom. At the end of the first month of married life the mother of the husband invites any three old women who have been happily married to lay the hearth [782] stones in the new home. Each of the old women brings a stone for the hearth. A chicken is killed and its blood is sprinkled on the hearth stones. While the young wife is preparing food at the new hearth, she is helped by the old women. If the girl is stirring with the big wooden spoon, one of the old women places her own hands over those of the girl. There is this kind of guidance in every action.

I understand that at the present day virginity in a bride is not so highly valued as in former days. The old custom was an examination

of the girl by her husband, and if she were not a virgin he took a hot 585
stick from the fire and burned a hole through her loin cloth. "The girl began to cry, but she had to take the burned cloth to her mother." In such an instance there does not seem to be an idea of guilt. The husband had accepted something that was damaged, and the payment of a pig by the girl's parents reunited the two young people. In former days, also at present, there are boy and girl companions who sleep together, supposedly without having sexual connections, [836]
although they may be seventeen years of age. The girl calls the boy *ombaisi*, and he calls her by the same name. The Ovimbundu [842]
understand something of the physiology of conception; the woman is, however, regarded as only a receiving vessel. "The man puts something into her which grows."

Husband and wife do not sleep in the same bed during the wife's 841
menstrual period; the wife sleeps on a mat at the side of her husband's bed. A woman who is menstruating never cooks food, but women give mutual aid in this matter. A man with more than one wife 595
sleeps either four nights or seven nights with each; the four-night cycle is more usual than the seven-night cycle among the Ovimbundu. Each wife has a separate hut and kitchen. There is no wife lending, 837
but a visitor may be provided with a widow or even with an un- [574]
married girl. Then the man would have to pay the woman.

Ngonga was able to give information with regard to homosexual- 838
ity. "There are men who want men, and women who want women." Ngonga says he has heard people talk about it, and "they think this very bad." A woman has been known to make an artificial penis for use with another woman. The medicine-man will sometimes dress as a woman. Ngonga, who has seen a man dress as a woman, stated that the man arranged his cloth like that of a woman, put palm oil on his hair, and joined the women to pound corn on the rocks. "The other people laughed and spoke bad words to him. His brother, father, and uncle beat him," but without producing reformation.

DIVORCE

There are many grounds on which a man may secure a divorce, 586
but it does not follow that divorce is frequent. On the contrary the evidence indicates that the majority of difficulties are overcome by a compromise between the relations of the husband and those of the wife. The main causes of dissatisfaction with a wife are want of ability in cultivating her garden, physical weakness, a habit of thieving from the gardens of other women, incompetence in cooking,

586 bad temper, too much talking, some physical defect arising from childbirth, and infidelity. But the husband usually accepts payment from the adulterer, and in that event divorce is not sought.

595 If a mother has no milk, there is a likelihood that her children
586 will die in infancy; this is a cause for divorce. Barrenness gives great dissatisfaction, but is not necessarily a cause for divorce. Usually the husband marries another girl, while the first wife retains her position as head-wife. With regard to frigidity my informant said
[833] that sometimes "a married woman does not want her husband to do those things which husbands like to do, or she may want him very seldom." The husband is so angry that he may go away hunting for a long time. The husband may tell some old people, who talk to the girl. If his wife is a good cook, the husband may keep her and secure another girl as a second wife. Sometimes the husband ties the hands of the girl if she resists him. If a wife is returned to her parents on the grounds of her frigidity her husband does not receive compensatory payment, but he hopes that another man will take the girl and pay him for her.

842 Sterility of the male is sometimes suspected, in which case the husband tries another girl, possibly with his wife's consent. The wife may be allowed to have relations with another man in the hope of producing children. The evidence shows that there is definite experiment to test barrenness of the woman and sterility of the male.

In case of impotence (not sterility of the male sperm) the wife leaves her husband. In event of barrenness the woman visits a medicine-man, who gives her a charm consisting of two cowrie shells on a strip of leather which she wears round her neck; a potion also will be given her. If the barren condition is due to malevolence of spirits, the face of the woman is painted with streaks of red and white. Such a woman is said to gain *ocitumbo*. *Tumbo* means "a swell," "a rise."

586 A woman may divorce her husband if he does not treat her well.
[837] If he beats her or refuses to give her cloth and palm oil, she will leave him; but she will not leave him if he is merely unfaithful. If a woman is unhappy with her husband, she will tell her people about the trouble. Her father and mother may say, "Go and try again."

After a year the woman may still be unhappy, in which case she goes to her parents. The husband visits his wife's parents to ask why she has left him. The parents give reasons and offer to return the token he presented for the girl. The return of the husband's tokens is usually long delayed because the parents of the girl are hoping that another man will ask for their daughter; this new suitor 586 will have to make payment to the deserted husband. The chief of the village is not consulted unless the return of the husband's presents is long delayed or is in some way unsatisfactory. A woman who [564] claims even remote relationship with the royal family is treated well, because her husband is afraid of the influence which may be used against him. A woman who returns to her parents takes with her the articles she contributed to the home; these are pottery, corn baskets, a wooden pounder, and wooden spoons. If a wife returns to her parents without telling her husband that she intends going, he will beat her if he finds her packing up her utensils.

The procedure of divorce contains a very human element. When a man has fully decided that he would like to divorce his wife, he will first of all inform his parents of his intention. The parents may advise their son to try the girl for a longer time.

On the contrary, the parents of the man may be mischief-makers. Sometimes the parents will say to the husband, "Do you know that your wife is doing these things? It is better you should send her away." If the man is fond of his wife, he will take her to another [587] place where his parents cannot watch her. When a woman divorces her husband to marry another man, she takes to her new home all children under three years of age. Older children go to the home of her parents.

The chief of the village has to witness the final ceremony of divorcing a woman; but the husband and wife, also the wife's father, are the principal people concerned in the divorce ceremony. The husband receives from his wife's father a roll of tobacco and a pig, then he places leaves and palm oil on the back of his wife. He slaps her back saying, "It is finished," after which the woman goes to her father or to another man.

When a woman takes the initiative and has declared her intention of divorcing her husband, she returns to her parents as described; but the divorce cannot be completed until the husband has been persuaded to perform this ceremony of slapping her back and making a ceremonial renunciation in public.

PREGNANCY AND CHILDBIRTH

When a woman finds that she is pregnant, she makes and drinks 843 an infusion prepared from bark fiber. This is to insure the removal of all stringy matter at delivery. Formerly a husband was not

843 supposed to have intercourse with his wife during her pregnancy, but this custom of continence is declining.

A pregnant woman in particular must not steal. If she does so, her child will refuse to be born until some one present at the confinement goes out and steals something.

Eating the flesh of a hare during pregnancy will give the baby a split lip. If the flesh of the owl is eaten, the baby will have large round eyes.

The expectant mother must not sit on a mortar, a pestle, or a piece of rock; if she does so, labor will be prolonged.

[261] A pregnant woman takes earth from just outside her door. She drinks this in water so that the placenta will be delivered whole.

A pregnant woman is not supposed to carry anything in her cloth. If she does so, the child will have a long head.

A pregnant woman is a potential corpse. A man ought not to quarrel with his pregnant wife and if she says angry things to him he should not reply. He would not speak to a corpse in anger; on the contrary, he would respect a corpse; he must, therefore, respect a pregnant woman. It is a bad omen to see a pregnant woman up in a tree. A man who sees such a woman is expected to shoot her.

[593] If a pregnant woman has scolded her husband and is sorry, she goes out to the fields. There she gets her cloth covered with burrs then returns home. If her husband begins to pick off the burrs there is reconciliation.

842 There are several arrangements whereby a woman who has borne only girls may secure male births, provided she can find a woman who has borne only boys and is anxious to have a girl. The simplest way of reversing the births is for the women to exchange belts. The belt is a string, or possibly a plaited fiber girdle an inch in width which is worn next to the body. From this string depends the woman's lower garment. A second way of reversing the births is for the women to make an exchange of food through a hole in the wall of a hut. The food is handed in on a basket tray. The woman inside the hut receives the food while standing with her back to the hole; she then places the food under the bed. The tray is handed back through the hole by the recipient who still keeps her back to the aperture. There is a third method whereby a woman who has borne boys may be made to bear girls, and *vice versa*. The woman who has borne only boys gives to the woman who has borne only girls, an arrow, a knife, a bow, and an ax. The articles given in return are a pounding stick, a broom, a tray and a basket. The value

of this symbolism relating to occupations of males and females 842 respectively, is obvious.

Many women bear children when they are away in the fields, but 844 help at home is often given. The mothers of the wife and of the husband may not be present at the confinement. No childless woman may be near during the confinement or convalescence. The father may not be present or "the child would be ashamed to be born." Before and during her pregnancy a woman feeds her husband with a prickly plant which is mixed in his food; this makes him faithful [784] to her.

/The abdomen is bound after delivery in order to keep the uterus in position. There is a very small amount of bleeding after childbirth; in fact the flow of blood is quite finished in two or three days. The nearer the diet comes to that of the white man the greater the bleeding at delivery. A pregnant woman may not beat a drum, or she will bear a drum. A woman who sees the blood from circumcision of a male will not have any children.

When a female child is born, the umbilical cord is cut with a hoe to ensure that the female will be a good worker in the field. The cord of a male is cut with an arrow to insure good hunting. A newly born child receives a drink of beer, and a cord is tied round its waist. This is not for support; it is the string from which, much later, the lower garment hangs. Girls do not menstruate until they are fifteen 841 or even seventeen years of age. During the months after first menstruation a girl advances rapidly from childhood to womanhood.

The medicines that women take to secure abortions are bitter. 847 A woman will refuse quinine because she thinks it will cause abortion. It is certain that twins are welcome among the Ovimbundu, but there are special observances connected with their birth and death. A twin 845 birth is not thought to imply dual fatherhood. Twins are called Njamba ("elephant") and Hosi ("lion"). Although twins are of opposite sexes each receives one of the two names. Njamba is the first born, and Hosi is the second to be delivered. The medicine-man holds a ceremony to cure the mother of twins. The afterbirth of twins is placed in two gourds and carried outside the village for burial by two midwives. The mother of twins must wear round her neck the horn of an antelope given by the medicine-man. She has to blow this when crossing a river, meeting a crowd of people, or seeing a hawk overhead. People laugh at her and in fun say that she is a pig or a bitch. "The woman says the same kind of words to them." Children may be adopted, but they never really 597

597 belong to the foster parents. When an adopted girl marries, half the presents from the husband are given to the natural parents, and the other half to the foster parents.

845 In a case of triple birth at Ngalangi two infants died at birth; the other succumbed after three months. In another instance a woman bore three children and in the vernacular of my informant "something which was nothing," but all died. In a third case of triple birth a woman had a boy and two girls. The boy died at the age of fifteen [826] years; the girls grew up and bore children. Albinos do not find it easy to obtain wives. I was told that an albino man at Ngalangi could not find a wife until he married a widow who had several children, because unmarried girls of his own age did not want him. One of the charms collected has to be worn by a woman who has triplets. The object is a rattle (*olusanga*), which the woman shakes when she meets any one. If she gave an ordinary greeting the children would die.

115 The greater part of this information was obtained at Ngalangi by interrogating women who were questioned in Umbundu by Mrs. McDowell. At Elende I asked my interpreter Ngonga to interrogate 843 his wife. According to Ngonga a woman must visit a female practitioner in the first month of her pregnancy. The face and the body of the pregnant woman are painted with red, black, and white spots. This means that she will have no difficulty in bearing children, neither will she have any sickness during the nine months of gestation. "When her belly hurts" (i.e., the quickening), the woman goes to the same female *ocimbanda*, who paints lines of white, red, and black across her breast.

751 The *ocimbanda* gives the woman a necklace consisting of a strip of leather to which two cowries are attached. Experience proves that such a necklace is difficult to buy. If the woman has a necklace of this kind which was worn by her grandmother, it is a very powerful aid to conception, a relief in painful menstruation, and a means of securing easy delivery and normal gestation. I could not find any trace of an idea relating to the entry of a soul, ancestral or otherwise, into the foetus.

841 *Onganda* is the name for a disease of the genitalia; but Ngonga used the word to describe abdominal pain suffered by a woman who has had no children. By this I suppose he means painful menstruation. The curative root which is given is called *kapambua*.

847 Abortion is never secured by mechanical means. The medicine (*ihemba*) is made from the root of a plant that is boiled in water and

drunk. The concoction is described in Umbundu as *ihemba vioku* 847
tundisapo imo ("medicine to take away belly").

When the monthly period begins too early in life, the medicine- 841
man recommends that the young girl should wear the cowrie necklace worn by her mother's mother.

A deformed child is destroyed, but not if it has been allowed to 847
survive the first day.

If male triplets are born, two stay permanently with the mother. 851
At the age of five years one child goes to the king, whose child he becomes.

When a woman has had relationships with more than one man, 837
she will die in childbirth unless the medicine-man is called to cure her.

In a Vachokue village of eastern Angola I bought a female wooden 532
figure. It was explained that this would be nursed by a woman, one 845
of whose twins was dead, in order to induce another conception. 842
Moreover, the nursing of the figure prevents the death of the second twin. The Ovimbundu also use these wooden figurines for replacing dead twins (p. 163).

Children are suckled for a long time; even those of three years and 853
older come to the breast. There are instances in which milk is present but lacking the nutritive qualities; then the baby is likely to die. The matter is simpler when a mother gives no milk at all because the baby is given to another woman, but not necessarily to a woman who is suckling a child. A baby whose mother has no milk may be given to a woman who has not borne a child for many years, and the sucking of the child quickly induces a milk supply. This is agreed upon by informants at Ngalangi and Elende who have seen a child nursed by a woman with withered breasts. Protection is given to the fontanelle by covering it with a vegetable gum which hardens.

Near the chief village of the Vangangella at Ngalangi there is a 842
mound decorated with feathers and painted wooden posts (Plate 789
XCII, Fig. 1). Childless women are placed on the mound which is near a river. They are covered with mud, after which the medicine-man sings songs and administers potions. The women go home and are made to sit on mounds in their kitchens. These mounds, which are made in rows, like earth heaped up after hoeing a trench, may be a symbol of successful agriculture and human fertility.

On looking into the subject of blood brotherhood I found that an 608
exchange of blood between two males who swore mutual fidelity was at one time common. At the present day an exchange of blood is

608 sometimes made between husband and wife, at night and in secret. People say that those who exchange blood will die at the same time.

NAMING

553
551 In addition to the words chosen to describe twins, there are some points of importance in connection with the naming of children. The father and mother change their names when the first child, male or female, is born, but there is no change of name at the birth of subsequent children. In a certain family the name of the first child, a girl, was Vitundo. The name of her father, which was Cingandu, was abandoned; he became Savitundo, "the father of Vitundo." The mother's name of Visolela was changed to Navitundo, "the mother of Vitundo."

If the first child dies, the parents dislike their names; they therefore revert to their original names. When another baby is born, the parents again change their names in the way described. A posthumous child is called Lusati. A child born after twins is Kasinda, which means "to push." Twins are called the Lion and the Elephant, or the Elephant and the Hippopotamus. There are no secret names. The names of the dead must not be mentioned; the deceased is referred to as "the one who has gone." Children may change their own names at the age of about sixteen years, and actually do so if their names are distasteful to them. Ngonga's friend, named Katito ("little"), changed his name to Mukayita (meaning not known). Ngonga's sister, named Ndumbila (meaning not known), changed her name to Cilingohenda, which means "It is a pity." I met a chief near Bailundu who was called Kandimba, meaning "the Little Hare."

There may be a change of name during sickness. A man now named Katahali suffered sickness in addition to other misfortunes. His sickness recurred, so he changed his name from Kopiongo to Katahali. The meaning of the former name is not known. The new name, Ka tala ohali, means "He who has seen trouble"; Katahali is an abbreviation. Another instance of change of name, also in the village of Cilembo, was that of a man who changed his name from Lumingu to Kaihemba, which means "the one who lives by medicine"; because without medicine he would have died. A sick child may receive a bad name, for instance, the name Pig. If one or more children have died a subsequent child receives an ugly name with a bad meaning. There is no totemism, but children may be named after animals. A girl is sometimes named Kambundu ("a little frog"). Other names for females are Esenje ("the rock where corn is pounded") and Cisengu ("a small bird with a long tail"). A boy may be Kangwe ("the little leopard"). 553 551

Names sometimes give an indication of descent. Ngonga's full name is Ngonga Kalei Liahuka, Ngonga ("eagle"), Kalei ("one who works for the king"), Liahuka (the father's surname). Ngonga's sister is Cinyañala ("the old basket"). This was the name of her father's father's sister. As the father of Cinyañala is Liahuka, the daughter is surnamed Yaliahuka (*ya*, "of"). The father chooses the names of the three first children whether boys or girls. The mother chooses the name of the fourth child whether male or female. If the child is a boy, the mother probably chooses the name of her brother or of her father's brother. When a first son is born, the father usually gives the name of his father; for example, Ngonga's father's father was Ngonga. If the first baby is a girl the father chooses the name of his sister. Ages are not known, but reckoning of age goes back five years by counting the number of times maize has been sown; maize is planted each October. The period from sowing to sowing is *ulima*.

If a man has a child by a woman who is not a wife or a concubine, the woman keeps the child for eight or ten years. The man must give the mother a cloth in which to carry her illegitimate baby, also oil for her hair. Sometimes the girl will go to the father of her child to be his concubine, but her parents will not let her do so if he has a bad reputation. To bear a child out of wedlock is a disgrace. 849

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

In preparing the following tables Ngonga was the ego, or, male speaker, and each term is given in relation to himself, with its reciprocal. The tables give firstly Ngonga's own generation, then his ascendants, and finally some of his descendants. Tables E and F are diagrammatic forms of tables A-D. 601

TABLE A

(*See Table E III*)

NGONGA'S OWN GENERATION

Terms in italics are Umbundu names either for persons or for kindred classes. Reciprocals are placed in brackets; W.S. means, "woman speaking."

Ukai wange is my wife; [illegible], which means "spouse," is a modern form of address for husbands and wives when speaking to each other ([illegible], my husband).

Kota or *kasu* is my elder brother ([illegible] *wange* or *manja*, younger brother).

Kota or *kasange* is my elder sister. An elder brother speaking to his sister calls her by name, or he uses the term [illegible]. When speaking of her he says *ukai wange* ([illegible] *wange* or *manjange*, younger brother). The same terms are used in the same way to apply to my father's brother's son, and my

601

father's brother's daughter. Similarly the terms *manje* or *kota* are applied to my mother's sister's son. The former is used if this relative is younger than myself; the latter term is employed if the relative is older than myself. *Mukai* is the term for my mother's sister's daughter (reciprocal, *manje*, *kota*, or *hasa*, means mother's sister's son). *Manjange* is a general name for a mother's sister's child, male or female.

Upalume describes my father's sister's son (*upalume*, mother's brother's son). The word is also applied to my father's sister's daughter. Marriage with a father's sister's daughter is permissible, but it is not favored since the offspring of such a union may be stupid. *Upalume* also designates my mother's brother's daughter, who, according to custom, is regarded as the most suitable spouse for me.

Cepua cange. This term is applied to any child of my mother's brother and to any child of my father's sister (reciprocal, *cepua cange*).

Nawa. The term is used as follows: for my elder brother's wife; (W.S.) my husband's younger brother; my younger brother's wife; (W.S.) my husband's elder brother; my elder sister's husband; my wife's younger brother; my younger sister's husband; my wife's elder brother; my father's brother's son's wife; (W.S.) my husband's father's brother's son; my father's brother's daughter's husband; my wife's father's brother's son; my father's sister's son's wife; (W.S.) my husband's mother's brother's son; my father's sister's daughter's husband; my wife's mother's brother's son; my mother's brother's son's wife; (W.S.) my husband's father's sister's son; my mother's brother's daughter's husband; my wife's father's sister's son; my mother's sister's son's wife; (W.S.) my husband's mother's sister's son, my mother's sister's daughter's husband, my wife's mother's sister's son.

This completes the terms of relationship for Ngonga's own generation.

TABLE B

(*See Table E II and IV, also Table F II*)

FIRST GENERATION OF NGONGA'S ASCENDANTS

Tate. The term is applied to my father; my father's brother; and my mother's sister's husband (the word *omolange*, my child, is the Umbundu reciprocal for the English reciprocal terms, son, brother's son, wife's sister's son).

Mai. The word is applied to my uterine mother, my mother's sister, and my father's brother's wife (again the Umbundu *omolange* is the reciprocal for the English reciprocals, son, sister's son, and [W.S.] husband's brother's son).

Aphai means my father's sister, and the term is said to designate a "female father." My mother's brother's wife is also *aphai* (the Umbundu reciprocal for either male or female is *ocimumbu cange*, which is the equivalent of the English reciprocals, brother's son and husband's sister's son).

Mana or inana is my mother's brother (reciprocal is *ocimumbu cange*, which means sister's son).

Cikulume. The term is applied to my father's sister's husband (the reciprocal, *ocimumbu cange*, means wife's brother's son).

This completes the first generation of Ngonga's ascendants.

TABLE C

(*See Table E I and F I*)

SECOND GENERATION OF NGONGA'S ASCENDANTS

Sekulu yange. The term is applied to my father's father, and literally means my elder father (the reciprocal is *onekulu yange*, meaning son's son).

Sekulu. The word designates my mother's mother's brother, and my mother's mother's sister's husband (the reciprocal, *onekulu*, means sister's daughter's son, and wife's sister's daughter's son).

Kukululu or *sekululu*. These terms are applicable to my father's father's brother, my father's father's brother's wife; my father's father's sister's husband; and my mother's father (the reciprocal *onekulu* describes the reciprocals, brother's son's son; husband's brother's son's son; wife's brother's son's son; daughter's son). 601

Moikulu. This designation, which is derived from *mai*, meaning mother, and *kulu*, an old person, is applied to my father's mother (reciprocal, *onekulu yange*, son's son). *Moikulu* also means my father's father's sister; my mother's mother; my mother's mother's brother's wife; and my mother's mother's sister (the reciprocal is *onekulu* which equals the English reciprocals brother's son's son; daughter's son; husband's daughter's child; and sister's daughter's child).

This completes the second generation of ascendants.

NOTE: Ngonga's wife uses the names *moikulu* and *kukululu* for those relatives of her husband to whom Ngonga himself applies those terms. These relatives call Ngonga's wife *onekulu*.

TABLE D

(See Table E IV and V, also Table F II, IV and V)

SOME OF NGONGA'S DESCENDANTS

Nawale or *useli* is my first-born son. Other sons are *omola*, meaning child. *Omola ulume* means a male child. *Omola ukai* is a female child. *Useli* also means a first daughter (the reciprocal for these terms is *tate*, meaning father).

Omolange means my child. I apply the word, not only to my own children, but to my elder brother's son (reciprocal, *tate*, father's younger brother); to my elder brother's daughter; and to my younger brother's son.

Ndatembo. The word is applied to my son's wife; my daughter's husband; my elder brother's son's wife; my elder brother's daughter's husband; and my younger brother's son's wife (the same word *ndatembo* is used for the reciprocals of these terms; namely, husband's father; wife's father; husband's father's younger brother; wife's father's younger brother; and husband's father's elder brother).

The foregoing classificatory system of relationship is not peculiar 601
to the Ovimbundu, but is a cultural trait of many Bantu-speaking 171
and some Sudanic-speaking Negroes. The similarity of the Umbundu system to those of surrounding peoples in Rhodesia and the Congo will be pointed out in chapters dealing with culture contacts.

When describing marriage rites reference was made to the fact 591
that a wife goes to live near her husband's relatives; the system is
therefore patrilocal. The limited family consists of husband and 592
wife (or wives) with their children. The greatest number of wives [595]
observed in the family of a commoner was four, and in the family
of a king eleven. A household sometimes contains adopted children, [597]
also domestic slaves (pawns) who are working to pay off debts for [567]
their maternal uncles. An extended family may include a grand- 596
father and his wife, his sons, their wives and children, and his
unmarried daughters, with classes and nomenclatures mentioned in
the foregoing tables.

The phrase *epata lia tate* (or *aluse*) means "family of my father" 613
and includes all relatives on the father's side. The words *epata lia*

613 *mai* (or *oluina*) mean "family of my mother." These terms seem
to indicate a bilateral rather than a unilateral lineage. Inquiry did
not show that there were totems for the mother's or the father's
people, or that marriage into any particular local group was com-
631 manded or enjoined. A village is a unit under the administration
of a chief (*sekulu*) and as such is part of a large group of villages
forming a kingdom ruled by a king (*osoma*), but such village units
are concerned with government and warfare, not with exogamy.

613 In tracing descent an Ocimbundu gives the names of relatives of
565 both the father and mother, but commoners are unlikely to know
the names of their relatives beyond the grandparent class. The
children of a king were at one time able to recite many generations
[582] of ancestors along both parental lines. But if the king had married
a commoner, as he was allowed to do after choosing his first wife
from the royal line, the children knew only the genealogy of their
father. This is obvious since the commoner mother would not be
likely to know her line of descent. The son of a village chief (*sekulu*)
may marry a commoner, but, according to Ngonga, the *sekulu*, his
father, "would have a very good look at her."

582 Ngonga had not heard of the marriage of brothers and sisters,
565 not even in the royal family; the idea of such a union was new and
repulsive to him. In Umbundu society there would be no necessity
for such a marriage as that of brother and sister or other close relative,
because members of a royal family of one part of the country could
intermarry with members of a royal family in some area far away.
There might, for example, be marriages between the royal families
of Bailundu and Ngalangi, which are two principal kingships of the
Ovimbundu confederacy.

835 When asked what would be the fate of a man who committed
684 incest with his blood daughter or uterine sister, Ngonga said he would
be killed by his brother or by his mother's brother. If he escaped
he would have to go far away so that his people could never see him
again. If a fine were accepted for incest, the culprit would have to
pay his own kin "because he had shamed them."

601 Table A, Ngonga's Own Generation, calls attention to a plurality
of terms for brother and sister according to the relative ages of the
speaker and the person addressed. Moreover, there is a term for
direct address and another which is used when speaking of a brother
or sister.

Ngonga was questioned with regard to forms of address for his
brothers and sisters other than the children of his uterine mother.

Ngonga actually has a brother by his father's first wife, and for this 601 male he uses the same terms as for his uterine brothers. The same terms are used for uterine sisters and sisters begotten by his father through wives other than his uterine mother. Ngonga said, "If people ask you which sister or which brother you can explain it in words."

A wife of Ngonga's father, other than Ngonga's uterine mother, is called *mai yesepakai;* that is, "the mother who is jealous of my mother." *Mai* means "mother," and the remainder of the term is a derivative from the word *esepa,* meaning "woman's jealousy." If two women *A* and *B* desire to marry the same man and only *A* is successful, *B* calls *A sepakai.* Under similar circumstances a man would call his successful rival *cikuelume cove.*

There is a distinct word for man's jealousy. In explaining this Ngonga said, "When I see my wife look at another man, I have *ukuelume* ["man's jealousy"] in my heart."

If on the death of Ngonga's father, his mother married again this male would be called by Ngonga *tate yesepakai* ("the father who is jealous").

A wife calls the children of the family, who are not her own, *omala vesepakai;* that is, "the children who are jealous of the other children." A mother-in-law taboo operates. Conversation between 606 mother-in-law and son-in-law must always be carried on while the speakers stand back to back.

The foregoing note on a mother-in-law taboo has been supplemented by a letter from Dr. Merlin W. Ennis of Elende, Angola (August, 1931). "Mother-in-law and father-in-law taboos seem to be directed against seeing each other. The persons involved may not see each other. If they meet on the path, one steps aside and turns the back while the other passes on. The one passing by goes through the motions of seeing no one. If it is necessary to converse on some subject, they sit looking in different directions, or one sits out of doors and the other within, around the corner of the door. This holds equally for a man and his son's wife, and for a woman and her daughter's husband. A man may see and talk with his daughter's husband, and a woman may see and speak to her son's wife, but no son-in-law may eat with a father-in-law, likewise daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law may not eat together. Brothers-in-law may not eat together unless they have gone through a certain ceremony: this also holds for sisters-in-law."

601 Table A indicates a wide use of the word *nawa* for "in laws" of the speaker's generation. Thus Ngonga calls the wives and husbands of his brothers and sisters *nawa* without distinguishing them in any way. The term *nawa* has a still wider connotation for it includes Ngonga's father's brother's son's wife, and his father's sister's daughter's husband. Ngonga's wife said that she uses the word *nawa* for all the brothers and sisters of her husband, for all the children of her husband's father's brother, her husband's father's sister's children, her husband's mother's brother's children, and her husband's mother's sister's children. Reciprocally, all these people call Ngonga's wife *nawa*.

605 582 Table A introduces the question of cross-cousin marriage, which is the functional form among the Ovimbundu. My informant said that he calls his mother's sister's children brothers and sisters, therefore he could not marry the girls. Neither are his father's brother's daughters eligible for marriage with him. The table shows the truth of this, for Ngonga calls his father's brother's daughter *mukai*, meaning "sister"; she addresses him as *kota* or *huva* ("brother"). Ngonga also addresses his father's brother's son by the term *manjange* ("younger brother") or *huvange* ("older brother") according to the relative ages of the speaker and the person addressed.

When Ngonga was asked whether he could marry a daughter of his mother's brother, he replied, "I could marry her very well indeed." A marriage of Ngonga with his father's sister's daughter would be permissible but Ngonga said the marriage is not regarded as a good one "because the children will be stupid." Ngonga could marry his mother's brother's daughter's daughter, or his mother's brother's son's daughter. It would also be permissible for Ngonga to marry his father's sister's daughter's daughter, or his father's sister's son's daughter.

604 601 Ngonga said, "My father's brother is my father, and my mother's sister is my mother." When questioned further my informant said that a marriage with daughters of these relatives would make him *ocingama*, which means "an animal." Relatives would say, "You have shamed the family." It will be noted from Table B, First Generation of Ngonga's Ascendants, that Ngonga's father's brother calls him *omolange*, meaning "my child," for which the reciprocal is *tate* ("father"). Ngonga's father's brother's wife is *mai* ("mother") and she calls him *omolange* ("my child"). Ngonga distinguishes between his mother's oldest sister (*mai yukulu*), and his mother's

604 601 youngest sister (*mai yumalele*). Ngonga's father's oldest brother is *tate yukulu*.

587 Thus far Ngonga was clear about his eligibility for marriage, and in addition to this he was sure that he could not marry a sister of his wife while his wife was alive, but he could marry his wife's sister, after the death of his wife. The wives of a deceased elder brother are divided among his younger brothers, or a man may inherit the wife of his mother's brother. Ngonga always laughed heartily at the idea of marrying a woman much older than himself. He did not know whether he could marry certain older people of the *ndatembo* and *maikulu* class but thought the idea amusing because of their age.

604 In discussing law, inheritance, and slavery, the importance of the mother's brother will be indicated, and for this relative there is the term *manu* (or *inanu*). The *manu* calls Ngonga *ocimumba cange*, but he calls Ngonga's wife *ndatembo*. Ngonga's mother's brother's wife, also Ngonga's father's sister, are *aphai*, which my informant interpreted as a "female father."

601 The use of the word *nawa* has been explained in such a way as to show that Ngonga's wife uses this term for a large class of relatives by marriage who are of the same generation as her husband, while these people reciprocally use the word *nawa*. Ngonga uses the word *nawa* in exactly the same way for corresponding relatives of his wife.

This term *nawa* is not to be confused with the term *ndatembo* whose connotation is indicated by the following examples. The wife of Ngonga applies the term *ndatembo* to certain of her husband's relations who are not of his generation. Thus she calls Ngonga's mother *ndatembo* when speaking of her, but she addresses her mother-in-law as *mai* ("mother"), while *ndatembo* describes the relationship between Ngonga's wife and his father. Moreover, Ngonga's wife uses *ndatembo* to describe her husband's father's brother's wife, and Ngonga's wife is called *ndatembo* by her husband's father's sister, her husband's father's sister's husband, and her husband's mother's brother. These are relatives by marriage but they are not of the same generation as her husband.

Table C, Second Generation of Ngonga's Ascendants, gives no particular difficulty. *Maikulu* includes the paternal grandmother, the father's father's sister (great aunt), the maternal grandmother, the mother's mother's brother's wife, and the mother's mother's sister. Therefore *maikulu* is a class name for the second generation of female ascendants.

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934

FP13 Mbundu FP13

TABLE E

MALE SPEAKER'S DIRECT LINE OF RELATIONSHIPS

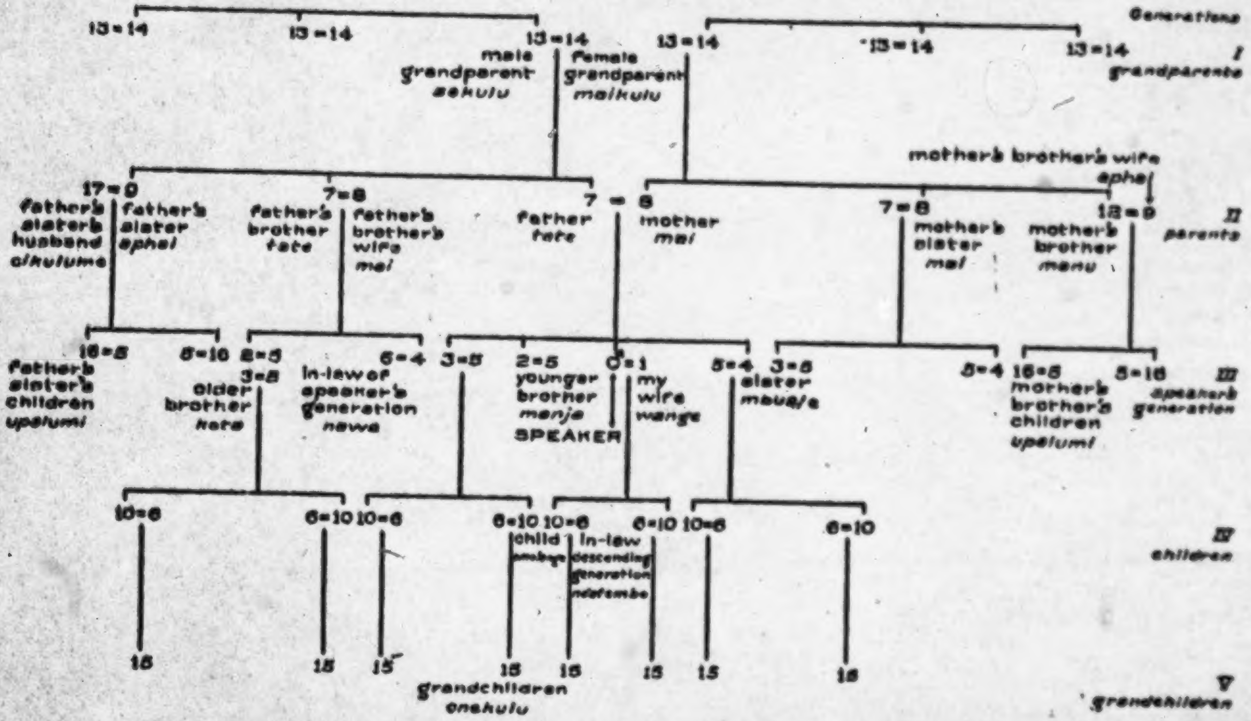
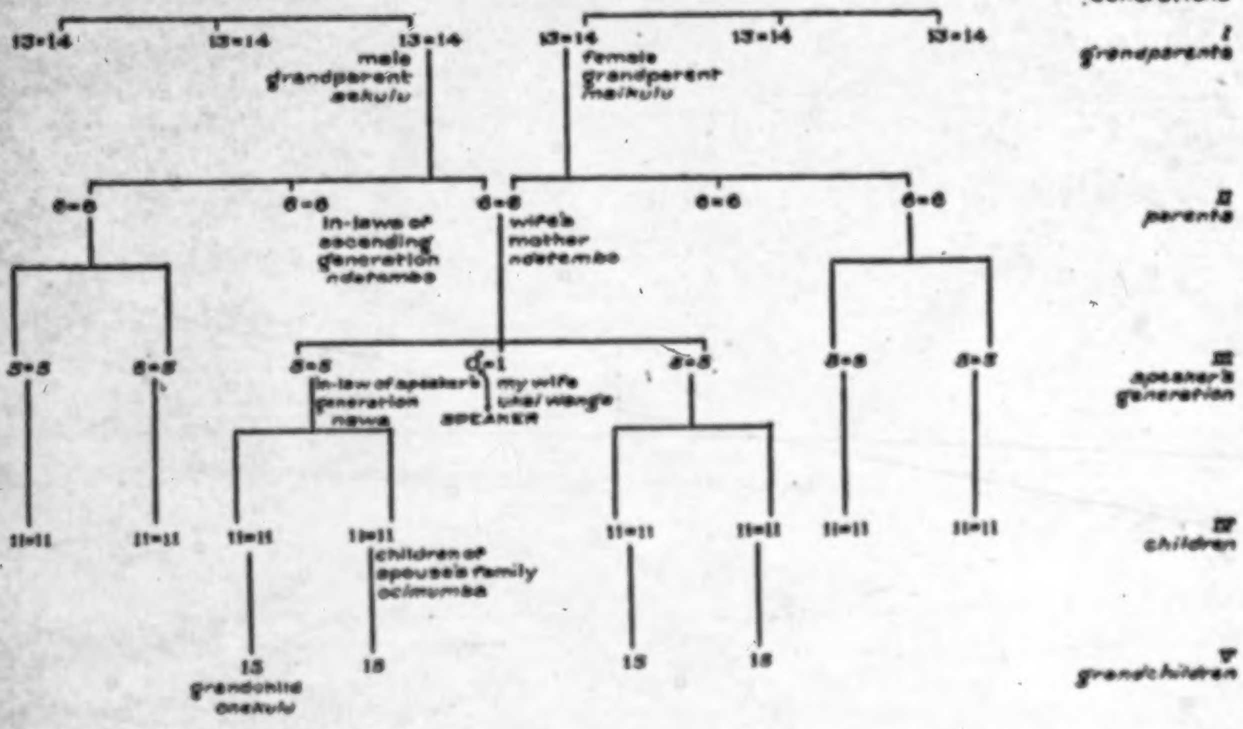

Generations
13=14
13=14
13=14
13=14
13=14
13=14
I grandparents
male grandparent sekulu
female grandparent maikulu
mother's brother's wife aphai
17=9
father's sister's husband oikulume
father's sister aphai
7=8
father's brother tate
father's brother's wife mai
7 = 8
father tate
mother mai
7=8
mother's sister mai
12=9
mother's brother manu
II parents
16=5
father's sister's children upalumi
5=10
2=5
3=8
older brother kota
6=4
in-law of speaker's generation nawa
3=5
2=5
younger brother manja
SPEAKER
0=1
my wife wange
5=4
3=5
sister mavale
5=4
16=5
mother's brother's children upalumi
5=16
III speaker's generation
10=6
6=10
10=6
6=10
child omõlã
10=6
in-law descending generation ndatembo
6=10
10=6
6=10
IV children
15
15
15
15
15
15
15
15
grandchildren onekulu
V grandchildren

TABLE F

DIRECT LINE OF RELATIONSHIPS OF SPEAKER'S WIFE


Generations
I grandparents
II parents
III speaker's generation
IV children
V grandchildren
13=14
13=14
13=14
male grandparent sekulu
13=14
female grandparent maikulu
13=14
13=14
6=6
6=6
in-laws of ascending generation ndatembo
6=6
wife's mother ndatembo
6=6
6=6
5=5
5=5
5=5
in-law of speaker's generation nawa
d=1
my wife ukai wange
SPEAKER
5=5
5=5
5=5
11=11
11=11
11=11
11=11
children of spouse's family ocimumba
11=11
11=11
11=11
11=11
15
grandchild onekulu
15
15
15

601 *Sekulu* includes the father's father, the mother's mother's brother, and the mother's mother's sister's husband. The terms *sekululu* and *kukululu* were used by Ngonga as being synonymous, and therefore they have the same connotation. With regard to the term *onekulu* Ngonga seemed clear, but in reply to questions concerning the reason for having the terms *kukululu's* and *sekululu*, he was evidently confused. At last he said, "It does not matter, they are the same people." Ngonga never hesitated in giving the reciprocal for all these terms, which is in every instance *onekulu*. These terms may have been correlated with different functions which have now become obsolete.

604
601 The two most important collateral relatives in the parent's generation are the father's sister (*ephai*) and the mother's brother (*mana*). The term for father's sister means "female father." As such her relations to ego are similar to those of a father, consequently it is not considered right to marry her daughters. The mother's brother, on the other hand, is without doubt ego's most important relative. The two are linked by a series of reciprocal duties and obligations. Marriage of a mother's brother's daughter, or a mother's brother's widow, is a correct procedure. The value of the more important reciprocal duties is indicated in the following sections on law and government.

602
171 There was no possibility of devoting more time to the matter of relationship terms, but there is here sufficient to indicate the remarkable persistence of the kinship system in spite of three centuries of contact with the Portuguese and other Europeans. Moreover, the information gleaned by interrogation of Ngonga and his wife gives the main points for comparison with systems of a similar kind that have been given for Ashanti, Uganda, and Rhodesia, by Rattray, Roscoe, and Smith and Dale respectively. These kinship systems are the same both in general principles and in considerable detail.

601 The foregoing notes and tables were studied by Mr. Zachary Taylor of the University of Chicago, who prepared Tables E and F. Mr. F. Eggan offered useful criticisms. The Arabic numerals on these charts refer to the numbers used to designate terms of relationship on the list on page 199. The ego or speaker is Ngonga, [198] my interpreter, whose direct line of relationships is shown in Table E, while Table F indicates the terms used by Ngonga for his wife's relatives. The levels numbered in Roman numerals on Tables E and F indicate the generation stratification as follows:

601

I. Grandparents.
II. Parents.
III. Speaker's generation.
IV. Children.
V. Grandchildren.

Numbers on the left of the sign (=) refer to males, those on the right, to females.

The terms of relationship used in Tables E and F are as follows:

1. *Ukai wange.* My wife (vocative). Ngonga's wife calls him [illegible], my husband.
2. *Manu, manjo, manjange.* Younger brother.
3. *Kota, kase.* Older brother.
4. *Mbanja.* Sister (vocative). *Mukai wange.* Sister (nonvocative).
5. *Nawa.* In-laws of speaker's generation.
6. *Ndatembo.* In-laws of ascending or descending generation.
7. Tate. Father.
8. *Mai.* Mother.
9. *Aphai.* Father's sister (female father).
10. Omolange. Child, used for speaker's family only.
11. Ocimunda. Children of spouse's family.
12. *Manu, inanu.* Mother's brother (direct ascendant).
13. *Kuku.* An old person in grandparent's and grandchild's generation. *Sekulu, kukululu.* Male grandparents.
14. *Maikulu.* Female grandparents.
15. Onekulu. Grandchild of either sex.
16. *Upalume.* Mother's brother's or father's sister's children.
17. Ohalume. Father's sister's husband.

NOTE: Age distinctions are made chiefly in the speaker's own generation.

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

In dealing with marriage rites it was stated that a woman had to contribute certain articles to the home; these are the utensils that she uses in her daily work. The baskets, pottery, pounders, and brushes may seem insignificant, but nevertheless there are rules regulating their disposal at death. Her husband will retain some of the articles; the remainder will be shared among the deceased woman's sisters. 421 422

The disposal of a widow is a matter for discussion among the relatives. The husband makes no bequest to his widow and children, though the children may receive a small gift of a pig or some corn. The property of a man is bequeathed to his mother's brother or to his sister's sons. The eldest brother of the deceased or the maternal uncle of the widow takes her to his house along with her children. If her father is alive he may take her. Ngonga says that each responsible relative says, "It is better that you should take her"; at last some one says, "I will take her." 768

When explaining the system of inheritance Ngonga was clear on two points. In the first place wives and children of the deceased are 428

428 not entitled to inheritance of land, cattle, or anything else belonging to the dead man. The greater part of the property would be bequeathed to the eldest brother of the deceased's mother.

428 604 768 There appears to be discussion as to the distribution of property, but the maternal uncle is responsible for settling disputes. He himself has the first claim, and in Ngonga's words, "If there are quarrels about the cattle, land, and other things, the mother's eldest brother will settle them."

The mother's brother has rights over his sister's children even to the extent of pawning them to pay his own debts. On the other hand the maternal uncle is responsible for the conduct of his sister's children. He would have to pay fines incurred by thefts they committed, and he provides for his sister's son a wife who is either his daughter or his widow.

Ngonga stated that the maternal uncle does not invariably take all the property of a deceased nephew for himself. He may give something to the deceased's mother, the deceased's maternal grandfather, or to a brother of the deceased. Such gifts appear to be the outcome of good will on the part of the dead man's maternal uncle; [421] there is no compulsion. Women never inherit cattle or rights to the use of land.

423 692 622 The king is the head of the legal system, though his activities as such are not so great as those of the village headman (*sekulu*). The *olosekulu* (there are usually more than one) of a village witness the final act in a divorce ceremony. They used to have charge of trials for theft, murder, adultery, likewise the right of settling arguments concerning the ownership of land. It was the *sekulu* who distributed the land to the extended families when a new village site was opened. The maternal uncles settled the minor divisions among the limited families.

643 There are many kings among the Ovimbundu, but I thought that there was a tendency to confuse the titles of *osoma* ("king") and *sekulu* ("headman" or "chief" of a village). The jurisdiction of a king is so well known that any person is able to say under which king he lives. Ngonga said definitely that a man of the Ovimbundu who was under the jurisdiction of a certain king would have to obey the commands of a visiting king, provided they were not in any way disapproved of by the king to whom first allegiance was due.

643 [468] A chief may demand labor for the building of his house or the cultivation of his land. He does not pay for this but usually gives beer to the workers; sometimes he secures the labor and gives nothing in return.

in return. Even a slave used to have rights of appeal to the king if he were starved and beaten without cause. The king was the prime mover in warfare. The whole legal system is at this time directly under Portuguese administration though the kings and chiefs have minor powers. Ngonga says that complainants who are dissatisfied with the decision of their own chief go to the Fort, meaning of course the Portuguese military post, or office of the Administrador. 000 643 177

There is no doubt that in former days the responsibility for crime and debt was transferred to a relative in the absence of the delinquent. If a thief escaped, responsibility would rest with a brother, a father or a son. The mother's brother was often held to be responsible for the misdeeds and debts of his sister's children. The mother's brother has rights that extend to the sale of his sister's children to pay his debts. For this reason Ngonga says, "If I have done wrong and they cannot catch me it is right that he (mother's brother) should pay for me." 672 604

I supposed the case of Ngonga having stolen a cow; he has been caught but escapes. Ngonga said that the man from whom he had stolen the animal would go to his (Ngonga's) mother's brother in order to name the price required for the cow, or any other possession which had been stolen. If the mother's brother thought the price reasonable he would pay. On the contrary, if the price claimed were too high the mother's brother would appeal, first to the village chief, then if necessary to the king. [692]

Ownership of land does not appear to have been a source of dispute. Apparently land was distributed by the chief as explained in dealing with village organization. Rights seem to have been well defined and there was always enough land for a stranger. When a man was going away on a trading journey he might lend his land to another who would agree to cultivate it and take the produce for a year. I was unable to satisfy myself that land is now, or was in time past held to be the property of dead ancestors. The right to land depends on its use and allotment by a chief at the time of founding a village. A man who intended to be absent would make a payment so that he might leave his goods at the house of another. The chief would settle any disputes arising from these arrangements. 423 [426] [437]

The complainant in a suit is called *ombile*, the defendant is *onilue*. The name for a witness is *usongi*. In the old days a false witness had to make recompense to the man about whom he had told a lie; he would probably have a beating as well. A master was in every way responsible for the actions of a slave. The degree of responsi- 695 672

672 bility of women is mentioned in describing the penalties for adultery and theft.

562 681 The penalties for offences against the king were undoubtedly more severe than those imposed for the same offences against a commoner. Ngonga says that the punishments for crimes against a chief or medicine-man were, and are now, the same as the penalties for offences against any other person. It seems, however, that if the chief were a very powerful man, he could claim penalties which would have been appropriate for offences against a king.

685 A thief was punished by beating, in addition to which he would have to pay a fine to the people from whom he had stolen, but he rarely escaped without the beating. The thief would be beaten just as much for stealing one animal as he would for stealing many. If a woman stole from her neighbor's garden, those who caught her would tie her and take her to her husband, who would pay compensation and then beat her. A child caught stealing would be taken to the maternal uncle or to his own father. If a woman stole from relations she would probably have no punishment other than a beating. Her husband would have to compensate the relations. Stealing honey from hives is an offence that is punished according to the general laws relating to theft.

696 If a man was sentenced to a death penalty, or to a beating, there was an official appointed by the king or by the chief to see the sentence carried out. This representative was called *ukuenje welombe* which means "the servant, or minister, of the court."

682 Ngonga described the penalty for murder saying, "It was a terrible thing they did to the murderer. A tight triangle of wood was fastened on to his neck by a peg and to this a cord was attached so that he was suspended to the roof with his feet barely touching the ground. In some instances his head was placed through a hole in the door of his house while his body was inside the hut. He had very little food or water and people threw things at him. He was kept tied up for a month to see whether he could pay something. Suppose he could not pay, and nobody would pay for him, he was taken outside the village where his head was cut off. If he had many possessions, he said on the first day, 'If you will take this thing off my neck I will pay two oxen and two slaves.' The payment would be made, not to the wife or children of the murdered man, but to the brother of the mother of the murdered man, or to the mother of the murdered man, or to the son of a sister of the victim. If the murderer agreed to make the payment the people kept him tied up until the

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SOCIAL LIFE

fines were in their hands. If he murdered one of the royal family 682 he was killed after he had paid the fine." The punishment of a woman [562] who has committed a murder is the same as that for a man.

Ombulungu is the name given to trial by poison ordeal. The 695 medicine-man holds out both his hands, in each of which there is a potato, only one of which is poisoned. The accused man says, "If I have done this thing, this potato will be poison for me. If I have not done this thing, this potato will be food for me." The complainant says, "If this is not the man who poisoned my brother, this potato will be poison for me." They sit in front of the medicine-man, and each must take the potato in the hand opposite to him. The poison makes a man very sick. His mouth swells so that he cannot speak.

When a woman was accused of murder her son or her brother [562] would take her place in the poison ordeal. A boy of fifteen years of age would have the same treatment as a man. "I don't think a girl would kill anybody. I never heard about it," said Ngonga. It appears that resort was made to a medicine-man when the accused was thought to have committed murder by poison or magic. If the murderer used weapons, the accuser, who was usually a relative, was entitled to kill him with the kind of weapon used for the crime.

The penalties for adultery were the same as those for murder. 684 The woman appears to have escaped punishment, except that "her husband would not have her any more." The male adulterer had to pay the husband; if he could not pay or escape, the husband had the right to kill him. In the old days the price for adultery was two oxen, a pig, and a slave. At the present day a man who has committed adultery and made payment, possibly takes the woman and all children under three years of age. The husband has the right to decide whether the adulterer has the privilege of taking the woman and her children. An adulterer with one of the king's wives was castrated but not killed. He might, instead of mutilation, pay a very [567] high price, while he himself along with his sisters and the sons of his sisters, would become slaves of the king. If a man could not pay, he might be sold as a slave in order to provide money for the fine. Criminal law did not distinguish between responsibility for intentional and unintentional offences. [671]

It is very difficult to say how much of the old law survives. One 681 feels that underneath the ostensible Portuguese rule there is an active 177 native life that is resisting subjugation.

Only two years ago Ngonga paid an ox to prevent one of his female 686 relatives from being pawned. Within the past ten years Ngonga has

686 actually paid to redeem his brother and sister who were sold to pay
the debts of his maternal uncle. Officialdom is one thing and actual
[177] practice is another. Ngonga is right when he says that people appeal
to the native law as laid down by the chief or king. If they are not
satisfied they pretend a great respect for Portuguese law and therefore
go to the Administrador.

WARFARE AND SLAVERY

648 The Ovimbundu have been for centuries an organized people
726 possessed of a well-developed language, a legal system, and complex
social organization. In trade and travel too, the Ovimbundu have
been in the vanguard of African tribes. These reasons, in conjunction
with the fact of numerical superiority and early contact with the
Portuguese, would account for the success of the Ovimbundu in
warfare. The defensive federations existing between the ten or twelve
main political units, whereby they did not habitually war on each
(693] other, helped to assure success. Should the eldest son of a king's
principal wife be thought unsuitable as successor, a competent son
of the deceased king was elected by a council of village chiefs.

411 There is no evidence that the Ovimbundu poisoned their weapons, neither do they do so today. The Ovimbundu do not use a shield at the present time, neither is it certain that they had shields in former times. A skin-covered powder-box was carried in the king's train when on the warpath.

718 Signaling-drums were about two feet long. They were made from a cylinder of wood over the ends of which skin was stretched. Signaling, which was accomplished by drumming with the palms of the hands, was the task of boys who resided in the king's compound, except when they accompanied him to war or on a trading journey. There was no system of smoke signaling. The iron war gong was named *ongonge*, but the instrument is nowadays tapped by the assistant of a medicine-man during his performance. In former times the gong was struck in the night to give assurance that the enemy was not in sight.

726 In war the oldest son of a king or of a chief went ahead of the war party accompanied by a few men who wore red leaves on their foreheads.

721 Intertribal jealousies, raiding for cattle and slaves, also reprisals for interference with caravan trade, were the chief causes of conflict with surrounding peoples. There was undoubtedly some internal warfare within the confederacy. The Ovimbundu of Elende, Bail-

undu, and Ngalangi are said to have had conflicts. In time past, 721
as at the present day, a king reigned over territory which was
extensive but definitely delimited for purposes of administration.
Encroachment of one king on the rights of taxation and administra- 651
tion of another led to raids and reprisals. Village chiefs collected
taxes in the form of agricultural produce and gave these to the king,
who personally visited a village from which payments had not been
made. A folklore story begins, "The people had not paid taxes
so the king came to the village and told them a parable."

A king, if young, accompanied his people on the warpath. There 726
was, however, a permanent leader named *kesongo*, a derivative from [701
songola ("to lead"). The declaration of war, likewise the tactics,
were discussed by a council of *olosekulu* ("village chiefs") in the
ombala ("capital") where the king had, and still has, a royal com-
pound. If war had been conducted among sections of the Ovim- 727
bundu, the defeated people had to pay taxes and tribute; moreover,
their women and cattle were taken. In event of a successful war
against the Vachokue there was plundering of cattle and women,
but it was not found practicable to exact periodical payments
from the enemy.

The subject of warfare is intimately related to that of slavery. 686
There was until very recent times a domestic slavery which followed 567
from the inability of a person to pay his debts. In connection with 672
this reduction of free persons to a condition of slavery there are
several points of exceptional interest. The debtor himself is not
taken as a slave, neither are his wife or children. The correct procedure is a sale of his sister's children; but more frequently the children themselves are taken by the creditor. "The debtor's sister will say nothing because this is the law of the Ovimbundu." If payment of the debt is made later, the children are set free. Usually the word pawning is used by ethnologists to describe this proceeding.

Further consideration of Ngonga's payment to his mother's brother clarifies the facts of domestic slavery. "I paid for them, I took their place," said my interpreter. The payment for the return of these two children was two oxen. The girl, who was ten years of age when she was taken to pay the debt, was returned to her people when she was a woman with three children. Ngonga's brother was not actually taken from his home. He was made to pay his mother's brother's debt by working for the creditor. In
general, these domestic slaves were not ill treated, though their
rights were limited. The position of slaves taken from a hostile 567

567 people, especially if they were from outside the Ovimbundu, was one of absolute and abject servitude.

The master had rights of punishment including a death sentence; but Ngonga says that a slave could appeal to the headman of the village if he were starved and cruelly treated. All children of a slave became slaves of the master. As the slave had no property he could not pay a fine; the master would pay the fine then relieve his feelings by beating the slave. Instead of paying the fine the master might sell the slave.

Slaves were not branded or marked in any way. Ngonga has seen runaway slaves hunted with dogs. A slave was not allowed to buy his own freedom. A master could dispose of his slave girls in marriage; for instance, a young girl might be sold to an old man. The condition of the slave is well expressed in Ngonga's own words: "The slave worked hard at everything, then the master said he had done nothing."

Slaves used to go to war to fight with their masters against an enemy. A slave might become a blacksmith or a hunter, two very esteemed occupations, but all his work would be for the master. Ngonga says there was no slave market belonging to the Ovimbundu, but every man knew where he could buy a slave. Slaves could act as witnesses in a trial. Slave women were not lent out for prostitu-
[585] tion. A slave owner did not have promiscuous intercourse with his
[769] slave women, but he chose two or three girls as concubines. A slave girl who was married to a free man would revert to her master along with her children when her husband died. If a master had married his own slave woman she would, at his death, become the property of his eldest brother and her children would go with her. In some instances the slave woman and her children would be given to the son of her master's brother.

VILLAGE ORGANIZATION

361 When choosing a site for a new village, a preference is shown for a hillside, though woods or valleys are at times selected. The foot of cliffs is a favorite site. In addition to the shade afforded by the cliff there was in time past the advantage of being hidden from the view of enemies. Further shelter was afforded by the planting of wild fig trees. Sometimes an *ombala* ("capital") was rendered picturesque by the planting of trees which grow to a great size; such a plan was followed at the *ombala* of Ngalangi.

Caves in the wall of a cliff, likewise rugged hillsides, gave a place of retreat for women and children during an attack. Usually there

are small streams of pure water falling down the cliffs and hillsides. 361
Near Bailundu and Ngalangi, villages still retain their defences which consist of high poles set in a trench.

Judging from sites visited at Elende there was a pre-Ovimbundu 172
stone-building culture. 712
One of the sites has such a commanding view over extensive plains and valleys that the position would be almost impregnable. At the present day the line of fortifications is well marked by stone walls three feet high. These are composed of boulders to which the builders had ready access on adjacent hillsides. Large stones were no doubt rolled from the slopes to the small plateau chosen as a building site. This small plain lies midway between the hill crest and the valley.

At present this old site, which is enclosed by lichen-covered walls, is overgrown by tall grass and trees attaining twenty feet in height. Photography would be uninstructive unless a preliminary clearance were made—a formidable task owing to the density of vegetation.

In the center of the enclosure is a group of transported boulders possibly marking the site of a place of assembly. A search among the long grass reveals stone slabs and cylindrical crushers which were used for grinding grain over a very long period, as may be seen by the wear on the base stone; some thick stones are so worn as to be almost perforated. Weather-worn stones that were probably used as scrapers, are to be found. Surface potsherds are of the material of which present-day Ovimbundu women make their cooking pots. These sherds mark the places now used by small nomadic bands, hence the surface pottery may have no connection with a pre-Umbundu culture.

In the vicinity of this walled stone village are hillside cairns marking the sites of graves. These have been robbed by medicine-men in search of material for their charms.

The Ovimbundu have no traditions regarding the site, neither is there legendary or other evidence to show that the Ovimbundu ever
made their villages of stone. 764
The raising of a cairn of stones over the body of a hunter is, however, a present-day practice near Ganda and in the Esele country.

If a site cannot be systematically worked, it is better left alone until scientific investigation is possible. The preliminary clearance of grass and timber would be a long process. The archaeological material recovered from such a site would be of a uniform and simple kind. There is no evidence of anything beyond an elementary stone age culture.

361 At the present time one type of village is surrounded by stout stakes ten or more feet high set in a roughly circular plan. The arrangement of alleyways within the village is complicated without following any symmetrical plan. A visitor sees only a labyrinth of passages between high poles, with here and there a rectangular wooden 417 335 gate at intervals along the passages. The door itself is made from four stout heavy planks which are roughly hewn and as a rule undecorated, but occasionally I have seen the panels of a door carved with [531] designs representing the breasts of a woman; or there may have been simple geometrical patterns. The top ends of the door panels are massive spheres of wood bored through with holes. Through the holes in the tops of these panels a pintle is passed in such a way that the door is suspended from above. During the daytime the lower ends of the panels are raised to the level of the lintel. They are there supported on a Y-shaped upright which is erected in front of the doorway. At night the planks are removed from this support and allowed to hang downward in the doorway. There is a sliding crosspiece to push over the lower ends. The same arrangement is sometimes used to make a door for a hut. This old type of village doorway, common twenty years ago, is becoming increasingly rare.

342 644 621 The house of a king or a chief is larger than that of a commoner. The enclosure which contains a king's house and the other buildings is named *elombe*, while *epandasailo* is the word used to describe the entrance to this compound. The *elombe* is built by men and women who receive no payment. There is a ceremony when the compound is opened. The house of the chief, Kandimba Sanjahulu, near Bailundu, is rectangular, with mud walls raised on a platform of earth and stones. Whitewash has been applied to the outside of the walls and some ornament is given in the form of painted blue crosses. [113] Complete study of structural types and the planning of internal divisions has been made by F. and W. Jaspert, of the Städtisches Völkermuseum, Frankfort.

644 At a village near Cuma the house of the chief differed from the dwellings of commoners in being somewhat larger. The house had been abandoned, not because the chief died there, but because the chieftainship had been transferred to an adjacent village. The tomb, which will be described in connection with funeral rites, was a few yards from the house. This mausoleum was surrounded by a high wooden palisade, to a stake of which were attached the horns of an ox killed at the funeral feast, while the jawbone lay in the enclosure

(Plate XLV, Fig. 2). The house of bows for holding sacred relics 644
will be described in connection with religion (Plate XLVI, Fig. 1).

In former days there used to be a hard mud floor for dancing, 241 135
centrally placed in the village.

In the center of the village is the communal house where all men, 344
and boys over four years of age, gather to eat their food, which is sent by the women. This *onjango* is the place of assembly for discussion of village affairs. A house of this kind at Bailundu is circular in form with a diameter of seventeen feet (Plate XLVIII, Fig. 1). In the middle of the *onjango* are stones forming a fireplace. In
another such house there were jawbones of oxen. These were [681]
suspended from the walls as tokens of the payment of fines. There
is no communal house for females. In some villages there is a [417]
common kraal for cattle.

The king's compound usually contains: 644

(1) The king's house, which invariably has a separate sleeping room.

(2) A house and kitchen for each of his wives.

(3) A tomb for the burial of kings and their wives.

(4) The house of bows for staffs, bows, mats, and tobacco-pipes of dead chiefs.

(5) A house of meditation for the king (Plate LXXXIX, Fig. 1).

(6) Pens for pigs and chickens.

The guest houses (Plate XLVIII, Fig. 2) that I have seen were [485]
not in the king's compound. Granaries, which are conspicuous in 343
every village, have been mentioned in connection with food supply
(Plate XLIV, Fig. 1). Each house has its own granary. I have 364
noticed garbage pits containing corn husks and refuse from sweet potatoes, but there is as a rule no organized scheme for disposing of refuse; dogs and pigs are the scavengers. There is no particular place for defecation; people use the bush.

Every man has a knowledge of house-building. Women do not 462
actually build, but, along with the children, they pour water into 476
the clay pit and carry clay to the men who are plastering the walls. [328]
Ngonga says, "People would be surprised to see a woman building a house. They would call her a he-woman." Men help one another in house-building by giving reciprocal service for which there is a gift of food and beer.

A deep rectangular clay pit is made as close to the house as possi- 338
ble, and the children thoroughly enjoy puddling the clay with their

338 feet. A trench about eighteen inches deep is dug for the poles
(*akoso*), which form the framework. The wattle work is tied to the
uprights with strong strips of red bark before the plastering is begun.
341 The old type of Umbundu house was round, but most of the houses
171 now show a transition to square or rectangular forms (Plate XLIV,
Fig. 2).

[531] Exterior wall-painting is found only in the northern districts of
Angola (Plate LXXXIX, Fig. 2). Between Saurimo and Malange
in the north, rectangular, painted houses are frequently seen. Wall-
painting is a cultural trait from the Congo region where that form
of decoration is common.

796 The method of forming a village site and the right of the chief to
621 allot land have been described. The house of the chief is the first
to be erected. There is drinking of beer to celebrate the completion
of the village, and the pots of beer have to be stirred with the claws
of chickens; these have been killed to provide blood for sprinkling
the walls of the new houses. Village chiefs go through the process
of stirring and drinking. The medicine-man drinks first, then he
offers the cup to the chief.

344 The communal house is built by the united efforts of all men of
476 the village. Ngonga says, "The king never helps with any of the
[485] building, but he talks very much." The guest house is also built
644 by communal labor. The king of the *ombala* of Ngalangi told me
that a king always uses the house of his predecessor, which must
not be pulled down. No repairs are permitted and the house is used
until it is absolutely untenable.

359 The interior of a commoner's house has three hearth stones in the
342 middle of the floor, which is of hard mud beaten down with a heavy
wooden implement called *ocikandulo*. The ceremonial placing of the
stones has been described in discussing marriage. There is no chim-
ney, consequently the walls and roof are blackened with smoke.
The junction of roof and walls provides pockets for the reception of
small articles. On the floor near the walls may be several large beer
pots. The dark smoky interior is almost intolerable. The sleeping
352 room is sometimes separated from the living room by matting. The
bed is made from a cross-work of sticks supported on four Y-shaped
posts, one at each corner. On the bed are coarse sleeping mats and
possibly a modern blanket.

356 The miscellaneous contents of the hut are gourds, dippers, cooking
252 pots of several sizes, pounders, and baskets. In many of the huts
I found cooking going on in the general room, but frequently a sepa-

rate hut is provided as a kitchen. In some dark corner of the hut 356
there is likely to be a sitting hen or a bitch with pups. Goats and 252
pigs intrude from time to time. Lean dogs scavenge round the
doorway. Naked little children whitened with dust play on the
floor. A woman crouches over the cooking pot stirring the glutinous 512
mass of corn meal. About sunset men are gathering in the council
house to which their meals are sent.

They push forward the logs into the fire, throw their blankets around them and chatter until the women and children arrive with the evening meal. In the vicinity of the village, boys are wandering about with blunt wooden arrows fitted to their bowstrings, to be ready for the homeward flight of birds. Other boys are driving cattle to the kraal.

As darkness falls the long tubular drums are brought out. These [535
are held between the legs and played in compound rhythm (Plate
XXVII, Fig. 1). A shuffling dance begins, slowly at first, then with
increasing vigor, to be continued far into the night.

VII. EDUCATION

INDUSTRIAL TRAINING AND DIVISION OF LABOR

871 Usually there is no formality connected with the industrial and occupational training of Ovimbundu children. The section dealing with play shows that boys and girls learn by spontaneous imitation of their elders.

874 There are, however, exceptions to this general truth. Special rites connected with the training and inauguration of blacksmiths and hunters have been described. The training of medicine-men and women will be dealt with in chapter IX, "Religion."

462
463 In describing economic life in chapter V, division of labor on a sex basis; also specialization in industry because of peculiar tastes and aptitudes, were noted. There is clearly a twofold division in industrial life. In the first place sex determines occupation, and within this primary grouping there is a secondary grouping depending [467] on personal preference and individual ability. I have found no instance of exclusive hereditary right to any occupation or industry.

462 The net result of the Umbundu system of division of labor is indicated by the following summary:

[342] When building houses, men dig the rectangular trench, cut the poles for the framework, lash the crosspieces, cut grass and lay the thatch, then place clay over the wattle walls. Women carry water for mixing the clay and convey the moist clay to the plasterers. [224] Children puddle the clay with their feet. Males are hunters both professional and general. During a communal hunt women and children assist in driving game, which is frightened by the firing of [857] grass. Boys organize games in which they imitate these activities. [226] Men fish with a line and bait, whereas women use baskets and [231] narcotic poison. Men and boys take care of cattle and have charge of dogs. Women and girls give what slight attention is afforded to other domestic animals. Male specialists castrate bulls and goats.

[241] During agricultural operations men clear the ground and burn the bush. Women carry on hoe cultivation without assistance from [482] men. Men are the chief carriers in caravans, but women and children may sometimes be seen carrying loads. They march in line with the men but have smaller burdens. Males are employed in blacksmith's work, wood-carving, making weapons and tools, weaving mats, dressing hides, spinning cotton, and formerly in weaving on an upright loom. Men are exclusively the makers of

Men are exclusively the makers of 462

musical instruments, and males are the musicians. Men are the [534
only persons engaged in warfare and administration, and the *onjango*
or council house is used exclusively by males. Men follow the [756]
occupation of medicine-man, in which there is considerable specialization. Female practitioners deal with pregnancy and women's ailments. In addition to the tasks for women mentioned above, the following are staple occupations: collecting firewood, drawing water, caring for infants, making pottery, weaving baskets, dancing, and singing. Young girls share these activities with older women.

The foregoing categories explain division on the grounds of sex. 463
Degrees of specialization are not so easy to formulate, but in general a man follows some one occupation, for example wood-carving. Then within this occupation there is specialization in the making of drums, domestic utensils, or figurines.

Almost any woman could make pottery or baskets, but the difference in skill leads naturally to concentration in the hands of expert potters and basket-weavers respectively. These sell their [432
wares to those who either do not make such articles or are inept at the process.

STANDARDS OF CONDUCT, MANNERS, AND SALUTATIONS

The parents of a child, also his maternal uncle, assume respon- 861
sibility for training in the precepts and standards given here. The 867
maternal uncle, who is the mother's oldest brother, is particularly interested because he has to pay fines should his sister's children commit thefts. The evidence indicates that the home and restricted family have formative influences over the conduct of children.

Children are beaten if they tell lies, answer old people rudely, or steal food. Ngonga says that his "stealing hand" was once placed in the hot leaves of the cooking pot. If a child steals an egg which is cooking, the hot egg is held between the culprit's hands.

One cannot fail to notice the quiet and unobtrusive way in which children sit in the presence of their elders both in the home and in the council house. Children do not speak when their elders are in [858]
conversation, unless addressed.

A child, likewise an adult, receives a gift with both hands. The [576]
implied idea is that reception with one hand is a depreciation of the gift. If a child holds out one hand, the hand is slapped. When receiving, an Ocimbundu says *"kuku,"* literally grandfather or elder. Colloquially the word is used to mean greeting, "I thank you," or "I beg your pardon."

577 Lying is strongly disapproved and the liar is called *ohembi*. The Ovimbundu appreciate hospitality (*unu*) which also means generosity. A man who is hospitable is said to be *ongavi*. Greediness, which is disliked, is described by the word *oku sapa* ("to be greedy"). There are standards of honesty in sales and exchanges. A deceiver in trade is *ohembi*.

836 With regard to the relation of the sexes in early years it may be said that, in spite of boy and girl friendships, and the communal sleeping of boys and girls at the home of one of the girls, a man expects to marry a virgin, a point which has been dealt with in describing marriage ceremonies.

Naturally there is a difficulty in obtaining precise information respecting the details of these nocturnal gatherings of boys and girls. Ngonga said that girls inform their parents concerning the house where the night is to be spent, and there is a point of etiquette requiring that girls must not go to a house where boys are staying together.

864 Standards of conduct already described under courtship are a result of direct teaching by parents. Marriage rules and a classificatory system of relationships, with its prohibitive decrees, are taught in the home, in the men's council house, and at initiation ceremonies where such exist. In addition to these sources of instruction there is no doubt an unconscious absorption of ideas and standards. The power of suggestion is always at work through everyday examples.

831 [562] Apart from demands made by tribal custom and direct instruction there are variable personal standards of modesty. Ngonga states that many lascivious stories are told among men, and when the men are drunk, they tell these to women. "Sometimes the women laugh, but the good women do not like to hear these tales."

576 643 565 A male commoner when meeting the king bows low, extends his arms, claps his palms and says, "*ohosi* ["lion"] *akuku* ["grandfather"]." Only the old people follow the ancient custom of falling on their knees when greeting the king. The Ovimbundu never were in the habit of doing more profound obeisance, but the Vangangella, when greeting one of their kings, rub their chins on the ground and place dust on their chests. Even at the present day a woman or child of the Ovimbundu is expected to kneel when greeting a king, but such an acknowledgment is not now usual in greetings given by a male commoner. The reply of the king to the commoner is "*kalunga*." This word enters into greetings of all kinds. The literal meaning of the word is "the sea," "king," "god," or "death," but the interpretation

of the word depends upon the syllable accented and the context, as 576
further explained in the chapter on the Umbundu language. 643

A man or woman of the royal family greets the king with the 565
words *na kuku; na* means "lord," and *kuku* is a term used for any old man to whom the speaker intends to show respect. *Kuku* is also applied to a man who stands in the relationship of grandfather. The king is expected to reply to a greeting given by one of the royal family by placing his right hand on his chest and saying twice, "*kalunga.*" There may then follow from the king a question relating to welfare in general. Possibly the king will inquire the object of his subject's journey. A *sekulu* ("chief of a village") greets a king in the same manner as does a commoner, and the king replies as he would to a commoner.

Commoners greet a *sekulu* with the words *na kalunga* ("lord, greeting"). One *sekulu* greets another of the same rank with the one word *kalunga,* accompanied by clapping of the palms. Male commoners clap hands on meeting; this action is accompanied by the word *kalunga,* from each of them. Two female commoners use the word *kalunga* as a greeting, but as a rule they do not clap hands. They do, however, clap their palms when greeting a woman of the royal house.

Boys and girls must greet their fathers, maternal uncles, grand- 561
fathers, and other old men with either of the terms *na kuku* or *na* 576
kalunga, the latter being more usual. *Na kuku* would be the appropriate term of respect for any elderly man. Children use the same words (*na kuku*) when addressing any elderly woman, including a grandmother. A usual greeting of a child to the mother, likewise to the mother's sister, would be *kalunga mai* ("greetings, mother").

There is no prescribed form of address to the medicine-man. 576
Greetings between a commoner and a medicine-man follow the usage [654]
noted for two commoners. Ngonga says, "They will treat him (the [756]
medicine-man) like a village chief if he is an old man and good. Perhaps they will say *na kalunga* as if talking to a chief."

In the early morning people pass the greeting *oku lipasula.* This means "we have been like dead, we are awake." The appropriate
early morning greeting of a commoner to the king or to a chief is [643]
oku lipasula a kuku. A usual afternoon greeting is *oku lañisa.* The evening greeting is *oku lisuñinya.*

One who desires to pass across a room usually walks in front of other people, but while passing the attitude must not be erect. The thumb and middle finger should be snapped together, while the words

576 *konyimo oko* are spoken. The literal interpretation of these words is "back there." Ngonga says the words actually mean "excuse my back."

827
576 Spitting in the vicinity of the house of the king or of the chief is not allowed. "If you did that in the old days, you would have to pay something." Some people spit near the hearth in their own houses. A man who spits in the road is expected to cover the spittle. No person would spit in the presence of the chief or of the king. A hand should be placed in front of the mouth by a person who is coughing or sneezing.

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[851] Shortly after the birth of a boy or girl all who are on good terms with the parents greet them by saying *kalunga*. The word is repeated four times with clapping of the palms. When words have been imperfectly heard and the listener desires repetition it is customary to say *kuku* in an interrogative tone.

[264] No particular etiquette is observed when eating. Two or three children eat from one platter, helping themselves with their fingers to the mush or sweet potatoes.

Rules forbidding the preparation of food by menstruating women, likewise prohibitions relating to stepping over a person, are mentioned in discussing taboos and omens.

EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF PLAY, MUSIC, AND DANCING

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[113] The educational value of play lies in its imitation of the pursuits of adult life. Though there are specialists in music, dancing, and singing, these exercises are indulged in by everyone. Music, singing, and dancing are more than amusements, they are fundamental as coordinating forces in tribal life at all levels of culture (W. D. Hambly, Tribal Dancing and Social Development, London, 1926).

Among the Ovimbundu *Cimbamba Co Lia* is a popular game for girls, who form a circle, join hands, and sing:

PART I

524
[535] *Omola una, ndo sile vekango, Cimbamba co lia* ("That little child was left in the desert, the nighthawk ate it"). At the word *Cimbamba* they begin to dance, facing from side to side in such a manner that they meet and bow. Some sing, *Cimbamba co lia* ("The nighthawk ate him"), and others respond, *Kalikisi* ("'tis the goblins"), as many times as they wish. Finally a return is made to the first words which are sung again. All musical transcriptions have been made by Dr. G. Herzog from my phonographic records.

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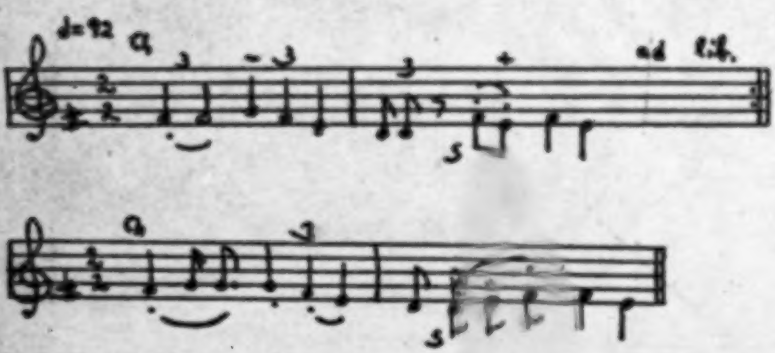
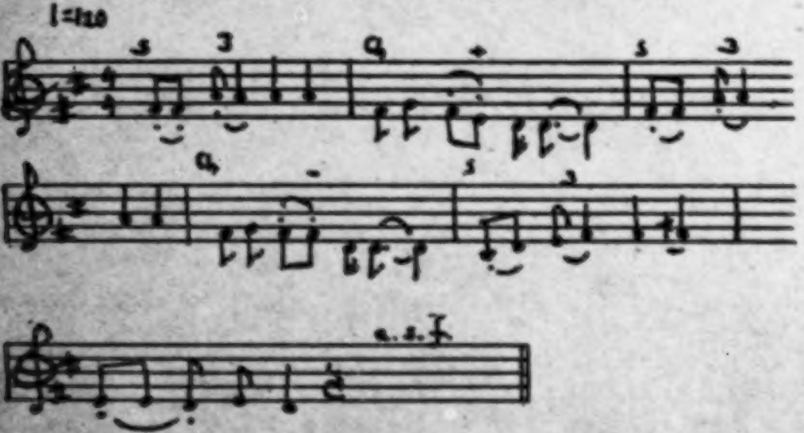
[533]



PART II

The children then form in a line holding each other. The leader is the mother and all the others are her children, except one who is the leopard. The last child in the line calls, *A mai, ongue yi ndia* ("Mother, the leopard will eat me"). Mother, *Ka yi ku li,* ("It will not eat you"). Child, *Yi lia utapi wovava* ("It is eating the water carrier"). Mother, *Ka yi ku li.* Child, *Yi lia utiañi wolohui.* Mother, *Ka yi ku li.* The one who represents the leopard now attempts to pass the outstretched arms of the mother in order to catch the child. Every time the leopard is foiled in his attempt to catch the child they all cry, *Ah-ah-ah Ka yi ku li.*

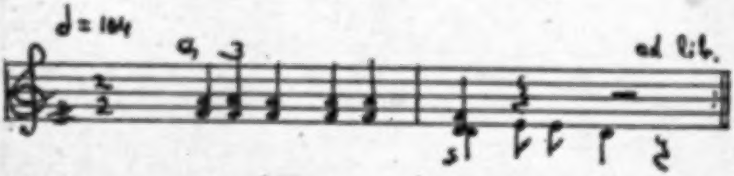
[533]



Eventually the leopard gets the last child and deposits it on the ground where it immediately begins to imitate the pounding of meal and to sing, *Fule, fule, fule, fule, kolohanda ko Luwa* ("Pound, pound, pound, pound on the rocks of Luwa"). This ditty, which is sung by women during their daily occupation of pounding maize on the

524 rocks, is repeated until all the children have been captured. Lastl the mother is caught and taken by the leopard to the bushes, whe he hides her.

[533]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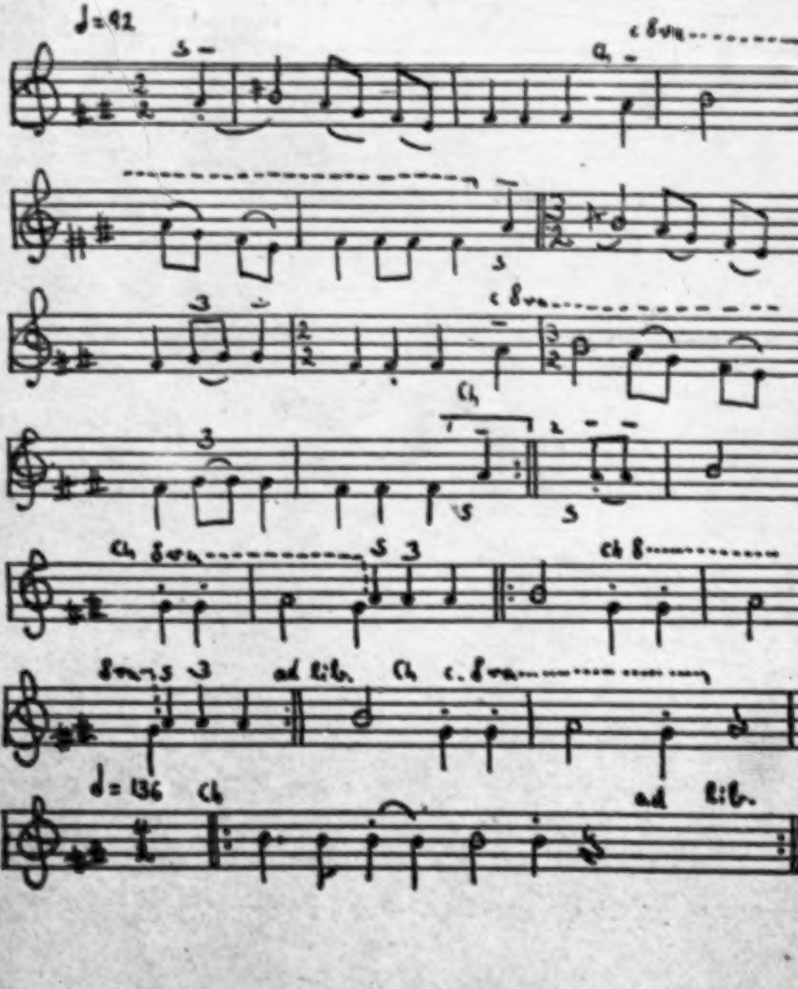
The leopard goes back and picks up a handful of sand which an imitation of meal. Each of the children pretends to pick up handful of sand before going in search of the mother. The leopar

[533]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says, "Here's your mother." The children look and sing, "She's not there." They throw sand in that direction. The leopard repeatedly leads to places where the mother is not hidden, while each time the same words are repeated and sand is thrown. Finally the leopard leads the children to the place where the mother is hidden. Then the mourning song is changed to a glad dance. The children clap hands and sing, *Mai Ciasangu weya. Mai Ciasangu weya* ("Mother Ciasangu has come"). 524

After transcribing the music of this song Dr. Herzog reported, "The melodies are rather simple, moving within a restricted range, with a plain rhythm, the same short unassuming melodic fragment being repeated as long as the game may require it, or changed slightly to suit the words. It should be kept in mind that these are children's songs; other songs of the Ovimbundu are probably much more elaborate. The manner of singing songs by a solo and a responding choir is highly characteristic of African singing. Thirds as seen in the transcriptions on page 218 are often used in the music of west Africa. 533

"In the musical notations, *S* stands for Solo, *Ch* for the Choir. *A* as a sign above a note indicates that the tone is sung approximately a quartertone higher than noted. It indicates a short transitional tone of slight rhythmic or melodic significance and of uncertain pitch."

There is but one example of children's dolls in Field Museum's collection. This was obtained from a little Ocimbundu girl of Elende. The doll is made from a corncob which is draped in blue cloth of European origin such as women wear. My interpreter said that the dressing of dolls made from corncobs is a general custom at the time of cutting the corn. In view of the frequent occurrence of agricultural rites among Bantu Negroes, the use of dolls led me to inquire into the possibility of there being some kind of fertility cult associated with a corn-mother concept, but my inquiries met with negative results. 524 [241]

There is an Umbundu word for game (*omapalo*; plural, *olomapalo*) which is used for games in general. The verb *oku papala* means "to play." As a rule, male adults do not play games, but they have the game of mancala which is called *ocela*. This is difficult because it involves quick counting. Mancala has a wide distribution as shown by the fact that it occurs in Africa, Syria, the Malay Archipelago, South America, and the West Indies. At Dom Manuel in the southeast of Angola I saw an arrangement of holes in the ground which was used for this game. There were four rows of fourteen holes in each row. The counters were nuts from an oil palm. [171]

524 In the compound of the king at Ngalangi there was an ocel
board consisting of an oval piece of wood on a short base. Thi
board had holes arranged in four rows of seven, twenty-eight hole
[525] in all. The king refused to sell the board. He said that it wa
highly valued and that the gambling stakes were high.

Up to the age of sixteen years boys play the game of *ocitik* Each side has a number of bulbs from a figwort, which are rolle along between two lines of boys who shoot at them with arrow The winners are those who have shot the greater number of thei opponents' bulbs. The party *A* rolls bulbs while the opponents do the shooting. Then the positions are reversed. A game wit whipping tops is *engilili* which is said to be of Umbundu origin not a derivative from a Portuguese game. There is no evidenc that games are seasonal; any game may be played at any time.

Games of mimicry naturally form a diversion, and boys imitat the occupations of their elders. The chief activities of adult male are warfare, hunting, and carrying, all of which used to play a very important part in the communal life up to a few years ago. When boys play at making war they have two sides, the attack and the defense. The attacking party runs about the village taking prisoners, who are tied with bark rope. Girls sometimes play this and other games with the boys, but usually boys and girls play separately.

Sometimes strong boys are selected for hunters whose dogs are the little boys. Boys who pretend to be the antelopes or other game go to the tall grass to hide. Toy bows and arrows are made, but sometimes the hunters go through only the movements of shooting. The boys who are pretending to be the game roll over and gasp when shot. The "dead game" has to cling to the pole on which it is borne to the village on the shoulders of the hunters. The little boys go along on all fours barking like dogs.

The Ovimbundu were, and still are, renowned carriers whose prowess is imitated in boys' games. Boys make up loads in the correct way; that is, lashed in the fork of two long sticks which can be rested on the ground. These they carry along, singing as they go. There is some wrestling, also stone throwing to test distance and accuracy. Rubber is made into a ball which is bounced rapidly and repeatedly with the open palm. Men and boys sometimes form a ring around which the ball is thrown from one person to another.

The Ovimbundu have no game played with string wound around the fingers, and I have been unable to find any evidence for the past or present formation of string figures. I have seen boys making bird cages and wooden animals to use as playthings. Girls mold small animals from clay. The bull-roarer is in use as a plaything at Elende. 524

There is a game of hide and seek for boys. A knife is hidden; then a boy who has been absent for a time enters the ring marked off for the game. His proximity to the knife is indicated by playing on a musical bow. There are taps on the instrument which mean that the knife is far away. On the contrary, when the searcher approaches the hidden knife, the boy with the bow plays a distinctive note, *yelala, yelala*, meaning "pick it up, pick it up."

Boys readily make a simple apparatus for playing a game of lassoing a hoop. A pliable branch is bent so as to form a circle, then the ends are lashed together with bark strips. The lasso is a piece of rattan or bark having at each end a corncob or a small stick three inches long. One boy bowls the hoop so that it passes in front of, and a few feet away from his opponent, who stands twenty-five feet distant. As the hoop passes in front of him, the boy throws his lasso in such a way that it twines round the hoop and brings it to the ground.

There are dances of many kinds, but Ngonga says that he would not know from the steps only what particular purpose the dance served. Several dances have been described, each in its appropriate section. There are no dances specially arranged to celebrate weddings or births. The funeral dance is described along with other ceremonies relating to interment. The medicine-man dances in connection with making rain or curing the sick. In order to say why the dance was being performed, it would be necessary to listen to the words of the songs; these are usually chanted in accompaniment to shuffling movements and the rhythm of drums. 535 [789]

Some of the older men and women perform dances and sing songs that are unknown to the younger generation. Dancing is in favor during the months of May and June because there are supplies of maize for making beer. As the dry season advances the maize formerly available for making beer is consumed as food, hence dancing is not so usual. Ngonga says that the old people know a dance which should be performed at new moon "so that there will be no sickness during this moon." Older men dance in commemoration of events during past wars, while women are spectators, and on these occasions there are beer-drinking and the slaughter of an ox. A group of men keeps up a shuffling dance while an old man relates a war story in a singsong voice. The oldest man is the first to cut the meat, after which each man helps himself. 535 527 [727]

535 Almost every evening one may hear the tapping of drums an the songs of dancers, because in addition to dances for a funeral o other special occasion there are ordinary dances of amusement i which lines of men and women advance and retreat, or men an women circle round the drums making arm movements accompanied by a swaying rhythm.

[243] The dance *onpaco*, performed in June when the corn is ripe, ma have an ancient history and special significance as part of an agricultural rite. When corn is being stored the people sing, "There i grain in the house, may it never be out." There is no dance i [226] connection with fishing.

224 There is mimicry of animals in the hunting game played by boys The frog, the leopard, and other animals are imitated in certai games, but I have no evidence of the performance of mimetic dance in relation to any cult for increasing the supply of animal life.

535 [534] The use of the small ball *ombunje* illustrates the way in which an apparent toy can be used in rites of a religious kind. *Ombunj* consists of a hard spherical fruit about six centimeters in diameter in which several hard seeds rattle. The sphere is covered with a layer of cloth over which lizard skin is stretched and sewn.

[769] [789] When the people wish to commemorate the death of a king, o when the king is sick, the medicine-man (*ocimbanda*) says that there must be *osaka* dancing. A strong man dances for many hours while holding this little ball in his outstretched hand. Other men who are dancing use their fists to hit the muscles of the outstretched arm in an attempt to make the holder drop the ball (*ombunje*). If he does so another man will promptly take hold of it. The precise nature of the endurance test is unexplained, but there is possibly the idea of giving strength to a sick king by this tension and endurance. My interpreter thought this was so, but could not explain why the dance should be performed to commemorate the death of a king. It would seem natural, however, to transfer the *ombunje* rite to a commemorative festival, if in the first place it was part of the last rites of a dying king.

534 463 There are among the Ovimbundu specialists in dancing, singing, and the playing of musical instruments. *Onjimbi* is the word for a singer of merit who starts the choruses. *Ocili* is a dancer of more than ordinary skill. When a man is required to play a drum or other instrument I have noticed that it is thought necessary to bring a specialist. There is no doubt that drumming requires special aptitude and practice. The man who plays the long drum is *usiki*, the drum

itself is *onoma*. The flat wooden drum without membrane is *ocingufu*, 534
the player of this drum is *usiki wocingufu* (Plate XXVII, Fig. 2). 463
The long tubular drums vary in length from 50 to 103 cm. At a funeral, four of these tubular drums, which are usually held between the legs or placed upright, are played in compound rhythm. A performer always warms the skin of the drum at a fire, and sometimes the pitch is altered by sticking a lump of wax on the membrane of a long drum, or on the sides of a wooden drum.

Dr. Herzog reports as follows, after transcribing several cylinders 533
of phonographic records of rhythms played on the long drum, and after examining motion pictures which were synchronized with the drumming (Plates XXV, XXVI).

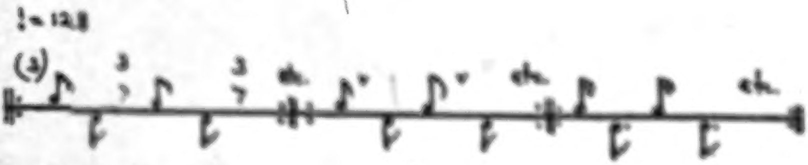
"These motion pictures indicate the position of the performer's hands, and suggest that the sharply accented tones are produced by impacts from the phalanges. The higher notes so produced have been marked by notes above the line. A mark placed between notes indicates a very short rest.

"No. 1 (dictaphone record 3) represents the drumming of a young player, who is apparently still an apprentice, since his rhythm is very simple. The three forms of his playing given below were used interchangeably, and he shifted from one to the other without stopping. In the second form, the order of the sharp and of the plain beat is reversed. Otherwise, the sharp beat occurs, in the playing of all drummers, on the off beat. The rhythm of No. 2 (dictaphone record 15) is a little more varied because the player was changed. The drummer of No. 3 (dictaphone record 30) was the best performer in the neighborhood, according to Mr. Hambly; and his playing is the most interesting. The drum records consist of a small number of rhythms which are freely interchanged; the two predominating rhythms are given below. The moving pictures were made from this player's performance.

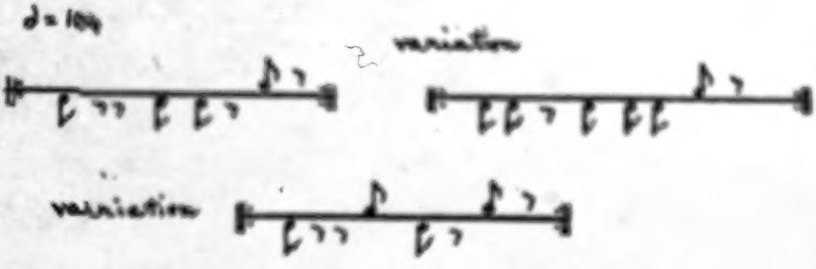
"The notations found here do not convey to the reader the bewildering complexity of African rhythm, for this appears only when a performance includes the use of several drums and musical instruments in conjunction with dancing."

From Ngalangi a large friction drum 120 cm long and 47 cm in 534
diameter was obtained. This instrument, which was the property [422]
of the village, was played only on public occasions. Apparently the drum had been hollowed from a log of wood, one end of which was left open while the other was covered with hide. To the inner side of this hide a long cane was attached. On the side of the drum

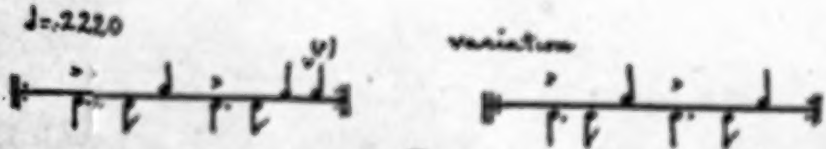
533



1



2



3

534 and in the middle was an oval aperture. The performer laid the drum on the ground and took his seat astride it. He dipped his right hand in a gourd of water, then rubbed his wet palm up and down the cane rod, which he could reach through the oval aperture. The sound of the rubbing on the rod was communicated to the membrane.

A short friction drum made at Elende measures 21 by 42 cm. One end of the drum is covered with hide kept taut by pegs of wood while the other end is open for the insertion of the player's hand. A cane rod is attached to the inside of the membrane. The [156] assistant of a medicine-man holds this instrument under his arm and plays during divination. The medicine-man sits on a stool shaking his divination basket (Plate XXIII, Fig. 2).

Rattles are of three kinds, and of these the more common are a small, long-necked gourd containing hard seeds, and a compound rattle made by fixing seed pods on a stick. Rattles of the latter type are sometimes tied to the ankles during dancing and they usually form a part of the medicine-man's outfit (Plate XXII, Fig. 4). From Cangamba a basket rattle of dumb-bell form was obtained; the basket-work receptacles at each end of the connecting rod contain hard seeds (Plate XXII, Fig. 1). /534

At Bailundu three Ovimbundu flute players met a party of visitors whom they accompanied around the native village under the leadership of a chief. The men played the flutes continuously except when the chief was speaking. The wooden flutes varied in length from 20 to 50 cm. The instruments were end-played, and the smallest of them had seven stop-holes. The visitors were conducted from the village by this small orchestra which is a permanent guard of honor for the chief (Plate XL, Fig. 1). 533 534

At Cangamba the Vachokue have an instrument consisting of eight slats of wood which vary in length and thickness. These sounding boards are attached to two parallel cords which are kept tight by two assistants. The performer taps the wooden slats with two sticks terminating in balls of wax. This is the well-known marimba, but the gourds which are usually fastened under the slats of wood were absent in this instance. 534 171

The instrument *ocisanji* is played well by only a few men. It consists of a wooden board, often well carved, on which there are from eight to nineteen thin keys of metal. These can be pushed backward and forward in their bridge so as to alter the vibrating length and pitch of the note. The pitch may also be varied by placing small balls of wax on the under side of the keys. When the instrument is held between the palms the player's thumbs are in position for stroking the keys. Sometimes *ocisanji* is played inside a wide gourd (Plate XXII, Fig. 5). 534

The musical bow is called *ombumbumba*. The bridge, which is a small stone, or a piece of wood placed at one end of the bow, keeps the string taut. The gourd is tightly fastened to the bowstring with a loop of string. One end of the bow is sometimes placed in the player's mouth. The left hand holds the bow and presses the gourd to the body, then releases it a little from time to time in order to assist tone and resonance. The player holds in his right hand a reed which is tapped lightly on the bowstring, while the thumb and forefinger of the left hand are used occasionally in pressing on the string to alter its vibrating length (Plate XXII, Fig. 6).

534 Another musical bow named *ekolowa* is of simple construction, consisting of a strip of cane from 54 to 70 cm long and 2 cm wide. At each end of the cane is a projection. A string, when tightly stretched between these projections, pulls the cane into the form of a bow. The performer, placing one end of the bow in his mouth, plucks the string with his thumb and forefinger (Plate XXII, Fig. 7).

Two rubbing instruments are used by the Ovimbundu. *Ogolanda* is a large gourd with a slit in the top along which there is a board cut into sixteen notches. The rubbing of a short stick along these notches produces a sound which is greatly amplified by the gourd resonator. The second instrument of this type is in the form of a wooden bow having its thickest part notched for rubbing with a stick (Plate XXII, Figs. 3, 8).

533 Only specialists are skilled in composing songs, and both men and women are composers. The younger people sometimes go to the old people to learn songs which were popular a generation ago. There are no professional itinerant story-tellers.

There is a chant for funerals which has been quoted in the appropriate section, but no special wedding songs are used. The Ovimbundu have satirical songs humorously describing individual [626] foibles and peculiarities, and as usual in Negro communities a satirical song is feared by thieves, adulterers, or other offenders.

In former days when men were on the warpath they sang, [726] *Okaimbo ketu katito eteke tu lisanumbula tu tandako.* ("Our village is little today, we attack, we extend.") Another war song is *Ocisonde ci likoko ove o kasi vonjila tumdamo.* ("Red ant that creeps along, you who are in the way, get out.")

When men on the march came to a camping ground occupied [484] by another caravan, they sang as a challenge, *Cinene nye? Cinene onjamba kakuli okachama kavela ukuavo.* ("What is the largest? There is no animal largest. The largest is the elephant.")

During hauling and carrying, men sing, *Yende, yende chale, ocimboto lomala vaco.* ("Let it go, let it go, the crab, the frog, with its children.")

482 Lifting loads is always accompanied by noises which suggest that someone is injured. Part of the men make deep grunts to which their companions answer with prolonged groans.

INITIATION

867
881 Evidence bearing on initiatory rites in Angola shows that the ceremonies are arranged as a process of incorporation into the

tribes, for everywhere these rites aim at securing ideas of unity, cooperation, conformity to tribal law, and admission to adult tribal life. 867 881

The methods used to achieve these aims are seclusion, circumcision, physical suffering, direct tuition, dancing, hunting, a change of name, and finally a ceremonial return to the tribe with adult status and the right to marry.

The following notes give details of ceremonies witnessed at three centers; namely, Katoko, Ngalangi, and Cangamba. For comparison of these rites with others performed in eastern Angola reference should be made to the books of A. Schachtzabel, and to the papers of H. Baumann (III), and F. and W. Jaspert, whose observations were made independently of each other and of my own investigation. 114 171 881

The dances of the novices at Katoko, where there is a mixed population of Ovimbundu, Vangangella, and Vachokue tribes, are part of the final ceremonies following circumcision and seclusion. The social group formed by this collective circumcision, seclusion, and dancing, is called *ovinganji*, which is the name of the initiatory rites themselves. A boy who has been initiated is not allowed to become friendly with one who has not suffered the ceremony, and all boys who were circumcised at the same time preserve a sense of unity by dancing in a company and moving about together for twelve weeks after their return to the village from which they came. 881

Circumcision, which is prohibited by the Portuguese government, is still practised secretly in some regions. When circumcision is carried out by primitive methods serious infection may result from the lack of clean instruments, for the knife is, of course, unsterilized. 881 304

After the operation the patients are subjected to harsh treatment during the period of cure that follows. The circumcised are secluded in a wooded area. Food provided by the parents is placed on the bank of a river near which the initiation camp is built, and after the parents have gone away the boys bring their rations from the river to the camp. Before eating, the boys are obliged to give profuse thanks to the men who are acting as tutors. In some regions there is no food ration for the boys, and the rule is that each boy must subsist on what he is able to catch and collect with his hands.

Each boy has a male guardian who takes care of him after the operation. Those who have been operated upon are not permitted to wear clothes, nor are they allowed to warm themselves until quite healed. Any infraction of the rules results in a severe whipping.

881 292 During the period of isolation costumes for the dance are made. These consist of clothing of tightly fitting, coarse netting, masks, and girdles which are for the use of only those boys who have been circumcised. The feasts and dances celebrating the conclusion of initiatory rites are of great importance. Women are not supposed to know that the operation of circumcision is taking place, and they are taught that *ovinganji* are supernatural beings who have sprung up from the earth; therefore every effort is made to conceal masks and costumes from the sight of women and the uninitiated. No female is allowed to go near the enclosure where novices are confined.

881 A few days after observing the costumes and dances of the newly initiated boys at Katoko I was in the Ngalangi region at the village of Ngongo, about a hundred miles to the north of Katoko. At Ngalangi two boys of the Ovimbundu were questioned with regard to their experiences in the initiation camp.

It is certain that initiation ceremonies are held at irregular intervals and not more frequently than once in four years. The name given to the ceremonies for boys in the Ngalangi area is *ocinganji* (*oci*, "big"; *nganji*, "judge," or a masked person). When there is a number of boys who have not been circumcised, these approach the oldest men to ask for a circumcision ceremony. The old men visit the *sekulu* ("headman") of the village to request that arrangements shall be made. An *ocimbanda* ("medicine-man"), assisted by other men, prepares a camp in a wooded area. Usually the father of each boy has to arrange that a tutor shall accompany his son to the camp, but sometimes as many as three boys have the same guardian. The guardian receives a small fee, possibly nothing more valuable than a chicken.

The camp is made on the side of a stream remote from the village. Each boy takes a chicken to the camp for the purpose of making a special meal, which is given at the name-changing ceremony which follows initiation. The chicken is eaten soon after the boy has been circumcised. The boy changes his own name for a new [553] one which is announced in the village from which he came. While circumcision is in progress the enclosure is surrounded by male drummers and men who shout, so that any noise made by the boys during circumcision will not be heard.

The period spent in camp is uncertain, probably from three to six months. The rule is that camp is not disbanded until every boy is healed; which means that the confinement may be greatly

prolonged if even one boy fails to recover. One of the two youths 881
interrogated said that in his camp there were seventy-eight boys, three of whom died. My other informant said that in his camp there were sixty-eight boys, only one of whom died. The informants agreed that the deaths were due to an epidemic of influenza and not to privations or septic conditions arising from the operation.

During the period of seclusion the boys are taught songs and dances used at the ceremony that celebrates the conclusion of their initiation. By privation the boys are taught the value of food and fire. Novices are beaten if they show any disrespect for their guardians, and trifling offences are severely punished. Every boy has to take from the fire a burning stick, which he holds in his hand while running between two lines of men who beat him, and if he drops the stick he has to start his run once more. The boys swear allegiance to one another. A novice thinks that he will die if he gives information to a woman or to a man who has not been initiated.

From his mother, each boy receives food in a gourd which he 763
deposits on the bank of a river near the novices' camp. If a boy 881
dies, a hole is bored in the gourd so that when the mother receives this she will not send more food. Each guardian has a stick which is sent to the mother of his pupil when the ceremony of initiation and seclusion is ended. If the boy has died, bark is cut from both ends of the stick before this symbol of death is sent to his parents.

When the boys come out from their camp at the conclusion of 881
the rites one man and one woman stand on the bank of the river, and the boys pass under the legs of both the man and the woman. When the boys arrive at the village the whole population comes out to welcome them. There is a feast and beer-drinking bout on the day of return.

During seclusion no water is allowed for washing, and the inform- [515]
ants laughed as they spoke of the order "wash hands," whereupon the boys merely rubbed their hands together. When the order, "wash dishes," was given the boys rubbed their platters with their hands. On the day of leaving camp the novices bathe in the river. Ablution consists of three dips, after each of which the boy stands on the bank until he is dry.

For two months the boys wear strips of bark cloth. During this [292]
period all the novices must move together, but there is no objection to their leaving the village provided they do so all in one company. While wearing bark cloth the boys have each day to attend a cere-

881 mony at which the older initiates dance while the novices clap
their hands.

I witnessed the dance of initiated boys at Ngongo, where the
[292] costumes resembled those I had seen at Katoko. At night a youth
brought for me a set of initiation costumes (Plate LXXVIII, Fig. 1),
which resembled those worn during the dance; this he did with great
secrecy.

While at Ngalangi, the initiation of girls was investigated. After several days of negotiation with a village headman three female guardians of the girls came from the bush. The illustrations (Plate LXXVII, Figs. 1, 2) show the attitudes of these women and their decoration. There were three male drummers in the orchestra and several women, who sang and clapped their hands. On emerging from the bush the females moved toward the orchestra with their backs toward the players. As there were about two hundred yards to cover, this slow backward movement occupied a long time, since the three
women did not take more than a few inches at each step. The dance
[535] itself was a slow, shuffling, swaying movement, made while the
bodies of the performers remained inclined forward and their heads
were bent so that it was almost impossible to see their faces. The
[302] women wore no clothing except loin cloths. Each female was
plastered from head to foot with alternate bands of red and white
clay smeared thickly. These three females are the women who act
[864] as instructors for the girls during isolation in the bush where they
receive sexual and domestic instruction.

881 The seclusion of girls covers a period of one month. During
304 this time the novices suffer no harsh treatment though an operation
is performed, possibly excision of the clitoris, but I am not certain
on this point. It was also stated that a corncob is introduced into
the vagina. The tribe practising this ceremony for girls was the
[171] Vanyemba, living close to the Ovimbundu at Ngongo near Ngalangi
in central Angola.

881 In order to corroborate further the two accounts of initiation
171 ceremonies for boys I journeyed to Cangamba in Moxico, eastern
304 Angola. The position of the two first centers visited (Katoko and
Ngongo) is on the border line where Ovimbundu and Vachokue
mingle, and although there is a mixture of these and other tribes
at Cangamba, the culture, language, and physique of the Vachokue
predominate. A description of the circumcision ceremonies witnessed
at Cangamba is given below for comparison with the accounts
resulting from visits to Katoko and Ngongo.

The compound in which the initiates had been confined for 881
three months was a circular enclosure made of light branches and 304
leafy boughs, at the narrow embrasure of which stood a guardian 171
of the boys, who permitted entrance. In the middle of the large enclosure were seven small cages, each of which was just large enough to allow one boy to lie on his back, and I was informed that the boys lie thus for two weeks after circumcision (Plate LXXX, Fig. 2).

The ages of the boys appeared to be from ten to seventeen years (Plate LXXX, Fig. 1), an observation which agrees well with that made at Katoko and Ngongo. The disparity of age among the novices at each center where initiation was observed bears out the statement that initiation ceremonies are held at irregular intervals, but not more frequently than once in four years.

During confinement in the large enclosure the novices had made masks and costumes (Plate LXXIX, Fig. 1), and when they were pulling on the coarse netting suits, which fit tightly, I observed that circumcision had been performed thoroughly, evidently some weeks ago, for the wounds were healed. Masks were obtained, and these the instructors of the boys were careful to wrap in bark cloth, at the same time requesting me not to show the objects to women.

A few days later these boys returned to their village to dance while wearing the costumes which had been made in the enclosure. At Cangamba the final ceremony lasted twelve hours amid great
excitement, including ceaseless drumming and dancing. One boy, [522]
who wore a skirt on his fiber costume, lifted this to display an artificial penis of great size (Plate LXXIX, Fig. 2). This organ he grasped in his hand while chasing the women and girls, who ran away screaming and laughing.

At this ceremony there appeared stilt-walkers (Plate LXXXI, Fig. 1) and a medicine-man, a member of the Luchazi tribe (Plate LXXXI, Fig. 2).

Circumcision among the Bdjok (Vachokue) has been witnessed [113]
by C. P. Holdredge and described by Kimball Young (*Amer. Anthr.*, XXIX, pp. 661–669). This ceremony took place in the far north-
east of Angola. The man described as the *magish* of whom women [756]
are afraid, but who is known to the initiates, corresponds to the Uluchazi medicine-man seen in the final ceremony at Cangamba. Of this grotesquely dressed person the men and boys took no notice, neither did he pay attention to them. On the contrary he chased women, who ran away screaming. Kimball Young's description of the enclosure where boys are confined, and his account of the

881 171 304 [114] short fiber skirts worn within this enclosure by the novices, are in agreement with the observations made at Cangamba. There is also a close resemblance between the independent accounts of H. Baumann and F. and W. Jaspert for the Vachokue, also P. A. Delille and E. de Jonghe for the southwest Congo.

The question of initiation rites, past and present, among people of pure Umbundu culture is important. The matter is more fully dealt with later in discussing cultural contacts and cultural losses, but there are a few points which should not be omitted here.

At Caconda, an Umbundu center of western Angola, Père R. P. Laagel stated that only two years ago he had visited an initiation camp of Ovimbundu boys in the hope of persuading them to return to his mission school at Caconda. My informant stated that the boys were circumcised, beaten, and confined to an enclosure for several weeks. Those who cried out when flogged received a double portion of blows. Poisoning is the fate of a boy who reveals the secrets of the initiation camp to women or uninitiated boys. This is the most direct testimony I have received concerning initiation rites among unmixed Ovimbundu.

881 292 171 From Bailundu and Elende I have obtained slight evidence of initiation rites. At the former place, which, like Elende, is a center of the Ovimbundu tribe, fiber costumes were obtained. The mask from Elende is unlike those used at Cangamba, Katoko, and Ngongo. The fiber suits are, however, no different from costumes used at these places. Initiation ceremonies are not held at Elende today, and beyond Dr. Ennis's statement that circumcision rites have been revived in the past fifteen years of his long residence in the neighborhood of Elende, I have no evidence of ritual.

881 177 The data relating to initiation of boys in Angola suggest loss of the initiatory rites from Umbundu culture, until only a few old masks and costumes, along with attenuated ritual, remain sporadically. On the contrary, in eastern Angola and particularly among the Vachokue, who are farther than the Ovimbundu from coastal influence, initiation ceremonies flourish. At present there is occurring a penetration of initiation rites from the Vachokue area into east-central Angola, which is a region of cultural admixture.

867 The foregoing pages have described certain institutions and social forces which collectively bring individuals into conformity with tribal standards of conduct. The influences at work in this direction may be direct or indirect.

Among direct educational forces are the home training given by parents and the mutual responsibility of children and their mother's brother, whose reciprocal obligations have been explained. Family life is undeniably an important institution whose power is by no means suppressed by the strength of the village community and tribal organization. 867

Initiation, which may or may not coincide with puberty, is perhaps the most potent direct influence in formation of character and the inculcation of principles tending to tribal solidarity. Formerly warfare and hunting were more important than they are today, consequently initiation rites imposing hardship and emphasizing the importance of concerted action, had a greater social value than they have at present. 867 881

Formal instruction in industries such as iron-working, or professional hunting, indicates one aspect of occupational training. In these instances there are apprenticeship and an initiatory rite. All children are, however, subject to an indirect industrial education through the agency of play, while a few, according to desire and aptitude, become experts in some particular occupation. 874 [868]

At all times the force of suggestion is at work in the home, in the men's council house, and through everyday observation of the conduct of elders. Probably folklore stories also have an indirect educational value, because some of the fables show the desirability of courage, honesty, and foresight, at the same time deprecating cowardice, stupidity, and low cunning. 869

In chapter IX religious beliefs are discussed, and, in connection with these, standards of conduct are outlined. Although the Ovimbundu have a belief in a supreme being and creator (Suku), and although they believe in survival after death, there is no evidence to show that conduct and education are influenced by theological beliefs. Suku, who is vaguely conceived, is far away and uninterested. He issues no commands. Neither is there a belief in punishments and rewards after death. The standards of conduct are based on utilitarian principles which secure harmony and unity. 771 869 [776]

The efficiency of the direct and indirect educational forces of the Ovimbundu is attested by the history of the tribe. The indigenous system of education, supported by favorable environment, consolidated these people so that they became the dominating power in Angola. Moreover, their cohesion has been such that three centuries of European contacts have failed to eliminate all the basic elements of their tribal life. 177

VIII. LANGUAGE

AFFINITIES OF UMBUNDU

197 The Umbundu language is widely understood in Angola owing to the journeys of the Ovimbundu as raiders and traders in large caravans. Umbundu is as important for communication in Angola as Hausa is for Nigeria, or Swahili for the east coast of Africa.

Notwithstanding this use of Umbundu as a lingua franca it is necessary to note that tribes surrounding the Ovimbundu have their own distinctive Bantu languages; moreover, the Umbundu language itself has several dialects.

For example, the Vasele tribe living in rugged country in the hinterland of Novo Redondo have a dialect of Umbundu (Usele) so distinctive that a competent Ocimbundu interpreter has difficulty in making himself understood, or interpreting what is said. Isolation of the Vasele from the Ovimbundu has led to the formation of a cultural pocket in which linguistic developments have shared in [184] a specialization of culture. The differences between the Umbundu of Elende and that of the Ambundu tribes may be noted by comparing this brief outline of Umbundu, recorded at Elende, with the records of Amandus Johnson, whose research relates to the language spoken in the hinterland of Loanda. The present chapter will deal only with notes on vocabulary, phonetics, an outline of grammar, sign language, folklore and proverbs, all of which are briefly treated. In the field phonographic records of the Umbundu language were taken, and for the analysis of tonal values and other aspects of phonetics I am indebted to Dr. M. H. Watkins, a student of Professor E. Sapir, formerly of the University of Chicago, now at Yale.

The section on Umbundu grammar conclusively shows Umbundu to be a representative language of the Bantu family of languages. Umbundu possesses all the fundamental characteristics of Bantu [113] speech. The truth of this may be seen by comparing this outline of Umbundu with the analysis of Bantu languages given by A. Werner (Language Families of Africa, London, 1925). Moreover, Carl Meinhof (Grundzüge einer vergleichenden Grammatik der Bantu Sprachen, Berlin, 1906, pp. 112–115, and translation by A. Werner and N. J. von Warmelo, London, 1932) indicates the degree of relationship of Umbundu to other Bantu tongues by giving comparisons of the stems of personal and possessive pronouns, along with other comparative data.

H. H. Johnston (A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, Oxford, 1919, vol. I, p. 350) places Umbundu in his Group X; that is, the southwestern group of Bantu languages. Johnston's map indicates that throughout Angola there is a gradual transition from the southwestern Bantu group to that of the southwest Congo, which is exactly what might be expected from a consideration of the geographical position of Angola. Johnston's grouping is based on root forms and vocabulary. 197 114

This difficulty of making a comparison of the affinities of Umbundu does not preclude the possibility of recording some preliminary observations, especially with regard to vocabulary. F. and W. Jaspert have prepared a comparative vocabulary of 250 words in the languages of the Ovimbundu, the Luena, the Basongo, the Luchazi, the Luimbi, and the Vachokue tribes. Inspection of the columns indicates a close connection of Songo, Luchazi, and Luimbi; in fact, the vocabularies of the two latter are almost identical. The vocabularies of the Vachokue and the Luena have much in common with those mentioned, but the Umbundu vocabulary has only a minor agreement with the vocabularies of these eastern and northeastern tribes. There are, however, some words which are identical in all these languages mentioned by F. and W. Jaspert. Examples of identity, or very close similarity, are found in the words for "bow," "elephant," "to eat," "firestick," "finger," and a few other forms, but the principal deduction from inspection of the columns is the distinctiveness of the Umbundu vocabulary.

On the contrary, examination of the vocabularies of the Ovimbundu and the Vakuanyama, of the south of Angola, appears to justify Johnston's inclusion of Umbundu with southwestern Bantu in so far as similarity of vocabulary is a criterion. The correspondence is further borne out by P. H. Brincker's "Lehrbuch des Oshikuanyama." In the light of these comparisons the relationship of Umbundu vocabularies is readily seen, for instead of searching for similarities the numerous identities are at once evident. At a glance one sees that the Umbundu and Kuanyama words for "arm," "arrow," "ax," "banana," "beard," "bird," "blood," "bone," "breast," "charcoal," "guinea fowl," "hand," and "hoe," are either identical or closely related. I noted the easy communication of my Ocimbundu interpreter with the Vakuanyama of Mongua.

Some of the following chapters show that the Ovimbundu have an undeniable southwest Congo culture; they have, however, taken 197

197 cattle and a few other traits from the Vakuanyama of southern Angola, and there seems to be no doubt that the vocabularies of the Ovimbundu and the Vakuanyama have been influenced by these southern contacts. Yet structure will prove the final arbiter in deciding linguistic relationships, for the Ovimbundu as extensive travelers have widely distributed their vocabulary.

Caution is necessary in making comparisons of Umbundu with surrounding languages; for, although Kuanyama has received careful attention, and the researches of Meinhof have given a reliable background for Ovambo and Herero speech, the language of the Vachokue of eastern Angola and the speech of the Mussurongo of northern Angola, call for a comprehensive work. Moreover, there yet remains the task of providing a standard Umbundu dictionary and grammar, and pending the collation of this linguistic material there are no means of determining the exact syntactical, phonetic, and other relationships of Umbundu.

VOCABULARY

192 Apart from a broad question of the linguistic evidence of culture contacts, there are points of interest connected with the recording of vocabularies in a restricted area. Under the heading "Nature Lore" attention was called to an extensive Umbundu vocabulary connected with those activities which underlie the economic structure. The vocabulary showed that the Ovimbundu are keen observers whose activities have resulted in the formation of a large vocabulary arising from trades and occupations. In nature study many fine distinctions are made; thus, there are words to distinguish not only trees and plants of economic importance, but varieties of snakes and lizards which are of no great economic interest.

[868] In order to test further mental activity and the acquisition of vocabulary, an Ocimbundu girl of about twelve years of age was asked to name some of the objects in my collection. Without hesitation she made the following list. The object was indicated, then the child gave the name. This information was checked by an adult interpreter who found that the child was correct in every instance, although the objects do not specially appeal to the interests of a young girl.

The objects named by this girl are as follows:

Ocimanda. Wooden dish.
Owsalopa. Tobacco-pipe made from a horn.
Elenga. Pipe for smoking hemp.
Ocisanga. Brass bracelet.
Ukinda. Switch made from the tail of an ox.
Opaialonga. Leather pouch for belt.
Upi. Pounding stick.
Ombenja. Gourd with a long neck.

Onganja. Large round gourd. 192
Onguswa. Net in which gourd is carried.
Ohonji. Bow.
Usongo. Arrow.
Olundosi (plural *olondosi*). Bark rope.
Ombulumbumba. Musical bow.
Oñoma. Drum.
Ohuñga. Throwing stick.
Ohonyinga. Drill for boring wood.
Ongombo. Basket used in divination.
Esanga. Water jar.
Ocipupu. Jar for palm oil.
Ocimbangu. Skin-covered box carried to war by a king.
Omusaka (diminutive, *okamisaka*). Flour-sifter.
Opesi. Tobacco-pipe.
Embungumbungu. Bull-roarer.
Olosangu (singular, *olusangu*). Rattles for tying on the legs when dancing.
Olumbendo. Wooden flute.
Opendu or ocifuamulo. Wooden hair-comb.
Osinja. Long needle used in making mats.
Onende. Wooden pigeon and dove.
Osala. Head-dress worn by kings, warriors, medicine-men and hunters. Small brush used by medicine-man.
Ociñumañuma. Wooden image of human figure.
Olupunda. Rat trap of cane.
Ombuiesa. Snuff box.

The names for colors are restricted to a few words; but in all other respects the Umbundu vocabulary is extensive.

My interpreter said, "When I was learning colors, the women at the school told me many names, but I could see no difference at all." Ngonga contended that there was no difference between the color of a dark blue book and the black box on which it was resting. [151]

The following colors have names. Black is *tekāva.* White is *yela.* Yellow is *ondunga.* Red is *kusukā.* Greens and blues are not well distinguished linguistically, but green is *aniñamboto.* The word *tekāvisa* is used to indicate that a color is not distinctly green or [illegible]ue. The word *yelisa* is used to describe gray, and all dark reds. *Wumbula* is the term which describes a greenish-blue shade.

A further study of vocabulary was made by asking Ngonga to speak into the dictaphone. In doing so he gave lists of words including nouns in their singular and plural forms, together with many examples of other parts of speech and illustrations of syntax. These records have been transcribed by Dr. M. H. Watkins. (This section was prepared with use of phonetic symbols that were easily available. For the most recent system, see "Practical Phonetics for Students of African Languages," by D. Westermann and I. C. Ward, London, 1933.) 194 113

PHONETICS

VOWELS

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The vowels are *a, e, i, o, u,* and perhaps *ə*. They seem to be somewhat lower than the cardinal vowels. There was only one word in which the vowel *ə* was heard, *òpàtəlóñà* (leather pouch for a belt). This word, however, appears in the field notes as *opataloña* (*opata-*

194 *lonya*) and the obscure vowel heard might have been a result of imperfection in the record. These vowels are fairly close to the European vowels, their nearest equivalents in the European languages being approximately as represented below:

a, as in German *Masse.*
e, as in French *été.*
i, as in English *machine.*
o, as French *eau.*
u, as in German *Buch.*
ə, as *e* in German *Klasse*, and *a* in *about.*

The nasal vowel ą appears in a fairly large number of words, and the nasal ǫ is occasionally heard. Before another vowel, *u* takes the sound of *w: òlwéyò* (*olu-eyo*), "broom"; *òtumą̀lą̀ twáŋgè* (*tu-aŋge*), "my little children."

The rising diphthongs *i̯a*, *i̯e*, *i̯u*, and *i̯o* and the falling diphthong *ai̯* appear in the material, but every combination of two vowels does not make a diphthong. In several instances, when a word terminating in a vowel was followed by another word, the initial letter of which was also a vowel, the final vowel was elided. Final vowels on the low tone tend to vanish; that is, they are only slightly voiced, as in *dsáŋgòkálúŋgì* (*dsáŋgà òkálúŋgì*), "he found (a) little hole"; *ⁿdávèlénènè* (*ⁿdávèlà ènénè*), "I am big sick." (I am very sick.)

CONSONANTS

The table of consonants is as follows:

		Bilabial	Dentilabial	Alveolar	Prepalatal	Palatal	Glottal
Stops	Voiced	*b*		*d*, *ⁿd*		*g*	
	Voiceless	*p*		*t*		*k*	
Spirants	Voiced		*v*				
	Voiceless		*f*	*s*			*h*
Affricatives	Voiced			*dj*, *ⁿdj*			
	Voiceless			*tc*			
Nasals		*m*		*n*	*ñ*	*ŋ*	
Lateral				*l*			
Semivowels		*w* and *y*					

The symbols *ⁿd* and *ⁿdj* indicate "nasal attack" consonants, i.e., the fully pronounced consonants *d, dj*, and *g* are preceded by their homo-organic nasals not completely formed. It is as if one prepared to make the sound of *n* but before its completion changed to *d* or *dj;* likewise the change is made from *ŋ* to *g*. Letter *c* is *ch* as in *church.*

TONE AND STRESS

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Apparently there are three tones in this language, but one cannot be quite sure, since under the somewhat unusual condition of attempting to record his voice on the dictaphone the informant might have distorted the pitch of certain syllables. That three tones can be distinguished when listening to the records, and that these tones tend to follow a definite pattern, for example, in the singular and plural forms of the same word, can be asserted with satisfaction; but there is less assurance in trying to understand all the nuances of these tones and in assigning them, without reservation, a definite place in the phonetics of the language. Nothing short of field work aided by delicate instruments can afford any satisfactory conclusions on this point.

The data did not present any clear instance in which tone had semantic value. That is, there were no examples of two or more words, which, otherwise identical, differed only in tone and meaning.

The field notes state that the difference between cardinal and ordinal numbers is one of tone only, and this was partially verified from the phonographic records, but the words were not clear enough for transcription.

The following words have tones of semantic value, but the phonographic record was not clear. *Kalunga*, according to tone, can mean "god," "sea," "death," or "greeting." *Ombambi* can mean a "fever" (low tone) or a "bush buck" (high tone). *Onyila* means "bird" or "path." *Ombundi* means "gateway" or the root which is commonly used in brewing beer. *Ongongo* means "earth" (middle tone), or "hardship" (high tone).

In this chapter tones are indicated by placing a grave accent (*à*) to indicate a low tone, and an acute accent (*á*) to show the occurrence of a high tone. The middle tone is left unmarked.

The tones are not fixed, and they will be shown to shift in context. For example, a high tone on the penultimate syllable tends to be carried along to the last syllable also. This shifting of tone is especially noticeable when a noun is brought into concord with its qualifying adjective or relative, or when a noun is the subject of a verb. The following are instances in which tones do not maintain their original positions as found in isolated words: *úti*, "tree," *úti ùnénè*, "large tree"; *òluéyò*, "broom," *òluéyó lùwa*, "good broom"; *òmúnù*, "person," *òmúnú ùtito*, "small person."

This kind of tonal behavior was clearly indicated in five records of single words, and expressions of two words. But in the transcrip-

194 tions of folklore texts tonal behavior will be seen to be less consistent. Discrepancies in the incidence of tones may be due to different speeds at which words are spoken. The placing of tones is perhaps most reliable when transcriptions are made from free, continuous speech, as in the case of fluent reading, or talking in continuous sentences.

Many words received a definite stress on the last syllable, and in others the penultimate syllable received a light stress. The majority, however, received slight, if any, stress, hence no definite conclusions could be reached on this subject. In several instances it is obvious that the informant was striving to be clear and distinct in pronouncing each syllable; therefore he possibly sacrificed certain characteristics of his intonation.

THE SYLLABLE

Every syllable ends in a vowel, consequently a vowel terminates each word, and consonants are pronounced with the following vowel, or with a consonant plus the vowel. The vowel of the penultimate syllable is long when the word stands alone, and in larger sound-groups the vowel is long in the penultimate syllable of the last word, while in the preceding word, or words, the corresponding vowel seems to be only half the length.* Vowel length is not indicated in these transcriptions.

GRAMMAR

THE CLASS SYSTEM

193 The data available were sufficient to establish the following classes of nouns, on the basis of their prefixes in the singular and plural; the formation of the adjectival or relative concords was likewise noted. There is no assurance that this list is exhaustive.

CLASS	PREFIX		RELATIVE	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1.	omu-, omo-	oma-	u-	va-
1a.	u-	a-, ova-	u-	va-
2.	u-, oku-	ovo-	u- (ku-)	a-
3.	u?	ovi-, i-	u-	vi-
4.	o-	olo-	yi-	vi-
5.	olu-	olo-, a-	lu-	vi-, a-
6.	etci-	ovi-, i-	tci-	vi-
7.	e-	a-, ova-	li-	a-
7a.	-, i-	ova-	li-	a-
8.	oka-	otu-	ka-	tu-

According to the principle of concord, the noun prefix is the governing element which determines the concordial agreement of parts of speech when these are brought into relationship with the noun. The prefixes also indicate number and, together with the

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concordial agreement as stated above, divide the nouns into several classes or class genders. We need not enter upon a general discussion of concord, which in the Bantu languages is a method of expressing grammatical relations that are of fundamental importance. Concord need not always appear in the form of perfect alliteration, although it frequently does so, for the essential fact is that all nouns of the same class are recognizable as such, and other elements of speech when brought into syntactic agreement with these nouns must carry similar distinctions.

Students of Bantu have suggested that the various noun classes probably represent a proto-Bantu classification which formerly betokened a grouping based on common characteristics (A. Werner, Some Bantu Linguistic Problems, *Jour. Afr. Soc.*, XXVIII, 1928–29, pp. 155–165). The nouns listed here under Class 1 may accordingly be recognised as belonging to the so-called personal class, and the prefixes of Class 8 indicate a diminutive class. [113]

CLASS 1

SINGULAR PREFIX: *omu-*, *omo-*	RELATIVE: *u-*
PLURAL PREFIX: *oma-*	RELATIVE: *va-*
ómúnú, person	*ómǫ́lą*, child
ómánú, people	*ómą́lą*, children

Illustrations of concordial agreement with these nouns:

ómúnú ùtito, small person	*ómǫ́lą́ ùtito*, small child
ómánú vàtito, small people	*ómą́lą́ vàtito*, small children

CLASS 1A

SINGULAR PREFIX: *u-*	RELATIVE: *u-*
PLURAL PREFIX: *a-*, *ova-*	RELATIVE: *va-*
ulume, man	*ufeko*, girl
alume, men	*afeko*, girls
òválume, men	*òváfeko*, girls
ukąi, woman	*umalehe*, lad
akąi, women	*amalehe*, lads
òvákąi, women	

The following forms show the concordial agreement for Class 1A:

ulume ùtito, small man	*akąi vàtito*, small women
alume vàtito, small men	*òvákąi vàtito*, small women
òválume vàtito, small men	*afeko vene* (*va-ene*), your (pl.) girls
ukąi ùtito, small woman	*amalehe vávò*, their lads

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CLASS 2

SINGULAR PREFIX: *u-, oku-*	RELATIVE: *u-, ku-*
PLURAL PREFIX: *ovo-*	RELATIVE: *a-*
uló, bed	*òkúlù*, leg
òvólá, beds	*òvólù*, legs
uta, gun	*okwókwó*, arm
òvíta, guns	*ovókwó*, arms

Concordial agreement for Class 2:

uló ùnénè, large bed	*ovítá átito*, small guns
ovólá ánénè, large beds	*òkúlú kùtito*, small leg
uta ùtito, small gun	*òvólú átito*, small legs

CLASS 3

SINGULAR PREFIX: *u-*	RELATIVE: *u-*
PLURAL PREFIX: *ovi-, i-*	RELATIVE: *vi-*
úti, tree	*útima*, heart
oviti, trees	*òvitima*, hearts
úpi, handle	*ítima*, hearts
ovípi, handles	

Concordial agreement for Class 3:

úti ùnénè, large tree	*útima ùtito*, small heart
oviti vinénè, large trees	*òvitimá vitito*, small hearts

CLASS 4

SINGULAR PREFIX: *o-*	RELATIVE: *yi-*
PLURAL PREFIX: *olo-*	RELATIVE: *vi-*
óndjo, house	*òŋgómbè*, ox
olóndjo, houses	*òlóŋgómbè*, oxen
òmángu, chair	*òŋgúlù*, pig
òlómángu, chairs	*òlóŋgúlù*, pigs

Concordial agreement for Class 4:

óndjó yiwa, good house	*òlomáŋgú vitito*, small chairs
olóndjó viwa, good houses	*òŋgúlú yinénè*, large pig
òmáŋgú yitito, small chair	*òloŋgúlú vinénè*, large pigs

CLASS 5

SINGULAR PREFIX: *olu-*	RELATIVE: *lu-*
PLURAL PREFIX: *olo-, a-*	RELATIVE: *vi-, a-*
òluñì, fly	*olwí (olu-i)*, stream
òlóñì, flies	*olóndwí*, streams
òluhéŋgo, wild plum	*òlwéyò*, broom
òlohéŋgo, wild plums	*òlóndwéyò*, brooms
	álwéyò, brooms

Concordial agreement for Class 5:

ólúñí lùtìto, small fly
ólóñí vìtìto, small flies
olwí lùnénè, large stream
olóndwí vìnénè, large streams
òlwéyó lùwa, good broom
òlòndwéyó vìwa, good brooms
àlwéyó àwa, good brooms

CLASS 6

SINGULAR PREFIX: *òtci-*
PLURAL PREFIX: *ovi-*, *i-*
RELATIVE: *tci-*
RELATIVE: *vi-*

òtcimúnù, thief
òvimúnù, thieves
ìmúnù, thieves
òtcìtúñù, pit
òvìtúñù, pits
ìtúñù, pits
òtcità, one hundred
òvità, hundreds
òtcípà, skin
òvípà, skins

Concordial agreement for Class 6:

òtcìtúñù tcìnénè, large pit
òvìtúñù vìnénè, large pits
òtcípà tcìwa, good skin
òvípà vìwa, good skins

CLASS 7

SINGULAR PREFIX: *e-*
PLURAL PREFIX: *a-*, *ova-*
RELATIVE: *li-*
RELATIVE: *a-*

ekà, hand
òvákà, hands
epįá, field
òvápįá, fields
ewé, stone
òváwé, stones
èpákò, fruit
òvàpákò, fruits
àpákò, fruits
èkándu, wrong
òvàkándu, wrongs
àkándu, wrongs
èpúmù, corncob
àpúmù, corncobs

Concordial agreement for Class 7:

ekà lìtìto, small hand
òvákà àtìto, small hands
epįá lìwa, good field
òvápįá àwa, good fields

CLASS 7A

SINGULAR PREFIX: -, *i-*
PLURAL PREFIX: *ova-*
RELATIVE: *li-*
RELATIVE: *a-*

ímbò, belly
òváįmbò, bellies
isó, eye
òvásó, eyes

Concordial agreement for Class 7A:

ímbó lìnénè, large belly
òváįmbó ànénè, large bellies
isó lìtìto, small eye
òvásó àtìto, small eyes
ímbó lįòngómbè, belly of ox
òváįmbó òlóngómbè, bellies of oxen

CLASS 8

193 As previously stated, the prefixes of this class signify diminutive forms. In Chewa, one of the languages spoken in Nyasaland Protectorate, these prefixes and the augmentative prefixes when used with the personal nouns convey a somewhat derogatory meaning. In Zulu the diminutive and augmentative suffixes, although not determining classes, are likewise of this nature when employed with nouns of the personal class. The records upon which this brief description of Umbundu is based were not clear on this point, but I note that *-tito* means "small," so that the distinction between *òkalume* ("little man") and *ulume ùtito*, translated in the field notes as "small man," may be of considerable importance. Likewise, *òcimúnù* ("thief"), Class 6, may be an augmentative-derogatory form in origin, provided that there is an augmentative class and that it coincides with Class 6.

SINGULAR PREFIX: *oka-* RELATIVE: *ka-*.
PLURAL PREFIX: *otu-* RELATIVE: *tu-*

òkándjo, little house
òtúndjo, little houses
òkalume, little man
òtwalume, little men
òkatcipà, little skin
òtuvípà, little skins

Concordial agreement for Class 8:

òkamǫ́lą́ kàwa, good little child
òtumą́lą́ tùwa, good little children
òkándjó kòŋgúlù, little house of (the) pig
òtúndjó twòlóŋgúlù, little houses of the pigs

PRONOUNS

The personal pronouns are given below. Those for the third person are obviously Class 1 pronouns. Pronouns for the other classes were not obtained. These forms are of the independent or absolute type.

	Singular	Plural
FIRST PERSON	*ámè*	*étù*
SECOND PERSON	*óvè*	*énè*
THIRD PERSON, Class 1	*eyé*	*ávò*

The possessive pronominal stems are to a great extent identical with the absolute forms, but follow the nouns which they qualify, and are preceded by the concord of the thing possessed and the qualificative formative (*a*). In some instances this formative is elided. Again, for the third person we can give only the forms of Class 1.

	Singular	Plural
FIRST PERSON	*-ŋgè*	*-etu* (ç)
SECOND PERSON	*-óvè*	*-ene* (ç)
THIRD PERSON, Class 1	*-hè*	*-vò*

(ç) Note that the tone differs from that of the "absolute" forms.

Examples of the use of the possessive:

òtcìtúñú tcáŋgè, my pit
òtcìtúñú tcóvè, your pit
òtcìtúñú tcáhè, his (Class 1) pit
òtcìtúñú tcetu, our pit
òtcìtúñú tcene, your (pl.) pit
òtcìtúñú tcávò, their (Class 1) pit
òvìtúñú vjáŋgè, my pits
òvìtúñú vjávò, their (Class 1) pits
òmúnú wáŋgè, my slave
òmúnú wóvè, your slave
òmúnú wáhè, his (Class 1) slave
òmánú váŋgè, my slaves
òmánú vóvè, your slaves
òmánú váhè, his (Class 1) slaves
òmánú vetu, our slaves
òmánú vene, your (pl.) slaves
òmánú vávò, their (Class 1) slaves
ukqi wáŋgè, my woman (my wife)
ukqi wóvè, your woman
ukqí wetu, our woman
akqi vetu, our women
útí wóvè, your tree
ovítí vjene, your (pl.) trees
útí wáhè, his (Class 1) tree
útí wávò, their (Class 1) tree
ovítí vjávò, their (Class 1) trees
óndjó yetu, our house
óndjó yene, your (pl.) house
óndjó yávò, their (Class 1) house
olóndjó vjetu, our houses
òluhéŋgó lwáŋgè, my wild plum
òluhéŋgó lwóvè, your wild plum
òluhéŋgó lwáhè, his (Class 1) wild plum
òkamǫ́lą káŋgè, my little child
òkándjó kóvè, your little house
òtúndjó twóvè, your little houses

The following examples of syntax were not recorded on the dictaphone, therefore they have not been phonetically analyzed.

The verb stem is seen in the imperative singular:

tuŋga, build (thou)
tuŋga ondjo, build the house
tila, flee (thou)

Example of imperative plural ending with *i:*

tuŋgi, build ye
tili, flee ye

PRINCIPAL TENSES

FUTURE

The following examples suggest that there is no formal distinction between the present and the future:

ndi tuŋga onjo or *nunga onjo,* I shall build the house
o tuŋga onjo, you will build the house

193 *o tuŋga onjo*, he will build the house
tu tuŋga onjo, we shall build the house
vu tuŋga onjo, you will build the house
va tuŋga onjo, they will build the house
omunu o tuŋga,[1] a person builds
omanu va tuŋga, the people build
omiapia yi tuŋga, a swallow builds
olomiapia vi tuŋga, swallows build
eveke li tuŋga, the fool will build
ocimunu ci tuŋga, the thief will build
ovimunu vi tuŋga, the thieves will build
okamola ka tila, the little child will flee
otumala tu tuŋga, the little children will build
oluseńge lu tila (monitor lizard), the lizard will flee

PAST

ŋda tuŋga onjo, I built the house
wa tuŋga onjo, you built the house
wa tuŋga onjo, he built the house
tua tuŋga onjo, we built the house
va tuŋga onjo, they built the house
ocimunu ca tila, the thief fled
ongombe ya tila, the ox fled
eveke lia tila, the fool fled
okamola ka tila, the little child fled
omunu wa tila, the person fled

The pronoun as object comes between the prefix and the verb:

ombua ya ci lumana,[2] the dog bit it
ocimunu co lumana, the thief bit him
cu lumana, it will bite him
olusenge emalanaga lu lilumana, the lizard will bite the cheetah
okamola olunyihi lua ka lumana, the little child, the bee stung him

The perfect tense uses the prefix of the past tense with *-ile* or *-ele* added to the stem of the verb. The perfect is used to indicate an action in some definite past time, or to state a condition which has ceased:

ulume wa solele ukai wahe, the man used to love his wife
helă ombua ya lumanele omunu (*ulume*), yesterday the dog bit a man

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[1] The *o* is not a pronoun but is used to preserve concord.

[2] The letter *y* is part of the concord. The letter *y* survives from the personal pronoun *eye* meaning "he." Letter *a* indicates past tense; *ci* means "it" or "thing." Hence the literal meaning is "dog he thing bit."

enyamuale va tuŋgile olonjo, last year they built the houses

The causative is expressed by the suffix *-isa:*

va tuŋgisa onjo, they caused the house to be built
o toŋgisa ombinja, he will cause a shirt to be sewed

The suffix *-ila* has the force of a preposition:

ombua ya tilila konjo, the dog fled to the house
olusenge lua fila vocitunyu, the lizard died in the pit

Illustrations of indirect object:

wa tuŋgila ukai onjo, he built the house for the woman
va tu tongela olombinja, they sewed the shirts for us

The prefix *oku* is the sign of the infinitive:

oku tuŋga, to build
oku tila, to flee
oku lia, to eat

The subjunctive is expressed by changing final *a* to *e:*

a tuŋge onjo, let him build the house
va tile, let them flee
va sia epangu okuti oco ovava a pite, they left a hole so that the water might pass

The auxiliary *ka* ("to go") is used with all tenses:

o ka tuŋga kimbo, he will go and build at the village
wa ka tuŋga onjo, he has gone to build a house
wa ka tuŋgile onjo, he has been there and built a house

The negative is expressed in the following words:

si tuŋgi, I shall not build
ku tuŋgi, thou wilt not build
ka tuŋgi, he will not build
ka tu tuŋgi, we will not build
ka va tuŋgi, they will not build
ongombe ka yi tuŋgi, the ox will not build
ocimunu ka ci tuŋgi, the thief will not build
olusenge ka lu tila, the lizard will not flee
okamola ka ka tuŋgi, the little child will not build
ukai ka tuŋgi, the woman will not build

The past negative is expressed as follows:

sa tuŋgile, I did not build
kua tuŋgile, you did not build
ka tuŋgile, he did not build
ka tua tuŋgile, we did not build

193 *ka wa tuŋgili*, you did not build
ka va tuŋgile, they did not build
omanu ka va yongola oku tila, the people do not wish to flee
ocimunu ka ci yongola upange, the thief does not wish work
ha ngombe ko, it is not an ox
ha njoko, it is not a house
ha munuko, it is not a person
ha manuko, they are not people
ha ci munuko, he is not a thief
ha meko, it is not I
he yeko, it is not he
ha veko, it is not you
he tuko, it is not we
he nako, it is not you
ha voko, it is not they
si ci munuko, I am not a thief
ku ci munuko, you are not a thief
ha ci munuko, he is not a thief
ka tui munuko, we are not thieves
ka wi munuko, you are not thieves
ha ɩ munuko, they are not thieves

TRANSCRIPTION OF FOLKLORE STORIES

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Ombwá	*lolwisó*	*lwáyo*[1]
Dog	with Greed	His

Ombwá	*kèyaù,*	*okásitu*	*vómèlà.*	*Yi*	*li*	*lókúyókàyoka*	
Dog	on bridge	little meat	in mouth.	It	is	there to cross	
òlwì.	*Vováná*	*yi*	*letemo*	*ómbwá*	*yekwávò*	*lonumbá*	
stream.	In water	it	sees	dog	another	with piece	
yìnénè	*yósìtù.*	*Ombwá*	*yà lólá*	*okásitu*	*káhè;*	*yà*	*wilà*
big	of meat.	Dog	dropped	little meat	his;	it	threw itself
vováná	*hà yi*	*kwátà*	*ósìtù*	*yìnénè*	*yikwávò.*	*Omó*	*yà*
in water	in order to	catch	meat	large	other.	Thus	it
ñelisá	*òlònúmbá*	*viválì,*	*yikwávò*	*ya*	*káįlè*	*láyò,*	
lost	pieces	two,	the other	it	was	with him,	
yikwávò	*yi*	*léte*	*pólwì.*	*Yà vi*	*ñelísá*	*momo*	*o kwete*
(the) other	it	saw	in stream.	It then	lost	because	he had
olúŋgòŋgò.	*Isó*	*lilmólá mólá*	*ondjámba,*	*òkù lįénda*	*ka li ká*		
greed.	Eye	sees (continuously)	elephant,	in going	it is not		
veléla	*ohatù.*						
increased	meat-hunger.						

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[177] [1] Presumably an adoption of the well-known European fable of the dog and his reflection.

Sómá Tciyúkà
King Tciyuka

Sómá	*Tciyúkà*	*òmǫlą*	*à*	*djǫą́ò*	*wàéndà*	*ku*	*Kaŋgándjì*
King	Tciyuka	son	of	John	went	to	Kangandji

òkùlįà	*òvímbù.*	*Váti*	*tambúla*	*tcà sókà.*	*Kòkwéne*	*kulìvo*
to eat (impose)	fines.	They said,	"Take	that which is proper.	Among yourselves	there are also

òvímbù	*vįétù.*	*Eyé*	*Tcìyúkà*	*hátì,*	*kwa*	*káįle*	*ùkóŋgò*
fines	of ours."	He	Tciyuka	said,	"There was	once	a hunter

wà	*ká lìle*	*òvímbù,*	*wà*	*tambúla*	*òpą́ù.*	*Okwiyá*
who	went (and) imposed	fines;	he	received	(a) stick.	Coming

kòndjìla	*wà yévà*	*ondjuvúŋgo*	*yètátù*	*lomą́lą*	*váhè.*	*Eyé*
along the path	he heard	a rustling	of iguana	with children	his.	He

wàtìlà	*wà lóndà*	*vútì*	*lúta*	*wáhè.*	*Opą́ù*	*yasįala*	*pósì.*
fled;	he climbed	tree	with gun	his.	(The) stick	remained	down (on the ground).

Nóke	*ètátù*	*òkwiyá*	*wàmólà*	*òpą́ù*	*hátì,*	*ⁿdá lúlà.*	*Ukóŋgò*
Afterward	iguana	coming	saw	stick;	said,	'I have seen.'	Hunter

hátì	*kòtókò*	*òpą́ù*	*yáŋgè.*	*Etátù*	*hátì*	*ⁿdátì.*	*ⁿDá*	*yá káįlè*
said,	'Not so	stick	my.'	Iguana	said,	'No.	If	it had been

yóvè	*ⁿdá*	*wa lóndà*	*láŋò.*	*Nòke*	*ètátù*	*wàtàmbúlà,*	*wàétcà*
yours	then	you (would) have climbed	with it.'	Afterwards	iguana	took (it),	he gave (it)

kòmánù.	*Ukóŋgò*	*wàpúmbà,*	*wàtùndápò*	*òvókò,*	*wàéndá*
to the people.	Hunter	lost,	(he) went away	empty handed,	(he) went

kímbò	*lįávò.*
to village	his.

Nókè	*wàlàlékà*	*òndjévò*	*votcisúkù,*	*ótcó*	*tcósi*
"Afterward	he invited	a hunt	of the tall grass,	so that	all

tcápįà.	*Etátù*	*hámò*	*akálà*	*votcisúkù.*	*Hátì*	*òvándjà*	*ókò*
was burned.	Iguana	however	was	in the tall grass.	He said,	'One looks	where

a tìlila	*kà kù*	*moléhà.*	*Otcó*	*àsáŋgà*	*òkálúŋgì,*	*hàtí*
one may flee	it does	not appear.'	Then	he found	a little hole,	he said,

iŋilákò	*ká swíkò.*	*Etìmbá*	*lįàìŋílà,*	*utcílà*	*wàsįálà*
'(I will) enter there.'	He could not be contained (in it).	(The) body	entered,	the tail	was left

pòsámwà.	*Nókè*	*ùkóŋgò*	*wéyà.*	*Hátì*	*òvándjà*	*utcílà*
outside.	Afterwards	hunter	came.	(He) said,	'One sees	(the) tail

wètátù	*pòsámwà.*	*Leye*	*hátì,*	*ⁿdá lúlà.*	*Etátù*	*hátì*
of the iguana	outside.'	And he	said,	'I have seen.'	Iguana	said,

kòtókò	*òtcò*	*ètímbà*	*lịáŋgè.*	*Ukóŋgò*	*hátì*	*kòtókò.*
'Not so	that (is)	body	my.'	Hunter	said,	'Not so.

ⁿDá	*lịàkáịlè*	*lịóvè*	*ⁿdá*	*lịàìŋílà.*	*ⁿOkè*	*ùkóŋgò*
If	it had been	yours	it	would have entered.'	Afterward	hunter

wàñaŋúlà	*òmókò*	*yáhè,*	*wà tétà.*	*Otcó*	*ètátù*	*lìáfà.*
(he) stretched out	knife	his,	he cut.	Thus	iguana	died."

Otçó	*Tcìyúkà*	*hátì,*	*amé*	*ⁿdịá*	*tcáŋgè.*	*Nokè*
So	Tciyuka	said,	"I	shall	eat mine.	After

ⁿdá	*ŋwètè*	*tcénè,*	*lámè*	*wìyì,*	*ù*	*lìsáŋgélà.*
if	I have	yours,	with me	come,	you	with it will find yourselves."

Hósì la ⁿGúli
Lion and Hyena

Tcìsukilá	*wà tumilá*	*kusómá*	*Tcìpóŋgè*	*hátì,*	*a ènde*
Tcisukila	sent	to king	Tciponge,	said,	"Let him go

a	*katúle*	*ukúlu*	*ùnénè*	*lòvákwéndje.*	*Veye*	*va*	*lemèle*
he that	you cause to arise	(an) elder	great	with young men.	Let them come	they	may warn

ofeká	*yáŋgè,*	*yá*	*nómbà.*	*Sómá*	*Tcìpóŋge*	*yu*	*wà tela*
country	my,	which	despises me."	King	Tciponge	he	told

òlùsápò	*hátì,*	*kwá kála*	*òŋgúlì,*	*òmánù*	*vósi*	*vo levàlà*
a proverb,	said,	"There was	hyena,	people	all	from him borrowed

tcáhè.	*ⁿGúli*	*etci*	*wà èndá*	*kímbo*	*vò háŋga*	*lovótà*
his (things).	Hyena	when	(he) went	to village	they him drove off	with guns

lolohóndjì.	*ⁿOkè*	*tcovàla*	*kutímà*	*hátì,*	*ha*	*sembiká*
and clubs.	Then	it him hurt	to (the) heart	he said,	'I go	I engage

ku hósì,	*eyé*	*ò*	[illegible]	*oku*	*kwátà*	*òmánù.*	*Etcí*	*a*	*sáŋgà*
(to) lion	he	is	able	to	catch	people.'	When	he	found

hósi,	*hósì*	*hátì,*	*twendá*	*ku*	*bùlù*	*o*	*kwetè*	*esúŋgà,*	*eyé*
lion,	lion	said,	'Let us go	to	,jackal	he	has	honesty	he

òtcimbanda	*tcìnénè.*	*Otcó*	*hósi*	*laⁿgúli*	*và líkwáị*	*oku ènda*
(is) medicine-man	great.'	So	lion	and hyena	they followed each other	to go

ko bùlù.	*Bùlù*	*hátì,*	*tu*	*sándjiliyá*	*imbó*	*lįovisóndè.*	*Otcó*
to jackal.	Jackal	said,	'We	shall search	village	of driver ants.	Thus

amé	*ⁿdjimbemó*	*utcilá*	*wáŋgè.*	*Ené*	*usiálá*	*kofékà.*
I	thrust in	tail	my.	You	remain	in country (outside).

Amé	*ⁿdjiŋilá*	*vimbo*	*oko*	*ñilá*	*ovisóndè*	*vimbo*
I	shall enter	in the village	there	I shall sprinkle	driver ants	in the village

ljósì.	*Ománú*	*étcí*	*vatundá*	*ove*	*u hósi*	*wendá*	*loku kwátà.*
all.	People	when	they come out	you	O lion	go	(them) to catch.

Otcó	*tca*	*soká*	*oku*	*fetà*	*ofuka*	*ya ⁿgúli.*	*Oká*	*sapúlà*
So	that	shall be enough	to	pay	debt	of hyena.' "	This one goes	tells

ku	*Tcisukilà,*	*ⁿdá ŋátúlá*	*ukúlu*	*lákwéndjè*	*velómbè*
to	Tcisukila,	"Should I cause to arise	(an) elder	with young men	from the court

tca sókà	*oku sándúlà*	*ofékà*	*yáhè,*	*mómó*	*amé*
it (would) be equal	to scatter	country	his,	for	I

ⁿdumúnù	*ònénè.*	*Ové a*	*Tcisukilà,*	*lemelá*	*ofeká*	*yóvè*
am (a) person	great.	You	Tcisukila,	warn	country	your

evándò	*ótcó*	*u kála*	*tciwò.*
slowly	so	you shall be	well."

Hósi lá Bìndjì

Lion and Wild Dog

Hósi	*wa*	*túŋgá*	*kùséŋgè.*	*Wà kúka.*	*Kà*	*kwéte*	*òŋgùsù*
Lion	he	built	in the woods.	He was old.	He	had not	strength

yòkù lìmwisa	*òkùlįà.*	*Wà sóka*	*òkù*	*lúŋgúkà.*	*Yú*	*wàèndà*
to provide himself	food.	He thought	to be	cunning.	He	went

kèléva,	*wà yáįlà*	*kohondo,*	*wàlúvìkìya*	*òkù vèlà.*
to cave,	he crawled	to a corner,	he made out	to be sick.

Ovìñámá	*vįósì*	*vįéyà vįò*	*vándjà,*	*ⁿdá*	*ò vèlà*	*òtcìlì.*
The animals	all	came they at him	looked,	if	he is sick	indeed.

Etci	*vįéyá*	*hósi*	*ò*	*lóku*	*vì*	*tàkáìlà.*	*Etci*	*òviñama*	*vįálwa*
As	they came	lion	he	them		ate.	When	animals	many

vįá	*kwàtìwa*	*lá*	*hósi,*	*bìndjì*	*wéya*	*wà lúŋgà.*	*Eye*	*ò tįi*
they	were caught	by	lion,	wild dog	he came	he took warning.	He	stands

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kùvélò	*wèlèvà.*	*Wà púla*	*hósi*	*háti,*	*wàkólápó.*	*Hósi*	*hátì,*
at opening	of the cave.	He asked	lion,	saying,	"Are you well?"	Lion	said,

ⁿdá	*vélà*	*ènénè.*	*Wà*	*láleka*	*bíndji*	*òku ìŋílà*	*vèléva*	*òkù*
"I am	sick	very."	He	invited	wild dog	to enter	into the cave	to

vàŋgula	*láhè.*	*Bíndji*	*wà*	*kúmbúlúlá*	*hátì,*	*ⁿda*	*távà,*	*pwàí*
talk	with him.	Wild dog	he	replied	saying,	"I should have agreed		but

ⁿda	*lìmbúka*	*àkàsà*	*ósì*	*àìmbà*	*òvásò*	*kèlévà.*	*Kà*	*kúli*
I	noticed	tracks	all	go	toward	the cave.	There	are

àkàsà	*àìmbà*	*òvásò*	*pòsámwà.*	*Tcà*	*líŋguá*	*mbwį*	*tcà*
no tracks	going	toward	the outside."	That which	goes	down? (sinks)	it

lùŋgisá	*avá*	*và*	*ŋwà.*
warns	those	who	swim.

SIGN LANGUAGE

201 Various language signs are in use. The action of throwing a mat on the ground and laying the head on the hands indicates sleep. Inquiry about the health of a father may be made by stroking an imaginary beard. If the father is strong and well the reply will be a flection of the forearm to harden the biceps.

There are dumb signs for numbers:

(1) The right hand is used to bend the little finger of the left hand into the left palm.

(2) The little finger and the one next to it on the left hand are turned over into the palm.

(3) Three fingers are turned inward.

(4) Four fingers are turned inward.

(5) Four fingers and the thumb are turned inward. The thumb is then tapped with the index finger of the right hand.

(6) The right hand is extended and the thumb of the left hand is placed on the little finger of the right hand. This action adds one to five.

(7) The right hand is extended, then the thumb of the left hand is placed on the little finger and the one next to it. This adds two to five.

(8) The thumb of the left hand is placed on the extended little finger, middle finger, and third finger of the left hand.

(9) Four fingers of the right hand are placed on the thumb of the extended left hand. 201

(10) The hands are placed together palm to palm.

A very insulting sign is made in this way. The left arm is held up with the fist closed. The left wrist is grasped with the right hand. The left fist is then shaken while the right hand is still grasping the left wrist. "This is done when a man is very angry, and he cannot find words."

A bending forward of the head accompanied by wide opening of the eyes and protrusion of the tongue means "you're a fool."

Shaking the head means "no." If the right hand is shaken in front of the face with the index finger extended, a negative is implied. Nodding the head is an affirmative sign. To indicate absence of anything, or the completion of something, the index finger of the right hand is drawn across the mouth. Rubbing the palms together rapidly has the same significance. In order to call some one the right arm is extended with the palm down. If they summon some one from a distance the arm is lowered, while a scratching movement is made with the fingers. The sign indicating "go away" is a flipping of the hand outwardly, while the arm is extended.

(538)

RIDDLES AND PROVERBS

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"There is a red belt round our field. What is it?" The answer is, "red ants." 539

"We have somebody who lies all his life in our field. He always lies on one side." The answer is, "a squash."

"We have a stump in the house that is always burning and always moving." This is a metaphor rather than a riddle. The stump is the log which is pushed forward into the fire. It is always alive yet is gradually dying. The saying is intended to refer to human lives. People are alive but their lives are becoming shorter each day.

"What is it that we eat above and below the ground?" The answer is, "manioc, because the leaves and roots are eaten."

"The turtle cannot climb up on a stump, some one has to put it there." This is said in reference to some person who gains a high position which he could attain only by influence and not through merit. 539

When a person makes threats without being able to fulfil them the following expressions are appropriate: "Hot water does not

539 burn a house." "Cold water does not make mush." "A sleeping dog does not catch a hare."

If advice is given and disregarded, or if an effort fails and has seemed likely to do so, the people say, "Bark rope comes from a tree; if it does not come, leave it there."

"He who sits by a pot of honey does not soon leave it." This means that a man does not readily leave that which he enjoys.

"When eating honey a man does not put in his finger only once." A good thing is not used in small portions; or, one goes back to a good thing.

When two people have a secret there is a saying, "They uncovered the pot, ate a little honey, and covered it up again."

"If you are full of food, do not climb on a leopard's back." If you yourself are not hungry, this does not imply that the leopard has no appetite. In other words, do not be foolish through good fortune.

"He caught no fish and lost his bracelet." This is said when an object of value is lost while performing a task of small importance. This saying would be applied to an instance of a man who left his work to take up a task for smaller payment.

"If it is not heavy, it is not worth while." That which is desirable is deserving of some effort for attainment.

The fact that something can be accomplished by a number of united people is expressed by the saying, "Where there is a crowd there is a bridge."

"You may throw away what is in the hand, but you cannot throw away what is in the heart." It is difficult to dismiss important matters from mind.

"You cannot tie a buck's head in a cloth. The horns will stick out." This means that a crime cannot be concealed. Murder will out.

"That which destroyed the buck came from its own head." The hunter's whistle is a buck's horn. This means that man is the cause of his own troubles.

"A chicken knows a dangerous thing." The implication is that a man should know.

The English expression, "six of one and half a dozen of the other," is expressed by the Umbundu, "If it is on cattle or on people it is still a louse."

FOLKLORE STORIES

THE LEOPARD AND THE HARE

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A hare said to a leopard who was about to eat him, "Don't eat me, I will give you something good." Holding out his hand the hare said, "I have a little bit of something good in my hand now, taste it."

This was honey that the hare gave to the leopard, who licked his mouth and said, "This is a good thing that you have given me."

The hare promised to bring some more honey to the leopard. Next morning the hare went to the woods, collected a swarm of bees and placed them in a gourd under a covering of honey. The hare told the leopard to gather his wife and family into a hut, saying, "You will have a good feast of honey, but you must be careful to close the door and fill up all the holes in the walls."

The leopard was told to drop the gourd on the floor of the hut in order to get the honey. He did exactly as he was told. He gathered his family in the house, closed the door, and filled up all the holes in the walls. Then when all was dark he dropped the gourd on the ground to get the honey. The gourd broke and out came a swarm of bees. The hare was listening outside. Presently the cries died down, then the hare went away thinking that the leopard and all his family were dead. The mother and the young leopards died, but the father leopard recovered from the stings of the bees.

The leopard said, "Whenever I find a hare I will kill him."

One day the leopard caught the hare who had given him the swarm of bees. Of course the hare was frightened, so he said, "I made a mistake, I thought that there was nothing but honey in the gourd."

The hare pleaded for his life promising to give the leopard some good oil to make his coat shine. "First of all you must let me drive a wooden peg into your head," said the hare.

The leopard allowed this, and, of course, died immediately.

THE HARE IS PUNISHED

A young leopard and a young hare were tired of obeying their mothers, so they decided to kill them. The hare said, "Let us eat your mother first of all."

They did so. The hare pretended that he had killed his mother and buried her in the woods, but the truth was that the hare had hidden his mother, hoping that the leopard would forget about the agreement they had made. The leopard was suspicious, so he searched the woods and at last found the hare and his mother in hiding. The leopard ate both of them.

THE BIRD AND THE BAT

The bird Choko met a rat with a long snout. The rat, whose name is Enganga, said, "Run from the drill," meaning his snout. The bird was afraid, so flew up into the branches of a tree.

One day the bird saw that the rat was asleep, so summoned courage to fly down and tap his nose with a stick. The bird saw that the nose was soft, so flew back to the tree calling out, "Brother rat said, 'Run from the drill, run from the drill,' but I smashed it and found that it was meat."

The bird's cry is expressed in Umbundu by the call "*Kota Enganga wa ndinga hati, tila eseka, tila eseka.*"

THE QUAIL AND THE ROOSTER

The quail found a large fat white grub under the bark of a tree. He said to the rooster, "You live with people who have fire, so go and cook this for me."

The rooster carried the grub to the village in his mouth. The people of the village liked these grubs, so they caught the rooster and took the grub from his beak.

The quail waited for a long time, then called, "Rooster, rooster, bring the grub."

The rooster replied, "The fools have eaten it."

THE STORY OF THE CRICKET

The cricket was very quiet; he did not talk too much or quarrel with other people. One day he invited people to dig in his field, and promised that he would give them some beer. The first helper to arrive was the rooster, who drank a pot of beer. While drinking the beer, the rooster looked out and saw the wild cat coming toward the cricket's home. The rooster was very much afraid of the wild cat, so hid under the bed. Presently the wild cat entered the house and received a pot of beer. But looking out he saw the dog coming that way, so hid under the bed.

The dog said to the cricket, "Did I see somebody as I came along the path?"

539

The cricket said that nobody had called. While the dog was drinking the gourd of beer he saw the hyena coming, and he was so afraid that he hid under the bed. Soon after the hyena had settled comfortably in the hut, a man carrying a gun approached the cricket's home. The hyena felt sure that the hunter would kill him so hid under the bed. All the animals were now crowded under the bed not daring to fight among themselves, because they were all afraid of the man.

For a long time the hunter sat drinking beer and talking to the cricket. The animals under the bed were quite safe because they kept quiet. Suddenly a cockroach fell from the roof to the floor of the hut. The rooster was so excited that he forgot that he was hiding. He dashed out from under the bed and gobbled up the cockroach. The wild cat then became excited and dashed out after the rooster. The dog followed the cat, and the hyena attacked the dog. There was a terrible noise as the animals fought in the middle of the floor. The cat killed the rooster. The dog killed the cat. The hyena killed the dog. The hunter shot the hyena, then went away. Presently a tortoise arrived. He was frightened when he saw the dead bodies of all these animals, so sent for the little hare. The hare dug up the cricket from the hole where he was hiding. The tortoise and the hare killed the cricket, because they said he had caused the death of all the other animals.

THE WATTLED CRANE (EPANDA) AND THE SPUR-WING GOOSE (ONJAVA)

These two birds agreed to lay their eggs together in one nest. Onjava is a clean bird who washes her eggs, but Epanda is a dirty bird whose eggs are never clean. The little ones of Epanda hatched out looking dirty and ugly, while the little ones of Onjava were pretty and clean.

One day the two birds went in different directions to find food for their young. Epanda watched Onjava out of sight, then returned to the nest and stole the pretty young ones. When Onjava returned with worms to feed her chicks she found only the young of Epanda, so began to cry, "Epanda, Epanda, Epanda, with your long neck and long beak, you have stolen my young ones."

Onjava set out to follow Epanda. The little ugly chicks of Epanda kept up with Onjava for a time then died because they were so tired. When, at last, Epanda was overtaken, she said to

539 Onjava, "You have killed my chicks by making them walk so far, I shall keep your children."

Then the great hornbill was called in as judge. He said that the chicks were to stay with Epanda. For a time the little birds did as the judge had said, but soon they returned to their mother, Onjava, because they were clean birds and Epanda was a dirty bird.

THE HARE (NDIMBA) AND THE LEMUR (EVOVO)

Evovo (the Great Galago) is somewhat like a lemur. It has gray bushy fur and a long fluffy tail.

One day Evovo addressed the hare, saying, "O comrade, what is the noise I am always hearing from the place where you have your house."

Ndimba answered, "My friend, have you never seen the people carry me in a hammock while they sing?"

"No, I never saw anything like that," responded Evovo.

Ndimba invited Evovo to the plains where they hid themselves, Ndimba in one place, Evovo in another. Presently the two hidden animals heard the sound of people singing, "We know where Ndimba is hidden."

Then the barking of dogs was heard, and the people called their dogs, shouting, "Haow! Haow!"

Ndimba said, "I hear them coming with my hammock."

Evovo replied excitedly, "Yes, yes, I can hear."

The dogs chased the two animals. Ndimba knew the paths across the plain and so escaped, but Evovo knew of no hiding place, so was killed.

THE FRUIT BAT AND THE SUN

The child of the sun was sick. The bat was a good *ocimbanda* (medicine-man), so the sun sent for him to cure his child. The bat arrived without delay, performed the cure, and returned home. The sun was very grateful at the time, but soon forgot the kindness of the bat. By and by the son of the bat fell ill with a sickness for which the sun was a clever *ocimbanda*.

The messengers from the bat arrived after the sun had risen above the horizon. The sun told them that he could not come to cure any one after he had started across the sky on his journey for the day.

"Come very early tomorrow," he said. Next morning the messengers were sent away again, because they were too late.

Sadly these messengers returned to the bat with their disappointing news, only to find that the young bat was dead.

The bat said, "I hate the sun and I will never look at him again." The bat made a vow that he would never again go out into the sunlight to find food.

This is the reason why the bat never flies by day. He hangs head downward in a dark place all day, so that he will not see the sun.

THE DOG AND THE LIZARD

The dog and the lizard met on the pounding rocks where a woman had left a little meal when she finished pounding her corn. When the dog began to lick up the meal the lizard said, "You ought to be ashamed to eat this. All the corn on the rocks belongs to me because you have people in the village who give you food."

The dog said that this was not true. "Come to the village with me and I will show you how the people treat me," continued the dog.

The two animals went to the village together, and the dog found a hiding place for the lizard in a fence near his home. When the dog entered the hut a woman picked up a stick and drove him out. Then the dog cried as he came running from the hut, "*Tala! tala! sa ci popele,*" meaning "See! see! Didn't I say so?"

Ever since that the lizard and the dog have been great friends who may be seen on the pounding rocks eating together.

THE JERBOA AND THE LEOPARD

This story which is told at Ngalangi is essentially the same as one related at Elende, but in the latter version the dog and the hyena are the actors.

The leopard hired the jerboa to act as nurse to her cubs. While the mother leopard was absent hunting for food, the jerboa decided to eat one of these fat little leopards.

Presently the mother leopard returned and said, "Bring out the children, I will feed them."

The jerboa brought out the cubs one by one, taking care to bring out the first one twice over. Next day when the mother leopard was away the jerboa ate another cub. Again the leopard asked for her little ones. The jerboa had been placed in charge of four cubs. As two were eaten, the jerboa had to bring out each of the two remaining cubs twice over in order to satisfy the mother leopard. On the third day the jerboa ate another little leopard. When the

539 mother leopard returned, the jerboa brought out the only cub four times. On the fourth day the jerboa ate the last of the cubs.

When the mother leopard came home the jerboa was terrified, so said, "The cubs are not very well, you must go in the room to feed them; I cannot bring them out." When the leopard had gone into the sleeping room the jerboa ran quickly into his hole in the ground.

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538 [113] These tales from my records were all told to me by Ngonga. It is true that some of the stories appear in the Umbundu reader "Olosapo Vioku Likisa Oku Tanga" (Kamundongo, 1914). But when this book was printed Ngonga was already well acquainted with all the stories therein, and many more. Most of the tales were, and are today, an integral part of the Umbundu language.

[113] My own inquiries had the same result as those of Chatelain in revealing a preponderance of stories of animals. Yet W. C. Bell was able to collect several tales relating entirely to the adventures of human beings (*Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, XXXV, pp. 116–150). At times there is a didactic theme running through a tale, which emphasizes the value of courage, presence of mind, and perseverance. A sense of humor is shown in the conversations of animals and the tricks which the smaller creatures use to the discomfort of the larger animals.

538 171 [113] Comparative study of stories told by the Ovimbundu with those from other parts of Africa opens up a field of research, especially in view of the long caravan journeys of the Ovimbundu. Chatelain narrates the Angolan story of the frog who boasted that he could ride the elephant, and contrived to do so by a clever ruse (*Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, VII, p. 62). The Nigerian story of the tortoise who fulfilled the same boast is told by A. B. Ellis (Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast, London, 1894, p. 265).

The Ovimbundu have the story of the tortoise who made a wager with the antelope respecting a race which they agreed to run. The tortoise won the wager by placing one of his brothers at the winning post. The Umbundu version is given in "Olosapo" (p. 53), and there is a Cameroon version.

The tug-of-war story which tells of a trick played against the hippopotamus and the elephant is known to the Ovimbundu. The story has a wide distribution with local variations. Sometimes the elephant and the hippopotamus are unwittingly made to pull against one another by some small clever animal such as the monkey or the hare. In the version given by H. S. Stannus (Harvard African Studies, vol. III, p. 329) the hare perpetrates this ruse. The version given by Smith and Dale (The Ila-speaking Peoples of Rhodesia, vol. II, p. 377) makes the contestants a hippopotamus and a rhinoceros, but the hare again arranges the tug-of-war. E. Dayrell (Folklore Stories from Southern Nigeria, London, 1910, p. 104) gives another variant of the tug-of-war story, which states that one end of the rope was made fast to a palm tree. The hippopotamus was under water so he could not see the object against which he was pulling. He thought he was tugging against the tortoise as arranged.

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Umbundu stories are humorous and didactic, while some indicate a process of rationalizing. An example of the latter kind is found in the story explaining why the bat flies at night. Dayrell (pp. 36, 51) gives two different versions of this rationalizing tale.

These folklore stories of the Ovimbundu give information respecting vocabulary, structure of the language, powers of observation, customs, and ideas of conduct.

I have found no stories which illustrate the grafting of elements from two different cultures. In some parts of Africa tales may be heard which contain blended elements from a Negro and a Semitic culture, as in Nigeria. But assimilation of features which were foreign to the story at its cultural origin does not occur in the tales given here, with the exception of the European story of the greedy dog, which is an importation.

The Ovimbundu were noted for their long caravan journeys, which were undertaken in territory occupied by tribes of the same linguistic family (Bantu), a fact which may account for the similarity of Umbundu and other Bantu versions of the same tales.

IX. RELIGION

SUPREME BEING

776 Suku is the name of the most important dead person mentioned by the Ovimbundu. Ngonga says that Suku made mountains, rivers, sky, and people. The name Suku is known all over the great territory inhabited by the Ovimbundu. I have seen at the *ombala* of Ngalangi a small house of meditation where the king retires accompanied by an old woman. This retirement for communion with spirits of the dead takes place in time of drought, and a gourd filled with water is always kept in the house. In another village of the Ngalangi region I photographed a house of meditation for the king who retires for communion with spirits whenever he is troubled (Plate LXXXIX, Fig. 1). The painted marks on the door are said to be an indication to spirits that this is the king's house of meditation, but there is no reason for saying that the king communes with Suku.

The evidence regarding Suku was supplemented at Ngalangi by two Ovimbundu boys who agreed that Suku was very important. They associated Suku with rain; but the word *suku* does not mean rain, water, or food; these are expressed by *ombela*, *ovava*, and *okulia*, respectively. I know of no meaning of the word *suku* which might assist in explaining the attributes of this respected spirit. Names of medicine-men are remembered and used but they are not associated with the name Suku. My informants at Ngalangi said that names of kings are sometimes coupled with the name Suku.

773 At Ngalangi an informant stated that in the beginning everything was water. A man dropped from above, caused land to appear, and began hunting. At the side of a stream he saw an animal that disappeared beneath the water. He was about to shoot when he saw that the animal was a person something like himself, yet different. He took the animal home, mated with it, and reared a family. This story is told also at Cileso, about two hundred miles from Ngalangi. At Ngalangi I was informed that the first being was a calf with human attributes, who walked about on the rocks leaving mixed tracks of an animal and human kind, which may be seen to this day.

SURVIVAL AFTER DEATH

775 787 There are ideas of reincarnation. Two Bailundu boys said that the lion was considered to be a powerful old man. If a lion is found dead divination is practised to discover the cause of death. If a

lion visits a village an old man talks to it through the palisade. 775
The conversation is carried on in a series of grunts, after which the 787
lion goes away. One of my informants said that "lions and leopards are watchdogs for old men who have died." When one of these animals kills a domestic animal or a person, the assumption is that the predatory animal was sent by a deceased old man who requires a sacrifice. Ngonga of Elende said that "when a lion killed a man it was a sign that there was a bad spirit from the man's family within the lion." There is divination to find who requires a sacrifice, since some ancestor has been neglected. W. C. Bell relates an Umbundu [114]
tale of a woman who changed herself into a wild animal, but I was not able to ascertain that belief in transformation is held today (*Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, XXXV, p. 129).

I am unable to prove that the Ovimbundu have definite ideas of the nature of a future life, but they certainly think of survival after death, and have clear concepts of good and bad spirits who influence the fortunes of the living. There is no idea of punishment or reward, but a bad man has a bad ghost which can do evil things. Spirits will follow their relations on earth; moreover, they will come to the house of bows where their property is preserved.

A man returning from a hunt with trophies, or from the collection of honey, will leave some of these on a grave. There is no idea [774]
of spirits in rivers and trees, but the first tree felled for building the house of a man of importance must not be allowed to fall violently. This may imply a belief in a tree-spirit.

Spirits move at night only and mentioning the dead by name or
whistling at night calls spirits. There are many instances of sacrifice [782]
connected with the idea of a spirit who has to be appeased. The
medicine-man can induce a spirit to enter an image of wood. Thus
there are wooden images containing spirits useful to the blacksmith. [778]
There is an image which can show travelers the right path when the medicine-man consults it (Plate XXI, Figs. 3, 5).

Osande is a good spirit who will "bring good luck and do good things for the people, while *Ondele* is a bad spirit who harms the people," said Ngonga. When a person is sick, mad, or dizzy he has *Ondele*. Only a powerful *ocimbanda* can cast out *Ondele*. *Ocilulu* is the general name for a disembodied spirit, either good or bad. An *Ekisi* is an *Osande;* apparently the terms are synonymous.

A spirit can die a second time. There is, for instance, an evil 775
bird of the night whose name is *Esuvi*. This bird is able to catch a spirit in order to make it die a second death. A living person

775 suffers sickness or misfortune if an ancestral spirit dies a second death. A person who has bad health says, "The spirit of my grandfather has been caught by *Esuvi*." The name of the good spirit *Osande* is used by a person who is suffering. Such a one says, "I have no more *Osande*." These instances clearly reveal a belief in the dependence of human welfare on the interest of benevolent ancestral spirits.

775 791 753 After a lapse of three months I asked Ngonga again about *Osande* and *Ondele*. He confirmed what he had previously said, but spoke in the plural of these spirits; good spirits are called *Olosande*, bad spirits are called *Olondele*. The medicine-man will visit a hut to foretell the future, and while there he puts a concoction in an image to which he addresses questions. He plugs his nostrils, then in a falsetto voice feigns answers from the image. The father of a family, or possibly the mother's brother, may kill an animal in front of the hut on this occasion. He then says to *Olosande*, "We hope when [761] we kill this there will be no more sickness." The Ovimbundu are afraid of death, and they therefore sacrifice to *Olosande*, asking that there shall be no death in the family.

775 I do not know whether the Ovimbundu distinguish multiple souls as some Negro tribes do. The part of a man which does not die is sometimes called *utima*, which is the word for heart. Dr. M. W. Ennis says that the *utima* and the *omuenyo* are both names of the spirit existing in a living body. Ngonga seems certain that every person irrespective of age, rank, and sex has a spirit, but I could find no evidence that the Ovimbundu visualize a separation of ranks or sexes after death. 762 775 When a man kills himself he is buried near a river so that his spirit will go to the sea, and for the same reason a murdered man is buried near a river. At Ngalangi I inquired from other Ovimbundu people concerning suicide. Women who commit suicide generally do so by hanging or drowning. Men stab themselves in the heart or use a flintlock gun, the trigger of which they pull with their toes. It is feared that the spirit of a suicide will return to induce another suicide in the family, therefore there is anxiety to rid the community of these spirits.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND CONDUCT

771 688 The Ovimbundu have many high standards of conduct, some of which have been mentioned in dealing with the education of children. There is, however, no idea of sin. That is to say, there are no commands laid down by some authority which is more than human.

Nevertheless, the idea of crime is well developed, and there are 771
many actions which are punishable because they contravene the 688
laws of the tribe. Adultery is a crime on a par with theft; but adultery is not a sin. Suku, the supreme being, issues no commands. Ancestral spirits are concerned only with sacrifice and homage to themselves. There is no theory of punishment or reward in a future life according to conduct on earth.

Perhaps *ekandu* is the only word which could express sin. An 681
Ocimbundu would say that murder is the chief *ekandu*. "*Ekandu* is to make anything have a bad time." To send a stranger along the wrong path is *ekandu*. It would be *ekandu* to throw an animal on the fire. It is *ekandu* if a man is guilty of fornication with his wife's sister. Such an act is said to be *ekandu* only if the wife's sister is visiting the house of the culprit. The male defaulter is regarded as blameless, but the people of the village from which the wife's sister
came would be expected to pay the wronged wife. Sexual offences [684]
against young children are very serious. In fact the death penalty or banishment would be inflicted, and such offences are given by the Ovimbundu as examples of *ekandu*.

This subject of moral responsibility leads naturally into the 671
question of laws and penalties. There are among the Ovimbundu well-defined moral codes and clearly formulated tribal laws which have been described in chapter VI.

FUNERAL RITES

COMMONERS

In the village of Cilema in the district of Elende I witnessed 764
the funeral rites of a boy aged twelve years. When a few hundred yards from the village, I heard sounds of drumming coming from a secluded place in the tall grass. On reaching the clearing four drummers were seen, each of whom held a tubular drum between his legs; these drums were of different lengths. The man on the left of the drumming squad played with an up and down movement of his left hand only, to provide the bass tone. Other drummers played with the palms and fingers of both hands. Thirty feet from the drummers stood a group of women who always started the rhythm for the drums by clapping their hands, and the hand-clapping continued as an accompaniment for the drums.

Near-by, men were seated on the ground, while a large number of women walked about or sat on the ground chatting and smoking their pipes. The general impression was not one of solemnity.

764 The interpretation of the chanting is "God has cheated me of a life." That is, God gave a life and he has taken it.

(123) My interpreter, who was a relative of the deceased boy, explained to the people that I was seriously interested. This was necessary, as they were afraid of ridicule and hostile opinion. I sat down by the father of the dead boy and talked with him through my interpreter. In the meantime I observed that the corpse was in a cloth-covered box slung on a pole, which was supported on the shoulders of two men who stood very close to the drummers. The bearers remained immovable except for the occasional changing of the coffin pole from one shoulder to another. At intervals women came out from the group to dance near the coffin, one, two, or three at a time. One boy was particularly energetic in leaping in front of the corpse. When the performers had danced they returned to the crowd from which other persons immediately advanced. These detached and spontaneous performances each lasted about two minutes.

After two hours the bearers of the coffin moved away, followed on one side by some of the men, on the other side by a few women. A large number of men and women remained behind with the drummers. The music and the solo dancing continued. The corpse was removed to a place about a hundred yards from the spot where the initial ceremonies had been performed. The bearers still held the coffin on their shoulders, while men and women seated themselves on each side of the bier. This part of the proceeding was solemn and there was little conversation, though tobacco-smoking continued among both men and women (Plate XLV, Fig. 1).

A woman about forty-five years of age held a plate of corn meal in her hand while she stood close to the corpse and in line with the bier. She addressed the corpse very earnestly and paused intermittently for a reply. While speaking, the woman looked intently at the foremost of the bearers, who both stood immovable with their heads inclined forward and eyes directed to the ground.

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602 My interpreter (Ngonga) said that the woman addressing the corpse was the oldest sister of the father of the dead boy, and that she was asking the spirit of the dead boy why he died. Here Ngonga threw a side light on family relationships.

The father of the dead boy was the son of Ngonga's mother's brother. The dead boy used to call Ngonga *tate* ("my father"); Ngonga called him *omolãnge* ("my child"). When the woman had addressed the corpse an old man took her place. He held up the plate of meal and earnestly asked questions. Lukuma was the name of the father of the dead boy. The old man who addressed the corpse was the brother of Lukuma's mother. Ngonga explained that the woman addresses the corpse, "to give him sense so that he will not be ashamed to tell all about it"; that is, about the manner of his death. The old man said to the corpse, "*Etali* ["today"] *omolãngė* ["my boy"] *tu yongola* ["we want"] *oku* ["you"] *tu* ["us"] *sanjuisa* ["make glad"] *o tu* ["to us"] *sapuila* ["tell"] *muele* ["indeed"] *cosi* ["all"] *ca* ["that"] *ku upa* ["you take"] *kilu lieve* ["from earth"]. 764 602

The pause which followed a question was intended to give the corpse time to reply. It is supposed that if the answer is in the negative the spirit causes the pole to swing slightly backward. An affirmative answer is given if the spirit makes the pole swing forward. The old man demanded, "Is it witchcraft that hates us and killed you? If it is witchcraft, come to the front." I could see no swing of the corpse on the pole, but Ngonga said that he could see the coffin swing backward to indicate a negative answer. I suspected that the interrogator of the corpse gave a signal to the bearers, indicating that the coffin was to be made to swing, but I could see no signal or movement of the coffin. While the corpse was interrogated, males among the spectators spoke to the old man who was asking the questions. Ngonga explained that these men were suggesting questions which might be asked respecting the cause of death. A witness in the crowd would say, "You have forgotten this," or "You have forgotten that." 764 787

The next question was one that calls for a detailed explanation. *Sambulu* is a bad spirit which is able to cause death when crying women and children offend him by their wailing. The mother of the dead boy was a slave whose husband was absent from the village for a time. During this period the master of the woman threatened to sell her; consequently she went to a Christian mission with her children, one of whom was the boy now deceased. The woman and children were crying, hence the possibility that the evil *Sambulu* had at that time entered the person of the boy whose funeral rites were now in progress. The woman had visited the mission a year ago, but this lapse of time apparently made no difference to the possibility that *Sambulu* had entered one of the children. The spirit made a negative answer to this ingenious suggestion and eventually indicated that death was due to a "bad belly." If no answer is returned affirmatively, recourse is made to the medicine-man, who carries out divination. The details of this method are described [776] [797]

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later in explaining the meaning of the articles which are contained in the divination basket.

764 I interrogated my interpreter respecting funeral customs, and from these inquiries elicited the following information. Burial of the corpse takes place a mile or more from the village in a grave dug by the father's sister's children. The depth of the grave is about six feet. (361) Each village has its own burial ground. The woman who questioned the corpse carried a sleeping mat which would be used to spread on the bottom of the grave, though sometimes the mat is placed outside the grave on the mound of earth. Midway between Cuma and Caconda I photographed graves of the Ovimbundu (Plate XLVII, Figs. 1, 2). The articles on the graves were the poles used for carrying the coffin, a basket, broken gourds, and in one instance the horns of a bullock which was killed at the funeral feast. The horns were mounted at the top of an upright pole (Plate XLVI, Fig. 2). Ngonga said that the belongings of a well-to-do person would usually be broken and placed on the grave; the breaking is necessary in order to prevent theft. I could find no trace of the idea that property is broken so that its spirit will accompany the man to a world of spirits.

The corpse was in a wooden box covered with a thin piece of blue and white chequered cloth tightly wound about the coffin. Ngonga explained that the body was prepared in the following manner before it was placed in the coffin. The corpse was extended in a supine position with the thumbs tied, the palms together, and the hands on the pubes. The great toes were tied together and the upper arms were bound to the torso with bands of bark or cloth. The use of bark no doubt represents the older method.

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At the funeral of a baby one of the grandmothers carries the dead child to the grave on her back. The ceremony of questioning the corpse is carried out if the child is old enough to walk and talk. Ngonga said, "If the dead child was old enough to talk they think he will say something." If the child was unable to talk, the parents, accompanied by their brothers and sisters, would visit the medicine-man to inquire the cause of death.

766 There are a few special observances connected with the burial of twins. When the children were alive the mother had to shake a rattle or to blow a small horn instead of giving the usual greetings to a passer-by, and this she has to do at the funeral of one or both of her twins.

A mourning widow must leave her hair loose and undressed, and 765
she has to wear a cloth which conceals her from crown to sole.
For three days she is obliged to sleep close to the corpse of her
husband with only a stick between them. The stick, which is about
the length of the bed, is laid between the widow and the corpse.
During this time she has no food, and her wailing is expected to
be almost continuous day and night. When the corpse is tied and
prepared for burial the widow says farewell to it. Relatives support
the corpse and make it advance toward her, while she herself is
held in the position of a bound corpse, and is supported by relatives
who make her confront the dead body of her husband. The widow
does not go to the funeral.

Mourning continues after the funeral, with fasting and periodical wailing at three o'clock in the afternoon, and again twelve hours later. At the end of a month of mourning the widow lies for one night in the place where the corpse of her husband lay the night before burial. At the beer-drinking which marks the end of the period of mourning a medicine-man guides the hand of the widow as she dips a ladle into the beer pot and distributes the beverage.

The widow may stay with her mother's brother or she may return 768
to her parents, but she must not become the wife of another man
until a year has elapsed. The second husband will make a present 587
to the widow's parents or others who have taken her, but this gift
will not be as valuable as if the groom were taking a virgin.

Tree burial I have not seen, but heard of it near Ngalangi, and 766
it has recently taken place at Cileso. Tree burial is the method for 672
disposing of the corpse of a person who has died in debt. Any one
who gives interment to a corpse assumes responsibility for the debts;
hence tree burial is the most convenient way of disposal.

An Ocimbundu from Bailundu said that in that district the 766
child is taken from the womb of a woman who has died pregnant.
Food is placed on the lips of the removed foetus so that it will not
induce the death of other pregnant women. Near Ngalangi a
pregnant woman would be buried with the point of a long stick on
her abdomen, and after the grave had been filled a blow would be
given to the top of the stick.

The foregoing are the principal points of importance in the [565]
funeral rites of commoners. Ceremonies connected with the death
and burial of medicine-men, kings, chiefs, and hunters require
separate consideration.

MEDICINE-MEN

756 766 When a medicine-man dies the people call in another medicine-man to take charge of the ceremonies. The corpse is tied in a sitting posture, which is the attitude for burial. His charms are attached to his body and in this position they remain in the grave. The head ornament *osala*, which may be feathers, quills of the porcupine, or hair from a goat's beard, is placed upright on the head and fastened by a band under the chin (Plate XXIII, Fig. 2). The corpse is kept in a seated position lashed to a stool for three days. There is no coffin.

The corpse is carried in the posture described to the grave which is dug at a cross-path. The corpse of a medicine-man is questioned in the same manner as that employed in interrogating the corpse of a commoner. When the corpse is placed in its grave the medicine-men, some of them from a distance, dance because they have "spirit in their heads." The medicine-men shake their heads while dancing, and without pausing each eats a living chicken that he carries in his hand. At the side of the grave, a dog, a chicken, and a goat are killed. No part of the flesh is buried; it is consumed by those present at the funeral.

A sleeping mat is placed in the grave, and on the mound of earth are placed horns filled with medicine, and skins which used to hang from the waist of the medicine-man when he was performing. The rain-making charms are not buried in the grave, because their interment would cause the rainfall to diminish; the charms may, however, be placed on the outside of the grave. No food is placed in or on the grave. The mound of earth is painted with a human male figure. When a new medicine-man is making medicine or performing ceremonies he uses the name of a deceased medicine-man.

756 It is thought that the dead medicine-man has spirits which he is able to send to earth. No images of the medicine-man are made. Medicine-men visit the grave at night in order to take parts of the corpse to include in their medicine. At Caconda in western Angola I obtained the outfit of a medicine-man who included in his equipment two small hoe blades which he used for disinterring the dead. There was a portion of human tibia in the basket and a round stone pounder for pulverizing bone along with other ingredients.

[769] The funeral rites of a medicine-woman are the same as those of a medicine-man except that medicine-women carry the corpse. An *osoma* ("king") or a *sekulu* ("chief") will visit the grave of a medicine-man to ask for rain or other favors.

KINGS AND CHIEFS

A chief (village headman) is buried in a specially constructed enclosure 766
in the village over which he ruled (Plate XLV, Fig. 2). 643
The mausoleum is a small hut with a substantial wooden door which is surrounded by a strongly built wooden fence ten feet high.

I was taken inside a tomb in the capital of Ngalangi, where the king showed the interior of his burial place of kings. There were four mounds of earth, each of which covered the body of a king, and a little distance away were the graves of the principal wives. The hut contained pottery and gourds; also a small fire, which is replenished by an attendant who must not allow it to be extinguished.

Ngonga says that the burial chamber at Elende contains the 769
head of the chief in a box. After one year from the time of burial 643
the box containing the head is opened in order that a libation of 769
beer may be poured over it. Sometimes the head is anointed with palm oil and a new band of cloth is added. These attentions are paid to the head in time of sickness and drought. If the head shows signs of desiccation an ox is killed in order to provide a new piece of skin in which the head is sewn. The tomb is visited by men who come to ask for good fortune when they are departing for a journey to the interior, and these supplicants are led to the tomb by the ruling chief. Near the burial place of the *sekulu* ("village headman") at Elende there was the house of bows (Plate XLVI, Fig. 1), which is typical of several seen in different parts of Angola. These repositories always contain staffs, bows, arrows, sleeping mats, and possibly other articles which belonged to the dead.

The corpse of a king is suspended from the top of the burial hut 766
by a rope which is tightly fastened round his neck. That the king [763]
has died is not admitted and the announcement states that "the
king has a cold in his head." The head of a specially selected family 643
twists the rope until the head is severed. The twisting is carried out gradually, a little each day, so that a week or more is required for severance. In former times the head was detached by twisting only, but at present a knife is used to hasten the friction of the rope. When the body of the king has fallen into the basket placed underneath to receive it, the people may say that the king is dead and mourning begins.

Judging by the arrangement seen at the *ombala* of Ngalangi the bodies are buried in a hut constructed as a burial place for kings, but Ngonga states that the older method was cave burial. The body

766 643 of a dead king would in former times be taken at night by chiefs and interred in one of the caves which are numerous in the rugged hills of the Benguela Highlands. The burial posture for a king is the same as that described for a medicine-man. The severed head is eventually kept in a box, but primarily both head and body are buried, though in separate places. At the end of a year the head is dug up and transferred to its casket.

765 643 Mourning for a king lasts for seven days, during which his children and wives wear strips of oxhide on their left wrists. The village chiefs gather to choose a king from the "blood of kings," though "sometimes a bad man will make himself king without waiting to be chosen." The choice should be in favor of the oldest son of the chief wife, "but if she has stupid sons, a son of another wife of the king will be chosen."

769 643 Sometimes during drought chiefs and their wives go to the grave of a chief where they say, "If you are angry tell us what you want. If you want an ox we will kill one." If they visit the tomb of a king, the king's corpse is asked, "Do you want a new box for your head? We will make one." The oldest chief takes from the tomb the box which contains the head. This is slung on a pole supported on the shoulders of two boys. The head is then questioned in the way described for the funeral of a commoner. The oldest chief offers a sacrifice, if such procedure is demanded by a forward swing of the pole which supports the casket containing the king's head.

768 643 The house is not burned after a death has occurred within, but it is still customary to take down the surrounding fence and to build a new one. The house in which death took place is then used as before. I was informed at the capital of Ngalangi, and by the king himself, that he must continue to use the house of former kings until the structure collapses. No repair work may be done; consequently the house was in a dilapidated condition. Some months after receiving this account at Elende I was in Moxico, several hundred miles away, and learned that at Cangamba the custom of severing the head of a king by suspension and friction prevails in the manner described above.

HUNTERS

224 766 While traveling in the district of Ganda, likewise in the Vasele country in the hinterland of Novó Redondo, one cannot fail to notice the presence of rock tombs (*ombilia* or *osonje*) which are mausoleums of hunters. These are invariably placed in commanding

positions on domes of rock. The first tomb examined was in Ganda 224
(Plate LXXIV, Fig. 1). This tomb is carefully built up from pieces 766
of granite detached from the rocks which serve as a base. Horns of animals are placed on the cairn which is further decorated by a stick bearing the tail of an animal. Plate XXXII, Fig. 1, shows a tomb of similar structure in the country of the Vasele. From one such tomb it was possible to detach a slab so that the interior could be seen. There were two male skeletons; one lay supine while the bones of the other were in disorder.

In a hunter's house of bows there are implements of deceased hunters, whose ceremonies centering in these relics have been described under the heading of hunting.

TRAINING OF MEDICINE-MEN

Training for the position of male or female magician (*ocimbanda*) 756
is not carried out with formality ending in initiatory rites, neither is the position hereditary; but the boy or girl who wishes to become an *ocimbanda* must have "spirit in the head." This choice of children of peculiar neurotic temperament for the positions of medicine-men and medicine-women is widely distributed, as I have shown in some detail (Origins of Education, 1926, pp. 256–259).

Among the Ovimbundu there does not appear to be an intensifying of natural psychoses by seclusion, starvation, or beating. [158]
When a boy is sick, the medicine-man says, "You have a spirit who wants you to be *ocimbanda*." The medicine-man kills a dog, a goat, and four chickens, then the boy has to accompany his master, carrying his apparatus and obeying him in every way. The medicine-man says, "Your father was an *ocimbanda* and the spirit wants you." The female *ocimbanda* is called *cambula* by other women, and her [845]
services are preferred to those of the male *ocimbanda* in cases of difficult childbirth.

In Ngalangi I was informed that the Ovimbundu have great faith in the medicine-men of the Vangangella, a name vaguely applied by the Ovimbundu to several tribes of east-central Angola. An Ocimbundu will make a journey of several days in order to visit a distant medicine-man of another tribe.

FUNCTIONS OF MEDICINE-MEN

Magical practices are of two kinds, social and anti-social. The man who carries out divination, rain-making, healing the sick, and (791)
many other functions is *ocimbanda*, while the secret worker of evil, the witch or wizard, is *onganga*. In one village there may be several

756 men and women each of whom receives the name *ocimbanda*, and
specialization in some particular form of magical practice is the
[554] rule. Some practitioners are more highly esteemed than others.
For example, an *ocimbanda* who has the reputation for curing dizziness, madness, and *onyalai* (p. 281) is one of great repute; so also
is the man who can cure a case of blood in the urine (*biliosa*).
[164] This is the Portuguese term commonly applied to blackwater fever.

DIVINATION

787 An examination of objects collected gives the best indication of the equipment of the *ocimbanda*, and among these no item is more important than the small divination basket containing a heterogeneous collection of objects.

A diviner receives the distinguishing title of *ocimbanda congomba*, and a description of his methods explains his belief in the activities of spirits. He shakes the basket while his assistant plays a small friction drum; then he inspects the objects lying at the top.

A figure with beads on its neck indicates that trouble is due to the ghost of a dead baby whose spirit wishes to come back.

A piece of gourd with a round orifice means that some one has been talking too much. The orifice represents a human mouth.

Two figures, male and female, whispering together, indicate that a husband and wife are making a plan to poison somebody.

The figure of a female with a large abdomen indicates that the spirit of a deceased pregnant woman is causing sickness in the village.

The horn with shells on it indicates that the woman who is consulting the diviner will not bear children.

There is a little figure with a black tuft on its head, whose
[177] arrival at the top of the basket indicates that misfortune among the
natives is caused by Europeans. When talking to this figure the medicine-man tries to speak like a white man by adopting a falsetto voice and mimicking the intonation of Europeans.

The figure with a little crest on its head is an indication of sickness or other trouble arising from a spirit which likes to drink blood. When this figure comes to the top of the basket, the medicine-man induces the blood-drinking spirit to enter a man, because the evil must first be localized before it can be exorcised. This possessed person dances with a small ax or a hair switch in his hand. When dancing has induced a frenzy, the dancer kills a pig and drinks the fresh blood. The blood-drinking spirit is in this way exorcised from the community.

If the figure with united legs comes to the top of the basket the meaning is that a medicine-man used to be in the family of the consultant. The spirit of this medicine-man wishes some member of the family to become a medicine-man.

The little wooden snake signifies cords and binding. Dreaming of a snake indicates that the dreamer will be tied and sold into slavery. When the wooden snake comes to the top of the basket, the significance is that a spirit has tied the sick person who is consulting the diviner.

If the wooden figure of a girl appears at the top of the basket, the inference is that the spirit causing trouble is that of a girl.

The appearance of a thin wooden figure at the top of the basket means that the troublesome spirit is that of a person who died when away on a long and fatiguing journey. The afflicted person who is consulting *ocimbanda* has to make an offering to one of the wooden human figures which are to be found along trade routes.

The piece of iron in the basket may come to the top when the contents are shaken. When this happens it is assumed that a death will take place. The death is attributed to something, for example, alcohol, which has come from white people.

The piece of horn from the hoof of an ox indicates that a troublesome spirit desires an ox to be sacrificed. If a sick man is consulting the diviner, he is told to take a drink containing parings from the hoof of an ox.

The bone from a chicken's leg indicates that sickness has come from the road, that is, from a journey. The Ovimbundu have been famous for their long journeys across Africa, hence the implication seems to be that a disease of an infectious kind has been brought from a distance.

A corncob indicates that trouble has arisen from a spirit which can affect the growth of corn if not appeased by sacrifice.

A coin indicates that the sick or deceased person was too fond of money; misfortune has come from the spirit who gives wealth and good luck, because it has been offended in some way.

There is in the basket a white bone which means that there will be laughter in the village.

The small cocoon of sticks, which I think belongs to a caddis fly, means that some one has stolen a bale of cloth.

Small round shells indicate that everything is well.

A small wooden boat indicates that some one will be drowned.

787 The handle of a hoe is the symbol of cultivation. The appearance of the miniature handle at the top of the basket implies that the spirit of a woman who was rich in corn is troubling the community.

Two united, human figures of wood indicate that a twin will die. The Ovimbundu welcome twins; when one is dead the mother has a wooden figure (Plate XXI, Fig. 1) made to take its place; this is nursed to induce another conception and to comfort the remaining child.

The little gourd means that a deceased person was secretly poisoned in revenge because of his thefts from a field.

The seed of the oil palm means that a large gourd of palm oil has been stolen.

The description of funeral rites gave an account of the questioning of the spirit of the deceased. If no answer is given, divination is made to learn the cause of death.

There is no divination by examination of entrails. Bones are thrown in playing a game, but this is not connected with divination.

EQUIPMENT AND MISCELLANEOUS DUTIES

755 [842] The basket of an Ocimbundu medicine-man at Caconda contained, in addition to the human bone, pounder, and hoe blades already mentioned, two carved wooden female figures whose specific use is unknown. It is known, however, that such figures may be nursed and held to the breast of a woman who wishes to conceive. There was a cowrie shell on a cord which forms a charm to be worn round the neck of a woman who desires children. A small tin box containing a coin and some stones was used for shaking. The kind of sound produced, also any arrested movement of the objects in the box, are indications of the guilt of a person whose name was mentioned just as the objects ceased to move.

A large antelope horn, filled with a mixture of goat's fat and charcoal from the bones of a goat, was intended for use in curing the sick. The contents of the horn become liquid when heated; then they can be dropped on the heads of the people who come for treatment. It was explained that a number of sick people sat around the medicine-man who walked to each person and poured out a small quantity of medicine on the patient's head.

[534] The only musical instruments used by a medicine-man are a small friction drum and a rattle. At Ngalangi I saw a medicine-man give a dance during which he slashed about him with a small ax, which was evidently a ceremonial object, since the construction

was too light to make it effective as a tool or weapon (Plate XIII, 755
Fig. 4). At Bailundu I was informed that an ax of this kind is used in a medicine-man's dance which is intended to cure a man who is sick because a spirit has entered into him. The sickness may have occurred because the man has broken a promise.

The medicine-man, or sometimes the patient himself, dances violently, meanwhile cutting about him with the ax (*omutaka*), which is finally used for killing a little pig whose blood is drunk by the sick man. This is the ritual that was previously mentioned in describing divination.

The following are important ceremonial objects: The ax *ekuva* 411
(Plate XIII, Fig. 5) was the one used for killing slaves who were [266]
eaten at the death of a king. This object was secured in the Vasele 782
country near Vila Nova de Selles. It is of handsome appearance, having a copper circle inlaid into the iron blade. A spear from Bailundu is likewise important because of its use in ritual (Plate XIII, Fig. 8). Before war and hunting this spear was thrust first into an ox then into a slave. The human and animal flesh were cooked together and eaten from the same pot. The female figure used by the medicine-man for consultation with regard to the correct path for a caravan has been described. A carved wooden post obtained from Bailundu was set up at cross-paths so that it might be visited by a sick person or his representative who would make sacrifice there.

Without parallel among ceremonial objects used by the Ovim- 778
bundu is a small wooden cloth-covered box from Bailundu. This contains a piece of root of cylindrical form tightly bound with cloth having at one end a cowrie shell. The box is the shrine of *Kandundu*, for whom a small hut is built in order to contain the box. Any one who sees the contents of the shrine is said to become blind. *Kandundu* is believed to be the "spirit of dreaming who makes swellings come on the body."

Antelope horns are in general use as containers of magical potions. 789
One horn from Bailundu is used for holding sweet beer which is drunk 237
by a person afflicted by bad dreams. A large horn with a piece of fur attached, also from Bailundu, is named ocindiko. The horn contains a mixture of fat and charcoal which is heated near camp after sunset, when men are on the march. The spreading fumes keep away lions and thieves. It was said that a thief is deterred because the fumes make him cough.

778 The charm *osonge* or *ombuiyu* is in the form of small neckbands of plaited fiber to which two or three cowrie shells are fastened. It is worn by women who wish to induce conception. A neckband of this kind which was worn by the maternal grandmother is thought to be specially effective. Sometimes a small rattle, formed from seed pods attached to a stick, is tied to the neckband. The rattle is shaken when the mother of twins meets a friend to whom she is not allowed to give the ordinary greeting.

751 A tortoise shell containing fat and charcoal is worn by the mother of a child who is afflicted by the spirit of *Kandundu*, which may cause the baby to have skin eruptions or a very small amount of hair. In order to cure her child, the mother must eat small quantities of the contents of the shell from time to time. In some sympathetic way the medicinal benefits are transferred to the infant.

756 When dancing, the medicine-man usually wears a goat's beard attached to a circular piece of basketry. This *osala* is sometimes fastened on the top of his head. In place of the ax already mentioned he may flourish a small ceremonial hoe or whisk, or a wooden baton with a tuft of hair at the end.

[766] Among the varied duties of the medicine-man is that of washing the body of a king (*osoma*) or a chief (*sekulu*). To water in a pot, the medicine-man adds some of the blood of a freshly killed chicken. Then in a hut specially reserved for the purpose he performs the ceremonial ablution.

At Cangamba an Ocivokue performed a ceremony which was supposed to make a thief return to the village for trial. The medicine-man sat on his haunches, holding in one hand a small rattle and in the other a slender stick on which the decorated carapace of a tortoise was poised (Plate LXXXII, Fig. 1). Very earnestly the man talked, shook his head, and gazed at the tortoise shell which began to twist on its pivot. As the medicine-man muttered and shook his rattle, the movement of the shell grew faster. Presently the rotation of the tortoise shell was reversed, but so adroitly that I could not follow the movement or imitate it when allowed to try. The reversed movement of the carapace on its pivot represents the culprit turning back to his village.

CURING THE SICK

755 At Cangamba a female *ocimbanda* was seen painting marks of red and white on the face of a sick woman. The ceremony was called *osihamba* and its object was said to be the relief of rheumatism,

755

of which there are several named varieties. Painting of women has previously been mentioned in describing ceremonies associated with pregnancy.

Several distinct performances for curing the sick were observed at Cangamba, which is a center of the Vachokue tribe, though a few people of the Ovimbundu and many Luchazi and Babunda mingle at this place.

In the first instance the sick woman knelt in front of a hut two feet high which contained a clay leopard marked with white spots. The medicine-man dipped a bunch of leaves in water and stroked this along the patient's spine from the neck to the sacrum.

The second performance was more elaborate, and detailed preparations were made outside the hut of the medicine-man (Plate LXXXIII, Fig. 2). A screen of posts and boughs was erected, and on one side of this two male drummers stood, each with a long tubular drum before him. On the other side of the fence were three wooden posts, each two feet high, circular in cross section, and painted, as indicated in the illustration. Near the posts was a basket, so closely woven that it contained water in which green twigs and leaves were soaking. The drums began to beat and a group of women clapped hands in rhythm.

The patient knelt before the small painted wooden posts close to the basket of water, into which she dipped her face from time to time. While the drum music and hand-clapping continued, the medicine-man took wet twigs from the basket. He drew these very slowly along the spine of the patient from neck to sacrum, as if painting with a brush. The patient occasionally shivered from head to foot; then remained still, except for the dipping of her face in the water, until the next paroxysm shook her. This routine continued for ten minutes. The medicine-man then knelt by the woman, dug a small hole in the ground, and pulled up one of the painted wooden posts which he placed in the patient's hands. The medicine-man kept his hands over those of the patient while she transferred the painted post to the new hole that he had prepared. Finally the basket containing the water and leaves was buried thirty feet from the scene of operations.

A similar ceremony was witnessed near this site. In this instance, however, the water was obtained from a boat-shaped receptacle mounted on two Y-shaped posts, at a height of three feet from the ground (Plate LXXXIII, Fig. 1). Outside the hut of the medicine-

755 man, and fastened to the wall, was a strip of bark cloth painted with white circles. These recorded the number of times the patient came for treatment.

278 757 At Ngalangi there was no difficulty in obtaining information respecting plants used medicinally. Each of three medicine-men returned with a number of roots and stems which they readily described. *Okakamba* and *okapelangalo* are roots that cure "big head." This disease, which is rare in white people, begins with blood blisters in the mouth; these may spread to the intestines and cause death. *Okayenje* is a root that induces vomiting; it is also a purgative to free a patient from worms. *Olutikitiki* is given to a woman soon after her baby is born. *Kalungdumona* is a plant having a purple flower. If the root is pounded and drunk in water it acts as an aperient. *Okumbiasoko,* when pounded and placed on the fire, restores a person after fainting; the head of the patient is held in the smoke. To a violent maniac the root *usonge* is given, pounded in water and mixed with maize beer. At Ngalangi a man who had been subject to homicidal mania was sitting on the ground quietly with his hands tied behind his back. I was informed that *usonge* was making him better. *Ocinyeni* is a bark that is chewed to remedy stomachache. *Kosamba* is a plant used to cure people who fall into the fire; it is also a remedy for toothache. The action of this drug *kosamba* causes vomiting and evacuation.

Cilendaluka is pounded in water and smeared on the patient's body as a treatment following the internal application of *kosamba*. *Mbundakataka* is a root that is pounded and applied externally to cure sores on the lips.

278 In addition to the plants just mentioned the following are important:

> *Ocimbinga.* This plant, whose name means "the big horn," is probably *Strophanthus.* It is used in the treatment of worms and chest colds.
>
> *Ocipumbulu.* This is a trailing herb whose leaves when pulverized are said to be a cure for bad sores.
>
> *Ocindiambala* and *oluasasa.* These are used to give to women who are suffering in difficult delivery. *Ongolo* sometimes takes the place of these drugs. The bark of *ongolo* is pounded in boiling water which is contained in a basin over which the woman sits. Use of the bark in this way is a protection against injuries resulting from childbirth.
>
> *Omondolua.* This is good for headaches and whooping cough. The roots are boiled and mixed with sweet beer.
>
> *Okalolala-lohala.* This is said to be used in cases of dysentery. At Elende it is used for curing skin diseases.
>
> *Okalle.* This is used in cases of snake bite, swellings, and stings.

164 In connection with the foregoing study of the native pharmacopoeia it will be of interest to consider some maladies to which the Ovim-

bundu are subject. Information relating to these points was given by Dr. Hollenbeck of the Mission Station at Elende. 164

Of intestinal worms there are many kinds. Hookworm is of somewhat common occurrence. Ascaris, an intestinal worm several inches long, is extremely common. Infection may arise from the soil, also from the use of dirty cooking utensils. The disease trichinosis, which arises from the activities of the parasite trichina, is rare. Tapeworm is frequent because much of the pork and beef is infected. Oxyuris, a small round worm about half an inch long, is common. Bilharzia is fairly prevalent.

Malaria is so usual that almost every one suffers at some period. Every baby has malaria within the first two years of its life. Malaria is not followed by blackwater fever, but possibly by *onyalai*, which is known at Elende. The symptoms are the appearance of blood-blisters on the tongue. These spread to the throat and intestines, possibly with fatal results. This disease, which does not attack white people, is local.

There is no sleeping sickness at Elènde, but the disease occurs at Katombela, at some points on the Kwanza, also near the mouth of the Congo. There are at Elende cases of elephantiasis due to the activities of a filaria which affects the lymphatic glands. Infantile paralysis occurs.

Leprosy is fairly common; the nervous form is more usual than the nodular. There are instances of yaws, a disease somewhat resembling syphilis inasmuch as the disease is communicated by a spirochaete, but yaws is not communicated by sexual infection. Venereal disease is not common at Elende.

The pulmonary form of tuberculosis occurs, but is not usual at Elende. There are places in the Benguela Highlands where the disease is increasing. Both whooping cough and measles are well known, but there is no scarlet fever or diphtheria. Chickenpox and smallpox are both known to occur, the latter in epidemic form from time to time. There is occasional dysentery, but no typhoid.

Hernia in its inguinal form is common. Umbilical hernia, due to lack of skilled attention at birth, is frequent, but with advancing age this defect is often rectified, or at least greatly modified. There are cases of injury to women at childbirth; for example, vesical-vaginal fistula. Blindness is fairly common as a result of the neglect of inflammation of the conjunctiva. Babies suffer from corneal ulcers, which sometimes result in total blindness. Cataract is fairly common in both its senile and juvenile forms.

164 [732] Deformities resulting from burns are frequent. Cooking pots are unstably placed on logs which form the fire, and, in addition to this, people sleep very near the fire. There is no cerebro-spinal fever. Pneumonia is very common; the result is often fatal. Weakness of the heart is only occasional. Varicose veins are rare. There is no appendicitis.

One cannot fail to notice the prevalence of tropical ulcers among the Ovimbundu. These occur most frequently on the tibia. The [757] big sloughing ulcer makes a large hole which the native fills with clay and a pulp of leaves. Sometimes a bark is pounded to a pulp and used in this way. These ulcers are very obstinate even under skilled treatment. Often after the wound has been healed it will break out again when irritated by the slightest injury. Medical [732] opinion is divided as to the cause of these ulcers. Jiggers are a cause of deformation of the toes, which sometimes fall off or have to be amputated. Cancer is not usual in people under sixty years of age. Superficial cancer is the most common form.

515 Water, even when procurable, is sparingly used by the Ovimbundu. The hands and face may receive a perfunctory wash each day, but the entire body seldom receives this attention.

757 Cupping was observed on two occasions, but I think the operations were performed by the mothers of the children concerned, and not by a medicine-man. The method of using the horns or gourds is illustrated (Plate LXXXVI, Fig. 1). After incisions had been made the cups were applied. The operator sucked the pointed end of the cup, so creating a vacuum, which was maintained by pushing forward with the tip of the tongue a small ball of wax. This wax filled the hole at the pointed end of the cupping horn. The people shown in the photograph are Vachokue, but the method is the same among the Ovimbundu.

At Elende there was a sweat bath in the form of a hole in the ground containing a heap of stones. The stones are heated in a fire, then cold water is thrown over them so that steam arises to the patient, who crouches above the hole covered with a blanket.

In the Vasele country, also among the Ovimbundu at Elende, I examined corporeal incisions other than tribal marks. The explanation was to the effect that the making of cuts cured pain (Plates XXIV, Fig. 3; LXXVI, Fig. 2).

RAIN-MAKING

791 The rain-maker (*upuli*) is a medicine-man who has specialized in this function. The *upuli*, who was an Ocivokue of Ngongo, and

not an Ocimbundu, was dressed in only a skirt of cloth, and his equipment consisted of a reed whistle and a hair switch made from a cow's tail. 791

The dance was a slow revolution without any violent leaping. The man held his arms upward, fully extended, and went through the motions of drawing rain from above; then he made slow arm movements suggestive of spreading the rain all around. At times he stood quite still and gave a shrill whistle. The hair switch was constantly twirled and flourished.

POISON ORDEAL

Evidence presented in chapters VI and VII will show that the poison ordeal is a widely spread Negro trait, and that administration of the ordeal is connected with legal proceedings during which the poison cup is usually given to the suspects or litigants by a medicine-man. 695 791

This ordeal as practised among the Ovimbundu and other people of Angola is in conformity with the general Negro procedure. Ngonga thinks that the poison ordeal of the old type is still practised secretly. According to the old law the poison cup affected an innocent man by making him vomit, while the guilty person succumbed.

Ngonga states that a form of poison ordeal which exists today is as follows: The medicine-man holds out two potatoes, one of which is poisoned while the other is innocuous. The poisoned man does not die but he becomes so ill that he confesses his guilt. This use of potatoes has been fully described in connection with legal procedure (chapter VI).

The guilt or innocence of suspects is tested by giving poison to chickens brought to the medicine-man by the accused men. He whose chicken dies is the guilty person.

CEREMONIAL FIRE

New fire is made during epidemic sickness, at the accession of a king, and at the building of a new village. On such occasions the twirling method is employed. The fire made is called *ondalu*, which is the ordinary word for fire. 372 791 796

When an epidemic of sickness occurs the chief of the village takes a present of eight yards of cloth to the medicine-man and asks the cause of the visitation. The medicine-man replies, "Your fire is dirty and worn out, you must have new fire."

372 The village chief takes this news to the people, saying, "Tomorrow
791 we must find a goat, a chicken, and a pig, so that we may kill them.
796 Then we must make a new fire." The chief pays for these animals.

Next day the medicine-man starts a fire by the twirling method, and as soon as the fire has been kindled he kills a fowl whose blood is allowed to drop on the fire and the wood near-by. The sacrificial goat and pig are treated in the same way. Sometimes a boy who is learning to be a medicine-man kills these animals. Meat from each of the animals so sacrificed is cooked on this newly made fire, care being taken that each kind of meat is kept in a separate pot. There is no special pottery for this cooking. When the meat is cooked it is tasted by a girl from twelve to fourteen years of age who hands a portion to the chief, who distributes the meat among the village elders (*olosekulu*). The meat from the chicken, which must be fat, is the first to be distributed. A cock or a hen may be chosen, but if the latter is selected it must be *utenda;* that is to say, it must not have arrived at the egg-laying age.

Finally there is a distribution of meat among the villagers who have been present throughout the ceremony. The chief speaks, saying, "We wish good fortune to the new fire." Each person has to take the responsibility for quenching his own fire before the new one is ceremonially made. After the feast each father of a "restricted" family takes away a portion of the newly kindled fire.

796 There is sometimes a ceremonial purification of the village water
364 supply. Water is carried in a block of wood from the nearest stream, and to this water a few drops of blood from the sacrificed animals are added. The idea involved throughout is the renewal of health by the furnishing of new, unadulterated supplies of fire and water.

796 At the inaugural ceremony of a new king a similar proceeding
643 is followed. A chicken is killed for the purpose of supplying blood to sprinkle the new fire and on this occasion there is a ceremonial hunt. The king may or may not join the males of the hunting party; sometimes he sends a substitute.

A girl follows the king or his substitute carrying a basket (*ongalo*) in which round fruits from the tree *olosangu* are contained. Each of the fruits is wrapped round with the skin of the large lizard (*etatu*). The object of the hunt is to kill a male antelope, the duiker (*ombambi*), and a hare (*ondimba*) which may be male or female. The hare is not called *ondimba* on this occasion, but receives the name for elephant (*onjamba*).

The hare is not carried over the shoulder, but has a ceremonial 796
conveyance slung on poles (*owanda*) which are supported on the 643
shoulders of two or even four men.

Laying the evil of a village on a goat, which is then driven out 783
to die, is an Umbundu custom. The scapegoat ceremony has a cleansing function similar in purpose to the rekindling of fire for the community. Cavazzi pictured and described the scapegoat ceremony in the seventeenth century, and Ngonga informed me that he saw the rite twenty years ago.

PROHIBITIONS AND OMENS

There is a taboo against killing *oka kuhu*, which is the yellow- 262
backed duiker. When Ngonga was sick he was forbidden to eat the flesh of the duiker (*ombambi*); neither is this flesh to be eaten by people who suffer from dizziness. In former days women were not allowed to eat eggs. The flesh of sheep and goats is said to be indigestible for children between the ages of three and six years. The [643]
flesh of the lion, leopard, and hyena is forbidden as food for the king, but other people may eat it. The king is in fact forbidden to eat the flesh of any animal which has paws; neither may he eat flesh of the bush buck. A medicine-man must not eat flesh of a dog except before a ceremony for curing the sick. The taboo against dog's flesh applies also to the diet of a king.

A woman must not step over the legs of a male, neither must a 784
man step over the legs of a woman; for to do so causes weakness of the knees. A man or woman may step over the legs of a child.

Omens are numerous. It is unfortunate to see a snake holding 787
a frog, and the person who observes this should go to the medicine-man at once. When going to a village to be tried by the chief it is bad to meet some one who is carrying a bark rope, as this indicates binding and punishment. If a person who is setting out from home meets a woman carrying corn meal or any other white substance, he or she must take a little of the meal, whiten the face, and all will be well. A fly in the mouth is a good sign, because the fly knows where meat is to be obtained and is trying to lead the way.

A stranger visiting a village is pleased when a dog is the first [574]
animal to enter the guest house. Dogs are fed, so the entry of a dog is a sign that the visitor will receive food. On the contrary, the appearance of a goat is a bad omen, because goats are not fed; they pick up a frugal living as best they can. Other prohibitions and omens have been mentioned in discussing the pregnancy of women.

X. CULTURE CONTACTS

174 The foregoing chapters have presented the main outlines of the tribal life of the Ovimbundu, with a brief reference to some factors in the cultures of Angolan tribes with whom the Ovimbundu are in close contact. But hitherto no attempt has been made to analyze the cultural contacts of the Ovimbundu outside Angola.

The data recorded indicate that the tribal life of the Ovimbundu is not an independent growth in the Benguela Highlands. We have, therefore, a problem involving a detailed study of surrounding cultures. The most important of these are located in the Congo basin, Rhodesia, and South West Africa, and for this reason the present chapter is divided into three sections, each of which deals with one of these areas which are all contiguous to Angola.

[121] In analyzing these surrounding cultures for comparison with the tribal life of the Ovimbundu, the social patterns as a whole are considered, and no attempt is made to construct a theory of derivations based on what might be a few fortuitous resemblances arising through convergence. Our study is aided by a knowledge of historical contacts and geographical contiguity of the areas compared. Therefore the method is not open to the objections that have been made justly against an assumption of cultural relationships between two widely separated regions, in which only a few artifacts or institutions have an alleged resemblance.

Chapters X and XI are concerned with discussing the probable cultural relationships of the Ovimbundu, and a final chapter, "Cultural Processes," indicates the way in which historical events and geographical factors have contributed to the selection and welding of traits whose aggregate now constitutes the tribal life of the Ovimbundu.

CONGO BASIN

An examination of the cultural traits of the Congo basin is of particular importance, because of the known historical connection of the Ovimbundu with Congo tribes, before the former entered the Benguela Highlands. Such a survey is conveniently made by examining the culture of the Congo basin from the estuary along the course of the main river, then southward along the Kasai and its tributaries into the northeast of Angola.

Despite minor differences the Congo area may be regarded as a region of considerable uniformity with regard to environment and cultural factors. The transitions from the Congo basin to the Benguela Highlands are of a gradual kind with respect to climatic conditions, physical features, and culture. Therefore, there are no compelling conditions which caused the Ovimbundu suddenly to abandon traits already acquired before their southern migration. 174

Nevertheless, several traits of Congo culture which must have been known to the Ovimbundu have disappeared from their tribal life, while other factors have been emphasized in importance because of a change in locality. The disappearance of traits and the welding of others is discussed in chapter XII. The present section is concerned with summarizing the points of resemblance and difference between the Congo culture and that of the Ovimbundu.

The books of J. J. Monteiro mention several traits which are a link between cultures of the Congo and the Ovimbundu culture of the Benguela Highlands. The Mushicongos chip all their teeth to fine points (vol. I, p. 262), a practice which resembles that of the Umbundu-speaking Vasele. Monteiro describes the musical bow, the friction drum, and the rubbing of a grooved piece of wood with a stick (vol. I, pp. 139–141). All these musical devices are used today by the Ovimbundu far to the south of the areas described by this writer. When describing the Esele country which forms a cultural pocket of the Ovimbundu people, I have previously referred to Monteiro's mention of the extinguishing of old fires and the ceremonial creation of new ones at the death of a king (vol. II, p. 167); also the functioning of the poison ordeal with use of the bark of *Erythrophlaeum guineense* (vol. I, p. 61). The former of these customs is carefully observed by the Ovimbundu at the present time, while the latter is practised furtively. 171

A part of Angola that is frequently omitted is the Cabinda Enclave to the north of the Congo estuary. Overbergh describes this territory in "Les Mayombe"; the Mayombe are a forest people living near Boma. They use red *tukula* wood for bodily ornament. There are special names for the first- and second-born of twins (p. 217). Circumcision is practised (p. 233). The poison ordeal is used with the drug Kasa. There is a classificatory system of relationships (p. 259), but without sufficient detail for comparison with that of the Ovimbundu. The most artistic figurines, which are carved in wood or ivory, are sometimes filled with a mixture of clay and blood as "medicine" (p. 219). The Mayombe believe in the existence of a supreme being named Ngambi but they have no cult for him; there is, however, a very active belief in a world

171 of invisible spirits who work through apparitions, cries, and displacement of objects (p. 307). All these traits are features of Umbundu culture (see also "Etudes Bakongo," by R. P. J. van Wing).

J. H. Weeks (V) describes a number of traits which are typical of Ovimbundu culture. Mat-making by sewing long reeds together is pictured (p. 88) in such a way as to identify the method with that of the Ovimbundu. The Bakongo use a stick for making sounds by rubbing on notched bamboo (p. 179). The Bakongo have the dumb-bell basket-work rattle (p. 250), and the bull-roarer as a plaything (p. 126). The friction drum is used (p. 131). There are circumcision lodges for boys, also bachelors' clubs near San Salvador. The function of the bachelors' club corresponds with that of the *onjango*, the council house of the Ovimbundu. The graves of hunters are specially cared for (p. 181). The poison ordeal *nkasa* is carried out with an infusion made from the bark of a tree; vomiting indicates innocence. Nzambi, as among the Ovimbundu, is a vaguely conceived, powerful spirit who receives little attention; there are no prayers and no sacrifices in his honor (p. 276). Descent is reckoned on the mother's side. There is a kinship system of classified relationships; thus *ntekolo* means son's son, son's daughter, daughter's son, and daughter's daughter. *Nkaka* means mother's father, mother's mother, etc., in such a way as to show a parallel between *nkaka* and the *kukululu* class of the Ovimbundu.

R. E. Dennett has mentioned several ethnological points which serve further to connect the Congo culture with that of the Ovimbundu. Dennett's account deals with the Bavili, a branch of the Fjort of the Loango region to the north of the Congo estuary. The father and his brothers are *tata*, the grandchild class is *batekulu* (Umbundu *onekulu*); descent is matrilineal. A man must not marry the daughter of his father's brother or of his mother's sister, because such children are his brothers and sisters (p. 36). Girls are secluded at puberty in the "paint house," and the red coloring is beaten from them with switches (p. 38). The women I saw at Ngongo giving a demonstration of the decoration and dances of a secret society were elaborately painted from head to foot with alternate bands of red and white. The mother's brother may sell his sister's children to pay his debts (p. 41). Inheritance of property is in the female line, to the sons of the deceased man's sister. The heir to chieftainship is the eldest brother of the deceased, and the next in line of succession is a sister's son. The wife and children of the deceased are not entitled to any property (p. 46). The poison ordeal is given

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with powdered bark administered by the medicine-man, and vomiting is a sign of innocence (p. 25). Nzambi, who is the supreme being from whom everything originated, corresponds to Suku and Kalunga of the Ovimbundu, for like these high beings he is remote and otiose.

When inquiring into the ethnology of the Kasai valley, situated to the northeast of the Benguela Highlands, a large body of literature is available. Each book or article confirms cultural resemblances between the social pattern of the Ovimbundu and that of the Congo basin, but not all points of comparison are to be found together in the works of one writer.

In an article on the "Ethnology of the South West Congo Free State" E. Torday and T. A. Joyce describe the use of manioc by the Bayanzi who scatter the flour on water, so making a paste. To eliminate the poisonous principle, bitter manioc is soaked in water for three days, after which it is peeled, dried, and pounded in wooden mortars (p. 138). *Tukula* wood, which is well known and widely used in Angola, yields a red powder that is employed for corporeal decoration by the Bapindi and the Bakuba (p. 147). The Vakuanyama of southern Angola use the powder mixed with fat as an unguent for their bodies and a dressing for leather clothing.

The evidence of Torday and Joyce shows that children of the Bakwese owe obedience to their maternal uncle; for example, boys who wished to accompany Torday had to ask permission from this relative (p. 150). The practice of cupping, use of friction drums and the marimba, are found among the Bakwese, who test the guilt of an accused person by giving a poisonous concoction prepared from the bark of *Erythrophlaeum guineense;* innocence is proved by vomiting.

Torday and Joyce (I) call attention to several traits which are common to the cultures of the Bambala and the Ovimbundu. Skin puncturing and the introducing of decayed rubber into the cuts are practised (p. 401); this is a common usage among Ovimbundu women. The poison ordeal is practised. Water-pipes for smoking tobacco are made from gourds. During agricultural operations hoe culture by women follows clearance of the ground by men. Women use a short iron-bladed hoe, and the result of their labor is the production of manioc, bananas, sweet potatoes, haricot beans, and peanuts (p. 405).

Rats are shot with blunt wooden arrows. There are great communal hunts for large game. The grass is fired, and at the conclusion

171 of the hunt horns and skulls are presented to the village fetish, a practice which is comparable to the mounting of skulls and horns outside the hut of an Umbundu hunter whose grave is later decorated with similar trophies.

Among the Bambala a hunter's bow is *buta* (Umbundu *uta,* "a weapon"). Exchange of blood seals an alliance between chiefs. Kinship is reckoned chiefly in the female line and children belong to the eldest maternal uncle. Widows never inherit property; this passes to the eldest son of the eldest sister. The word for father is *tata.* Personal names may be changed at puberty or later at the pleasure of the owner (pp. 410–412). Poison for the ordeal is made from the bark of a tree imported from the mouth of the Kwilu River (p. 416). The name for the soul is *mityima* ("the heart," Umbundu *utima*). In all these points the Ovimbundu resemble the Bambala.

Torday and Joyce have reported on the culture of the Bayaka (II). This tribe has the friction drum, but in a form rather different from that of Angola. The poison ordeal with the use of *Erythrophlaeum guineense* is employed. Straw shelters are built over graves which are covered with broken pots. Ovimbundu graves of this kind were photographed near Caconda (Plate XLVII, Figs. 1, 2).

The Basonge live near the Baluba close to the Lualaba River, and the report of C. van Overbergh has been consulted for information which shows cultural resemblances between the Basonge and the Ovimbundu. The Basonge use short ornamental clubs called by van Overbergh *batons de promenade.* Such clubs as these are one of the most artistic features in the wood-carving industry of the Ovimbundu. The clubs are too ornamental for use as missiles, and the name given by van Overbergh (plate I, fig. 13) is an appropriate description.

Hoe blades and the method of hafting are the same for the Basonge and the Ovimbundu. The wooden stools and gourd tobacco-pipes of the Basonge have forms well known to Umbundu wood-carvers. Manioc is the principal food of the Basonge (p. 125). Fire is made by twirling the point of a stick on a baseboard. Only rich chiefs have a few cattle, and the word for ox is *ngombe* (Umbundu *ongombe*).

I have examined the evidence of J. H. Weeks (III, IV) with regard to the Bangala (Im Bangala) of the southwest Congo region. The Bangala use the word *nganga* for "medicine-man," but for the Ovimbundu *nganga* is a witch, while *ocimbanda* is the legitimate practitioner of healing and divination. If sickness visits a house of the Bangala the fire is extinguished and a new one is kindled. Women who have prepared a corpse for burial are purified by sitting in a circle of fires (p. 114). /7/

Manioc, of which there are several varieties, is the principal food, and the methods of agriculture agree well with those followed by the Ovimbundu, since beans, yams, maize, and peanuts are cultivated. Caterpillars are used as food. Milk is tabooed by all Bangala, who regard it with great abhorrence, though no reason is given. The best hunters among the Bangala are specialists who are prepared for the hunt by the medicine-man (p. 123).

Fish are stupefied by poison of a vegetable kind which is scattered on the surface of the water (p. 127). The Bangala have the poison ordeal (p. 434). I have reported the use of the word *ekandu* by the Ovimbundu, who employ the term to denote any evil action which causes pain to others. If there is sickness in the family, the Baloki say, "There is an *ekandu* in the family" (Weeks, IV, p. 390), and the witch doctor removes this *ekandu* ceremonially.

The Baloki use painted wooden posts which are placed near the houses of the sick so that the spirits of sickness may be driven into them; the spirits are then appeased with offerings of food and drink. From Bailundu I obtained a carved wooden post in the form of a human figure; this was set on a path near a village so that offerings might be made to the spirit within the post if an epidemic attacked the village (cf. Weeks, p. 390).

The Umbundu game of shooting at a tuber has been described; apparently this amusement is like that of the Baloki game as described by Weeks (p. 405). Baloki youths cut the root of a plantain into the form of a wheel, and the players are then divided into two competing parties as among the Ovimbundu; but Baloki boys throw bamboo splinters at the wheel, they do not shoot arrows as do the Ovimbundu. Mancala is played (p. 414) as it is among the Ovimbundu, who call the game *ocela;* but I am not informed concerning the details of the game among the Baloki and Ovimbundu respectively.

H. von Weissmann (II) indicates that his route lay up the Congo to the junction with the Kasai. He then turned up the Kasai and traveled through the country of the Bambala, the Bassongo, and the Bakuba; thence along the valley of the Sankuru. He gives his impressions of the Bihéan (Ovimbundu) caravans from Bihé in

[7] the Benguela Highlands (p. 145). "They carry on the most shameful trade imaginable and undertake longer journeys than any other Negroes of the west coast. They exchange their prisoners for ivory among the Bakuba tribes." Weissmann journeyed among the Wawemba of northern Rhodesia where he noted the poison ordeal. He states that it was customary to settle a dispute between two persons by drinking a poisonous draft made from a bark, and the one who vomits is cleared of suspicion. Weissmann's accounts emphasize the importance of Umbundu contacts through the caravan trade.

M. W. Hilton-Simpson, who accompanied Torday for a period, has noted several points of importance in the establishment of cultural resemblances between the Ovimbundu and tribes of the Kasai (pp. 225, 257, 259, 282). The Bambala play end-blown wooden flutes like those from Bailundu, but there is no evidence to show that the Ovimbundu play a nose flute as do the Bambala. The eating of dogs by the Bapende is a widely distributed cultural trait of the Congo, and the Ovimbundu follow this practice. Initiation masks pictured by Hilton-Simpson bear a resemblance to those of eastern Angola. The Batatela smoke hemp in a gourd water-pipe as do the Vachokue and some of the Ovimbundu. The short friction drum used by the Batatela is held under the arm. In the form of the drum and the method of holding there is resemblance to the Umbundu custom. The Batatela have the flat drum called *ocingufu* by the Ovimbundu (p. 52). Painting the exterior surfaces of walls of houses is a southern Congo custom followed by the Batatela. This practice has extended into Angola as far south as the Malange-Saurimo line, and even to the Bailundu-Huambo area, but south of the halfway line across Angola I do not recollect seeing houses with painted walls.

In dealing with the evidence of culture contacts indicated by the text and illustrations of the "Annales Musée du Congo Belge," a condensed statement will call attention to the many identities between artifacts of the Ovimbundu and those of the southwest Congo. The following details, which are well illustrated in the "Annales Musée du Congo Belge," should be compared with Plates IX–XXII, showing similar objects made by the Ovimbundu.

Series III, II, fasc. 1: Carved wooden staffs for chiefs closely resemble those used by chiefs among the Ovimbundu (p. 70).

Carved wooden hair-combs are like those used by the Ovimbundu and the Vachokue (p. 82).

Initiation of boys who are isolated in the bush where there is ceremonial bathing and circumcision is a practice of eastern Angola (p. 81).

The oval wooden masks worn by initiates are similar to those of eastern Angola (p. 84).

The mancala board with twenty-eight holes, arranged four by seven, is of the form used at Ngalangi, central Angola (p. 86).

The Babende use the friction drum (p. 87).

Bashilele arrowheads are of Umbundu pattern (p. 98).

Use of red *tukula* wood is common among the Bushongo (p. 165).

The wood-carving of the Bakongo and the Bashilele resembles that of the Ovimbundu. Faces are oval or triangular, and eyes are represented by narrow oval slits so as to conform in style and balance with the general outline of the face (p. 200).

Series III, II, fasc. 2, plates XXII, XXXI show reed mats made near Leopoldville. Such mats are made by Umbundu males, who call them *esaisa*.

The flat drum (*ocingufu* of the Ovimbundu) is played by the Batatela. The Bahuana use the long narrow-necked flour sifter which is in common use among the Vachokue, though not among the Ovimbundu (plate VIII).

Series III, I, fasc. 2, plate XLVIII, figs. 586–587; plate LIII, fig. 619; and III, plate XXXIII, fig. 470: The general style and pose of the figurines on these plates is exactly like the work of the Ovimbundu. Legs are short, knees are flexed, hands are clasped on the abdomen, and necks are elongated, while hair and cicatrization are clearly shown. All these figures are the same in form and function as those used by the Ovimbundu. Plate XXII, figs. 342, 354, 357, describes horns of antelope, also tortoise shells which are filled with medicine. The latter are provided with cords for suspension round the neck. Batatela war clubs are of the form used by the Ovimbundu (p. 65). These resemblances between work of the Ovimbundu and tribes of the southwest Congo is further shown by reference to illustrations by H. Clouzot and A. Level (L'art nègre, Paris, 1919).

Series III, I, fasc. 1: Mural decorations on houses resemble the designs on houses of northern Angola (p. 6).

The basket-work dumb-bell rattle is of the form used in eastern Angola (plate II, figs. 36–38).

Plate VI, figs. 123 A and B, indicates that the flat drum of the Ovimbundu is of the exact form used in the Kasai and Sankuru

171 region. Plate XVI, fig. 284, shows long wooden flutes like those of Umbundu pattern at Bailundu. Plate XIX, figs. 124 and 313, indicates that the musical bow with its gourd resonator is of the form used by the Ovimbundu.

The ethnographical catalogue of the Rijks Museum of Leiden shows many objects of the southwest Congo which are identical with those used by the Ovimbundu. Plate 193 pictures the sansa and the marimba which are common to both regions. Plates 224, fig. 1, and 225, fig. 1, show tobacco-pipes and a mancala board of Ngalangi pattern. The mancala board from the Sankuru region has twenty-eight holes arranged seven by four. Plates 75, fig. 10, and 236, fig. 4, indicate that curved knives used by the Bangala are like those used by the Vasele of northeast Angola. Plate 227, fig. 2, shows that head-dresses for initiates closely resemble those worn by Vachokue boys at Cangamba, eastern Angola.

174 This examination of the traits of Congo culture calls attention to numerous resemblances between the cultural pattern of the Congo region and that of the Ovimbundu of the present day. I think there is reason to accept the following factors of Umbundu life as a part of the Congo culture before the separation of the Umbundu-speaking peoples. The historical and geographical facts when considered in relation to the number of cultural identities fully support the thesis that the Ovimbundu are of the central African matrix of cultures.

On the material side resemblances are close, as the following summary will show. The Ovimbundu cultivate maize from which beer is made; they have manioc, peanuts, yams, sweet potatoes, and beans. Methods of agriculture and preparation of foods are similar. The animals common to both regions are the sheep, goat, chicken, and dog. The difference is the rearing of cattle by the Ovimbundu, who have also concentrated on the cultivation of maize to an extent not possible in the more densely wooded areas of the Congo basin. The use of dogs' flesh as food is common in both areas.

The musical instruments of the Ovimbundu are in keeping with Congo patterns in every way. Indeed, there exist few and only minor differences. Forms common to both areas are the *ocisanji*, a flat board with two rows of metal keys; dumb-bell basket rattles and gourd rattles; the friction drum; the marimba; wooden flutes; the flat drum *ocingufu;* the double iron gong; and the long tubular drum which is held between the performer's legs. Resemblances

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of a definite kind are found in the game with rolling tubers; the use of red *tukula* wood for decorating the body; the insertion of burned rubber into scarifications; the gourd water-pipe for smoking tobacco and hemp; the dugout canoe; conical fishing baskets; and the use of narcotic poisons for fish. The wood-carving of the Ovimbundu is related not only in general style but in detail to that of the southwest Congo.

Close resemblances in points of social organization and religious belief exist, but some of these identities are common not merely to tribes of the Congo basin and the Benguela Highlands; they form traits of a wider cultural basis, as will be shown.

These resemblances have great weight in establishing relationship between a parent culture and the offshoot, because we are dealing with a large number of allied factors that have been welded into cultural patterns; the comparison does not depend on a few isolated resemblances of form. A point of identity in spiritual belief is the recognition of a supreme being, Suku, Nzambi, or Kalunga, a creator who is too far away to be concerned with the affairs of men. To him no sacrifice or appeal is made, since all attention is reserved for the ancestral spirits whose cult is connected with the use of wooden figurines, which are of similar pattern in the Congo basin and the Benguela Highlands.

The soul is said to reside in the heart, and the words used for soul are almost the same. There are houses for sacred objects once the property of men of importance. Distinction is usually made between the *nganga*, a practitioner of witchcraft of an antisocial kind, and the legitimate medicine-man. Both cultures have the rain-maker. *Ekandu* is a word describing any action contrary to the moral standards.

As a social factor there is the men's house where only males congregate for the evening meal brought by their women, and here the communal pipe is passed round. Government is the same, by kings of great power who delegate local affairs to village chiefs. The social structure of the Ovimbundu rested formerly on a system of alliances, warfare, and slavery similar to that of the Congo. A classificatory system of relationships and descent of property, not to a wife and children but to the maternal uncle or to children of the deceased man's sister, is similar for tribes of the Congo and the Ovimbundu.

The prenuptial relationship of boys and girls, freedom of choice in marriage, and the giving of marriage tokens are of the same

174 pattern. In principle, the puberty rites for boys and girls of eastern Angola are the same as those of the Congo region, and masks of eastern Angola resemble those used by the Bapindi of the southwest Congo. Cannibalism was a factor common to the Congo basin and the territory occupied by the Ovimbundu, who have practised ceremonial cannibalism within the memory of persons still alive.

The foregoing summary, supported by preceding details, makes clear that a substantial part of Umbundu culture is definitely like that of the Congo basin. There can be no objection to the evidence as a possibly fortuitous series of vague resemblances, since the entire backgrounds are of the same pattern. The Ovimbundu have a tribal life which is demonstrably a part of the matrix from which, on historical grounds, it is thought to have been derived. The loss of elements, the stressing of others, and the welding of traits from different sources, are matters for discussion in a final chapter dealing with the processes of cultural growth.

RHODESIA

439 177 A constant factor in the economic and cultural development of the Ovimbundu has been the caravan trade from Bihé and Bailundu northeastward across Africa to the Great Lakes, and southward across Moxico into the Zambezi valley and Rhodesia. Every traveler from Battell (1600) onward mentions these caravans which returned to the Benguela Highlands with slaves and ivory. The traditions of journeys still live. Umbundu words are used to describe the Great Lakes, and I have mentioned a wooden figure used for consultation by the medicine-man at a division of routes. There are even today a few large caravans.

The first regular slave traders into northern Rhodesia were the Mbundus from Angola. The Lambas say they were peaceful traders who brought calico, guns, and beads to trade for ivory and slaves. The Mbundu traders were often treated treacherously by both the Lambas and the Lenjes. In some cases they were robbed by the Lamba chiefs. It is said that the Lenjes used to bring their own children to the Mbundu traders in order to buy calico and powder. In the evening the Lenjes used the newly acquired guns to attack the Mbundu traders so that they might recover the children who had been traded (C. M. Doke, p. 79).

The account of F. S. Arnot is a valuable record of a journey which brought him into touch with these traders' caravans, whose route he followed into Garenganze, a country to the southwest of

Lake Moero, close to the territory occupied by the Barotse. With his Bihéan carriers Arnot passed along the valley of the Kwando (Livingstone's Chobe). He notes the use of bark cloth (p. 101) and gives an excellent description of the divination basket. "For divining they have a basket filled with bones, teeth, finger nails, seeds, stones, and such articles which are rattled by the diviner till the spirit comes and speaks to him by the movement of these things" (pp. 106, 116). The *onganga* or witch doctor is described on page 115; he is a person not to be confused with the *ocimbanda* or legitimate medicine-man.

Arnot saw a corpse tied to a pole supported on the shoulders of several men. "The witch-doctors demanded of the dead man the cause of his death, whether by poison or by witchcraft, and if by the latter, who was the witch? The jerking of the bier is taken as the dead man's answer." This is the ceremony I described at Elende about three hundred miles from the place mentioned by Arnot. "When a chief dies they say he is sick or asleep [p. 117], and an oxhide from a beast killed at the funeral should be buried with the chief's remains." Arnot was not quite correct; the body of the chief is sewn in the hide. "The people of Bihé say that there is a great spirit Suku over and above all, but they do not know him—I cannot say they believe him to be a universal god" (p. 119).

These instances recorded half a century ago are particularly interesting because of their agreement with present-day procedure. Arnot's description of the Vachokue country and the preparation of beeswax, also the method of extracting honey from hives lodged in trees (p. 146), would serve as a present-day record.

Arnot's information concerns the Garenganze country bordering on Katanga, a copper-producing region near the Lualaba River. Here traders from Uganda, Unyamwezi, the Luba country, the basin of the Zambezi, Bihé, Nyasa, and Zanzibar, gathered to carry on their trade in copper, salt, ivory, slaves, flintlock guns, powder, cloth, and beads. Apart from the evidence of any other writer, that of Arnot alone would suffice to prove the importance of cultural contacts of the Ovimbundu through caravan trade.

One would be mistaken in supposing that the Bihéans made occasional contacts only. For three centuries there has been this to-and-fro movement between the Benguela Highlands and central Africa. In Garenganze, about eight hundred miles from the centers of my research, Arnot noted several points that have been recorded in my notes. The word for medicine-man is *ocimbanda* (p. 242).

439 The vertebrae of serpents strung together as a girdle are a cure for
177 rheumatism (p. 237). A necklace of pythons' vertebrae was obtained from a chief of Ngalangi who wore the bones to cure that affliction. In Garenganze twins were introduced to the chief at a ceremony conducted by a female *ocimbanda*. The Ovimbundu welcome twins and one of triplets is given to the king.

171 E. Holub (II) mentions important traits of culture among the Marutse, a Rhodesian people who keep cattle. The Marutse have an aptitude for working in iron, horn, wood, bone, and leather. The masked dance at which performers wore tightly fitting jackets of netted fiber, with close-fitting sleeves, gloves, and stockings of the same material, would serve as a description of the costumes worn in the ceremonies observed at Cangamba in eastern Angola. Holub notes the use of the double iron gong at these dances (vol. II, pp. 168–170). The bark receptacle (p. 308) is the one commonly used in eastern Angola, and along the line from Saurimo to Malange.

The Marutse have the poison ordeal in which vomiting is a sign of innocence, the witness being the god Nyambe (p. 322). Gourd decorations of the Marutse and Babunda tribes show a technique comparable with work of this kind done by the Ovimbundu (pp. 305, 335). The practice of cupping is described by Holub (p. 325); so also is the custom of wearing wooden hair-combs (p. 349). These are cultural traits of the Vachokue and the Ovimbundu.

In his "Eine Kulturskizze des Marutse-Mambunda Reiches" Holub gives a few additional points which connect the Marutse culture with that of eastern and central Angola. The main instances are the technique in gourds (p. 81); the form and hafting of axes (p. 116); blacksmith's bellows and tongs (p. 129); the musical bow (p. 139); the board with metal keys (p. 138); the small friction drum, identical in pattern with my specimen from Elende (p. 140, fig. 70); a musical instrument consisting of a notched board which is rubbed with a stick (p. 142); tobacco-pipes made from the horns of animals and from gourds (p. 147); cylindrical snuff boxes and sticks for pounding snuff (p. 150, fig. 83); wooden hair-combs (p. 155, fig. 87); and wooden stools (p. 163, fig. 92).

All these articles, which are pictured by Holub as being representative of the work of the Marutse of Rhodesia, have their exact parallels in Field Museum collections from the Ovimbundu.

Perusal of "The New Africa" by Schulz and Hammar was not ethnologically fruitful except for a series of outline drawings

(p. 110) showing forms of arrowheads used along the course of the Chobe River, near the southeast border of Angola. One of the heads is of the form most common among the Ovimbundu, while the remainder are those in use among the Vachokue. Gourds are of the same shapes and decorations as those obtained from Bailundu by Field Museum expedition. 171

F. H. Melland describes the culture of the Bakonde of northern Rhodesia. He is particularly concerned with the Kasempa district bordering on eastern Angola, Katanga, and the Barotse country. The poison ordeal (p. 222) is in use; vomiting implies innocence. The small ceremonial ax is used by the Bakonde in divination rites such as I have described for the Ovimbundu at Bailundu and Ngalangi (p. 227). The Lunda people wear masks in connection with initiation ceremonies (p. 232). Medicines are mixed in the horns of the duiker and the bush buck (p. 232). The four-legged, skin-topped stool is the same as that made by the Ovimbundu (p. 280).

Melland's description (p. 235) of a rite performed by a belated Konde traveler in order to retard the setting of the sun, should be mentioned. The top of a small ant heap is stuck into the fork of a tree; this is the custom which prevails among the Ovimbundu of Elende, and it is also a Lamba practice (C. M. Doke, p. 288). The idea is unusual and I suggest that the Rhodesian rite may have been derived from the practice of Umbundu carriers. Yet, on the contrary, men of the Bihéan caravans may have imitated a Rhodesian custom; but the act is so peculiar that independent origin seems improbable.

H. S. Stannus mentions points which aid the working out of a scheme of culture contacts. Stannus describes the Wayao and other tribes near Lake Nyasa, which was an area familiar to caravans from the Benguela Highlands. The carving of wooden animals (p. 348) of no known significance is a favorite pastime in which the Ovimbundu are skilled. Gourd vessels ornamented with lines and triangles (p. 349) have a technique similar to that used by the Ovimbundu. The shooting of arrows having blunt wooden heads; preparing staked pits; use of mucilage for catching birds; poisoning fish; and making noose traps (p. 355), are all everyday usages among the Ovimbundu, as they are among the Wayao.

Eastern and east-central Angola are the regions where bark cloth is made and worn. The Angolan industry forms an extension of the craft as practised in Rhodesia and the southwest Congo basin. Stages of stripping bark from the tree and soaking and beating it with a wooden mallet are the same over a large area, but there are no painted patterns or other fine points of technique which aid the study of possible diffusions (Stannus, p. 343).

The following traits mentioned by Stannus have been recorded among the Ovimbundu. There exists the custom of opening graves to obtain portions of human remains for use as charms (p. 293); the poison ordeal is applied to human beings or to fowls (p. 296); the use of horns stuffed with medicine is common (p. 304); and divination by means of the small objects contained in a gourd resembles the method of the Umbundu diviner (p. 302). Stannus states that the gourd contains a number of small articles, each of which is named. In the divination gourd are small pieces of white earthenware which denote innocence, also bits of fiber from a sleeping mat to denote sickness. The Ovimbundu use a divination basket, not a gourd, for these symbolic objects, but otherwise the methods are the same.

The bark canoe and the dugout are used. Maize, cassava, beans, and peanuts are the principal crops (p. 346). There is ancestor worship combined with great fear of ghosts. The head of a family petitions a deceased relative, and the headman of a village intercedes with his predecessor's ghost. I have mentioned that a headman of the Ovimbundu brings out the head of a dead chief wrapped in oxhide, makes sacrifice, and asks favors. Stannus notes the seclusion and circumcision of boys at puberty, also the ceremonial use of bark cloth in these rites (p. 256). These observations from Nyasaland agree with notes made at Cangamba in eastern Angola. A menstruating woman sleeps on a mat away from her husband, and she is not allowed to prepare food (p. 234). These were noted as prohibitions for women of the Ovimbundu.

The classificatory system of relationship outlined by Stannus for the Nyasa region is the same as that of the Ovimbundu of Angola. A man may not marry a daughter of his mother's sister, but marriage with a daughter of his father's brother is a normal union (p. 236). The statement of Stannus (p. 239) with regard to the burial of a pregnant woman recalls the custom which prevailed until recent times at Ngalangi, where a sharp stake projecting from the surface soil rested on the abdomen of the dead woman. After the grave had been filled the stake was driven downward. Stannus says that before filling in the earth one of the gravediggers descends into the pit, and, after cutting the abdomen, he inserts the lower end of a bamboo, while the upper end is made to project above the surface of the grave. In Nyasaland and eastern Angola the alleged reason for this procedure is the prevention of death among other pregnant women. Twins are welcome and well treated (p. 239).

A corpse is tied to a pole with its limbs bound, and in this manner it is carried to the grave, accompanied by drummers. A widow watches by the corpse of her husband. At the conclusion of funeral rites fires are extinguished, and a new fire is kindled with the fire drill in the chief's house, from which distribution of the new fire is made. The ashes of the old fires, with the stones supporting the cooking pots, are taken to cross-paths and destroyed.

Cupping is practised (p. 289), and the vapor bath is used (p. 290). The patient, covered with a blanket, squats over a pot of water into which herbs have been dropped. Hot stones are added to the water until it boils and gives off clouds of steam. Wayao boys have the whipping top (p. 359); so also have the Ovimbundu. The Wayao warm their drums and add wax to alter the tone (p. 365). The conical rat trap of plaited cane, used for placing in grass which is fired, is that in use by the Ovimbundu (Stannus, plate XX).

When describing the Wayao culture, C. H. Stigand confirms many of the points mentioned by Stannus. Stigand describes the making of bark cloth (p. 119); the sewing of reed mats with a long needle (p. 120); and the importance of the maternal uncle, whose consent to the marriage of his sister's children is necessary (p. 122).

C. Gouldsbury and H. Sheane describe the poison ordeal (p. 61). The Wawemba make their poison from the bark of *Erythrophlaeum guineense*, the tree mentioned so frequently in my summary of the Congo culture, in which this trait of the poison ordeal is common. A chief of the Wawemba goes to the bush accompanied by a medicine-man who is stripped of all clothing, and an offering of white beads is made to the tree from which the bark is taken. The bark is then given into the hands of a young child, who is carried to the village so that his feet may not touch the ground. As usual in this ordeal, vomiting is a sign of innocence.

The Wawemba practise cupping (p. 134). A man may not marry the daughter of his mother's sister because she is his sister (p. 172). The Wawemba carry a corpse on a pole. The king's corpse is wrapped in oxhide, and his bows, arrows, and spears are placed in a hut on the grave. Then an ox is killed to provide hide for binding the rafters of this tomb. Wives and slaves were formerly sacrificed at the death of a king. These customs are similar to those described for the funeral rites of a king of the Ovimbundu.

171 E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale describe tribes which claim that they are an offshoot from the eastern Bantu. This ancestry no doubt accounts for the presence of many traits which are characteristic of the culture pattern of the cattle-keeping areas of east Africa. The writing of Smith and Dale is important because it deals with a region in contact with the Congo, east Africa, and the Ovimbundu. The Wawemba and other tribes described by these authors are in contact with the Baluba and the Bambala, who have been in touch with the Ovimbundu from the earliest times for which any record exists.

According to Smith and Dale the tribes grouped as Ila-speaking peoples extinguish all fires after a funeral, while ashes from mourners' fires are collected and thrown away (vol. II, p. 142). This regard for ceremonial fire accompanies factors of the cattle culture wherever that occurs in east, south, southwest Africa, and the Benguela Highlands. The Ila-speaking people grow maize and beans (vol. I, p. 137); they smoke hemp through the calabash water-pipe (vol. I, p. 152); a conical basket fish-trap of Umbundu pattern is used (vol. I, p. 163); they peg out hides and scrape them; they also make twine by rolling fiber on the inner side of the thigh (vol. I, p. 185). Coiled basketry in which the coils are made of many strands of fine grass, also shallow winnowing trays, are like those used by the Ovimbundu (vol. I, p. 187).

Pottery is made by the coiling method (vol. I, p. 192). The method of carving stools bears a distinct resemblance to that of the Ovimbundu. The bases of milk vessels and stools show supports of peculiar shape which are triangular in cross section (vol. I, pp. 199–202). The Ila-speaking people have a classificatory system of relationships consisting of groups of grandparents, fathers, and mothers. Terms of address vary according to the relative ages of the speaker and the person addressed. *Wangu* ("older") is the term used by the Ovimbundu; so also is *tata* ("father"). Children of the father's brothers, and children of the mother's sisters, that is, ortho-cousins, are real brothers and sisters. The mother's eldest brother is the most important relative. The word *tata* is applied to all the brothers of the speaker's father. This is the system of the Ovimbundu in principle and considerable detail.

The Ba-ila play mancala (*chisolo*) with holes in the ground (vol. II, p. 233). They have the musical bow (vol. II, p. 263) and the metal-keyed musical instrument (Umbundu *ocisanji*) which is played in a gourd (vol. II, p. 265). The Ba-ila use the friction drum (vol. II, p. 265), which is an instrument of the Ovimbundu and several tribes of the southwest Congo. The marimba, made from eight slats of wood with gourds underneath, is well known in the north and east of Angola. 171

There is real similarity both in form and function between the culture of Rhodesia and that of the Ovimbundu. This assertion does not rest on consideration of a few factors of a general kind. In addition to the weight of evidence afforded by the long list of similar factors detailed in this section, one must bear in mind the geographical proximity and the known historical connection of the areas under discussion. The following points are of primary importance in accounting for the similarity of culture patterns in Rhodesia and the highlands of Angola occupied by the Ovimbundu. 174

(1) Central Angola and Rhodesia have so many traits in common with each other and with the southwest Congo culture that together the three form a cultural harmony.

(2) Central Angola and Rhodesia have both derived factors from the cattle culture of east Africa, though by different routes.

(3) Rhodesia and central Angola have had prolonged direct contacts through caravan trade carried on by the Ovimbundu.

(4) In addition to diffusion there has been a convergence of cultures in Rhodesia and central Angola because of similarity of geographical conditions. Both are high plateau regions having a degree of heat and a rainfall suitable for the growth of maize and the rearing of cattle. Therefore these occupations have developed in both regions because in each locality there has been a need, favorable conditions, and a like response to physical conditions.

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The principal tribes of this area are the Ovambo, Herero, Berg Damara, Nama Hottentots, and Bushmen. The most important tribes to consider from the cultural point of view are the Ovambo and the Herero. Wandering bands of Bushmen occur in Angola, and here and there may be seen among the Ovimbundu individuals who appear to have a trace of Bushman blood; but comparison of collections and notes relating to the Ovimbundu with literature on Bushman tribes does not reveal any similarities. There has undeniably been some contact of Bushmen with the inhabitants of Angola, but Bushman influence has probably been very slight from a cultural and physical point of view (D. Bleek; S. Marquardsen, p. 109). 177

177 [197] The Ovambo include eight kindred tribes, all of whom are branches of the Bantu linguistic family to which the Ovimbundu belong. The Vakuanyama, who inhabit large tracts of southern Angola, are a numerous, warlike, pastoral branch of the Ovambo. The Vakuanyama are the only section of the cattle-keeping peoples of the southwest of Africa with whom I have made personal contact; but their culture is generally representative of that of the Ovambo and the Herero.

171 233 When making a journey southward from the country of the Ovimbundu in central Angola, there is a noticeable increase in the size of the kraals as the journey is continued. The first large kraal was observed near Kipungo, and when as far south as Mongua the wealthy cattle-keeping Vakuanyama were by far the most numerous people. Their total strength is probably about 55,000. I journeyed through the Kuanyama country in July, halfway through the dry season, but found that cattle were watered at deep wells from which men and women were constantly drawing water for the herds. Near Ondjiva, only a few miles from British South West Africa, the ruler of the Vakuanyama owned at that time 14,000 head of cattle.

After examining 1,200 objects collected in Angola, I feel sure that cultural contact between the Ovimbundu and the Vakuanyama is unimportant, so far as artifacts are concerned; but, if the inquiry turns to other aspects of culture, there is a more fruitful line of investigation.

Many beliefs and customs center in the keeping of cattle in east and south Africa. The typical cattle-keeping area begins with the Bahima in the vicinity of Lake Victoria Nyanza. The region extends down the eastern side of the continent, through the south and southwest into Damaraland. The Vakuanyama of southern Angola should be included in this area, which has homologies in respect to certain laws, ceremonies, economic customs, and religious beliefs.

The true pastoral area of the south of Angola extends at least as far north as Huila, where there is sufficient rainfall to produce good pasture in open country which is well adapted for raising stock. All the traditions of the Ovimbundu, along with the writings of Battell, suggest this southwest part of Angola as the line of entry for cattle. The Congo basin is not a pastoral country, and transportation of cattle from Rhodesia would necessitate the crossing of hundreds of miles of arid country in Moxico, eastern Angola. There remains, therefore, the cattle-keeping area of south and southwest

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Angola as the source of supply for the Ovimbundu, who both traded and made warfare with the south.

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Therefore, reasonable ground exists for believing that the cultural traits that the Ovimbundu associate with the keeping of cattle have been taken over with the cattle themselves. The traits agree in principle and detail with the factors of the African cattle-keeping areas. The characteristics of this pastoral culture have been outlined by M. J. Herskovits (The Cattle Complex in East Africa, *Amer. Anth.*, XXVIII, 1926, pp. 270–272; 424–528; 630–664). I wish, however, to give prominence to the factor of sacred fire which is fundamental in the cattle-keeping culture. The importance of sacred fire in the ritual of the Ovimbundu has been demonstrated, and this trait is a most important link between the typically Negro culture of the Ovimbundu and the Hamitic pastoral culture of east Africa.

A brief summary of the salient facts of the cattle-keeping culture, such as is found in east and south Africa, will be given. This will be followed by a statement of the cultural traits associated with the keeping of cattle among the Ovimbundu in order to demonstrate similarities of custom.

In describing cattle-keeping people of the Lakes region J. Roscoe (VI) outlines a pre-pastoral condition characterized by agricultural pursuits which still survive near Ruwenzori and Elgon. Of the pastoral people the most conservative are the Banyankole of Ankole, among whom all social customs fall into line with the keeping of cattle. Milk is the principal food, and strong purgatives are taken after eating vegetable food, which is regarded as unclean. Agriculturists are a serf class who are not allowed to have milk. A woman of the pastoral class would not accept a husband from the agricultural people, because they are social inferiors. In such a community one finds a strict preservation of customs centering in cattle. Bulls are killed beside the grave of a chief, while cows are dedicated to the dead chief at whose shrine their milk is offered daily (p. 21).

Roscoe's account of the worship of the dead in Uganda (III) further explains customs that are characteristic of pastoral communities in which the connection between cattle-keeping and kingship is important. The death of the king is not announced and the fact of death is kept secret for several days until preparations for the succession have been made. "The fire is extinct" is a euphemism which refers to the death of the king. The king is buried in a hut surrounded by a fence. This hut is later visited by the new king

233 174 who cleans and decorates the jawbone of his predecessor, then preserves it in a case of lion skin. Among the Basoga the skull of the king is cleaned and stitched in cowhide. It is then placed in a temple where a medium lives in order to converse with the ghost of the king (p. 43). The Bunyoro line the grave of a king with cowhide, and the slaughtered cows are said to serve the dead king with milk in a spirit world.

Roscoe (I, p. 101) states that the Bahima wrap the body of a king in the skin of a freshly killed cow; the deities are not often invoked, but attention is paid to ancestral ghosts (p. 109). There is a Bahima custom of making blood brotherhood by drinking blood mixed with milk (p. 117). The Banyankole (Roscoe, V, p. 32), institute a blood brotherhood by rubbing each other with blood drawn from their navels by an arrow. The body of a king is sewn in cowhide (p. 58). A cow is killed and eaten at the grave of a chief (p. 146).

171 A further examination of Roscoe's observations (IV) adds corroborative information. The Bakitara have rain-makers for each district (p. 28). There is a ritual for establishing blood brotherhood (p. 46). At the king's death all fires in the royal enclosure are extinguished; so also are the fires in each royal cow kraal. Fresh fires are made by friction in the new royal enclosure from which fire is distributed to the kraals (p. 47). The Bakitara test two litigants or accused persons by asking each to provide chickens which are made to take poison (p. 70). The death of the king is not announced for some days; he is said to be asleep. A young bull is killed to provide a shroud for the king's body (p. 121). The king's spear and walking stick are kept in the tomb (p. 126). At the death of a king of the Baganda the guardian of the king's sacred fire is strangled. A war leader rubs himself with ashes from the sacred fire in order to increase his strength and courage (Roscoe, II, pp. 103, 349).

The concept of the sacred fire has spread, not only down the east side of Africa and into Angola, but northeastward to the Lotuko-speaking peoples. Here a new fire has to be kindled at the initiation of a member of the drum-house. At puberal initiation ceremonies for boys, the rain-maker creates new fire with twirling sticks, which are never again used, though they are preserved. All fires in the village are extinguished before the new fires are made. The freshly ignited fire is distributed first to drum-houses then to the homes (C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, Sudan Notes and Records, VIII, pp. 12, 15). Fire is kindled on the grave and tended by a relative for 171 thirty days (p. 38).

When the Masai desire rain, a fire of cordia wood is lighted. Into this a medicine-man throws charms, after which several medicine-men dance round the fire and sing (A. C. Hollis, The Masai, p. 348).

Bösch states that the Banyamwezi have a fire-making rite which is symbolic and religious, "mais avant tout il est magique." The new fire is made annually at the brewing of the first beer. New fire is made when epidemics of sickness occur, also at the inauguration of a new chief. The Ovimbundu make and distribute new fire on each of these occasions. The Banyamwezi strangle their decrepit king but do not announce the death. A report stating that the king is sick is issued (Les Banyamwezi, pp. 229–233).

The usages of the cattle-keeping Ovambo (of whom the Vakuanyama of southern Angola are a section) and the Herero, are of paramount importance in this research because of their proximity to the Ovimbundu.

H. Vedder (III, p. 156) has come to the conclusion that the 174 114 Herero represent the southern extremity of a racial migration from the region of the Great Lakes, and this is the generally accepted view. Vedder states that the Herero came through the south of Angola, crossed the Cunene River, and entered the Kaokoveld (p. 166). From a study of native traditions, philology, and cultural elements, there is reason for supposing that the Ovambo, including the Vakuanyama, extended farther into Angola than they do today; hence contacts with the Ovimbundu were probably frequent, and possibly continuous for a period.

C. H. L. Hahn has recently made an analysis of the traits of Kuanyama culture. His introductory pages give an account of Kalunga, a supreme being whose name is coupled with the name Nangombe. There is here a philological resemblance to words used by the Ovimbundu. *Kalunga* is an Umbundu word meaning "greetings," "sea," "lord," and "death," the meaning varying with the context and accent. *Ongombe* is the Umbundu word for ox, while *Kangombe* is the name of more than one chief of historical importance. The Herero respect a supreme being whom they call Ndjambi Karunga. *Nyambi* is a well-known word in the Congo region, and the Ovimbundu have the word *Njambi*, or *Na-Njambi*, which means "Lord Njambi."

174 114 The Ovambo will not allow the tribal fire of the chief's kraal to burn out because it is the life of the people (Hahn, p. 3). This author writes in the past tense, from which one infers that the customs he describes have declined. Two old men were the keepers of the sacred fire; these guardians were chosen from the circumcised men (p. 17). The fire was never allowed to flare, but only to smolder. No one referred to this fire, nor was anyone allowed to sit near it, cook over it, or warm himself. The whole tribe received the fire from the chief, who originally gave it to the headman for distribution to commoners (p. 18). Hahn remarks that, although these customs are declining, they are still observed by the Vakuanyama, the branch of the Ovambo which is in closest contact with the Ovimbundu.

171 In the same publication (III, p. 68) Vedder says of the Berg Damara that a series of religious ideas centers in the holy fire which burns perpetually on the eastern side of a sacred tree in the middle of each village. At this fire the elders cook their meat, and here the council meeting is held. In order to obtain a seat at the holy fire a young man has to submit to initiation as a hunter on three occasions, at intervals of a year. Children may not play at the holy fire. When hunting becomes unprofitable the Berg Damara move to a new site, and a glowing piece of wood is taken from the sacred fire in order to kindle a new one. This is the practice described in connection with the formation of a new village site by the Ovimbundu. A more detailed account of sacred fire is given by Vedder (II, pp. 23–27).

L. Fourie, another contributor to "Native Tribes of Southwest Africa," shows that the Heikom Bushmen have a sacred fire kindled and owned by the headman, who is the only person who knows how to bring from this fire the properties which induce health and well-being. When making a new settlement the headman kindles the new fire under the sacred tree, and fire from the old camp may not be used. After the headman has dropped herbs into the fire and has lighted his pipe therefrom, his wife takes brands for kindling the fire in her hut. The fire is then distributed from this point among the whole group (p. 87).

The center for religious worship among the Herero is an ash heap in which a weak fire glimmers. This is blown into a blaze only on festive occasions. The fire is always situated between the chief kraal and the house of the principal wife. Round the fire lie horns of cattle which have been slaughtered as an offering (Vedder, III, p. 167). The holy fire is a gift from Mukuru, and extinction of the fire means disaster for the tribe. If the fire should die out, only 171 the priest as living representative of Mukuru may rekindle it. The relighting is done by means of fire-sticks, which are said to be male and female. A traveler makes sure of the blessing of his ancestors by taking a firebrand from the holy fire with him. When laying the foundation of a new house the builder must obtain a firebrand from the fire of a recognized priest-chief.

To corroborate the information given by Vedder, one may turn to the work of J. Irle (II, pp. 337, 342, 346). The soul, which is not corporeal, is identified with the heart as among the Ovimbundu and in the southwest Congo. The Herero use sandals which they bury with the dead. Probably the Ovimbundu have borrowed the idea of sandals from this southern culture, since there are no sandal-wearing people found on any other side of them. The Herero speak of Ndjambi, and Irle asks, "Who is Ndjambi, with whom they so frequently associated the name Karunga?" They say that Karunga is Ndjambi who sends rain, thunder, and lightning. The Herero say, "Karunga dwells in heaven. He does us only good, therefore we do not fear him and do not sacrifice to him." Holy fire, which is never allowed to go out, is made with fire-sticks in the ancestor house.

A. W. Hoernlé has commented on the use of sacred fire by the Hottentots. *Nau* is a mystic force; for example, an animal killed by lightning is *nau*. As soon as a person becomes *nau*, the fire in his hut is *nau* and must no longer be used for cooking. A fire kindled with the fire-sticks is used for the purification ceremony of a girl who menstruates for the first time. After the ceremony she may resume her milking duties. The Hottentots use the sweat bath as a means of purifying mourners. An article entitled "The Sacred Fire of the Bapedi of the Transvaal," by W. M. Eiselen, adds important data to the notes given here.

All this evidence from east and southwest Africa is in close 174 agreement with personal observations among the Ovimbundu. The contacts of the Ovimbundu with southern Angola are established facts, hence history and geography render the hypothesis of a derivation of culture probable. The Ovimbundu regard cattle as an estimate of weath and social standing. Usually the animals are not killed or milked, but they are used to pay fines, and to make purchases.

In dealing with kingship among the Ovimbundu I note a strong resemblance to customs prevailing near Victoria Nyanza, the

174 principal focus of the cattle-keeping areas. The king's death is not announced by the Ovimbundu. There is a special hut for burial, and part of the head is later removed for decoration and separate interment. This part of the royal corpse is subsequently brought out for worship and supplication. The Ovimbundu never admit the death of a king until a successor has been chosen. The king's body is buried in oxhide, but the head is severed by suspending the corpse with a rope round the neck, then twisting the body. The head is sewn in oxhide and kept in a box. In time of drought or before a journey a chief or medicine-man visits the head to make a sacrifice and ask for help. Oxen are killed at funeral feasts of the wealthy and the horns are mounted over the grave. Mourners for the king wear strips of oxhide round their wrists.

There can be no doubt that the Ovimbundu received the above traits, also their knowledge and use of the sacred fire, from the cattle-keeping area. The use of sacred fire has been shown to be a primary trait associated with the keeping of cattle. Reference to field work among the Ovimbundu indicates that the usages connected with sacred fire agree in detail with those of the pastoral area. The Ovimbundu keep the sacred fire burning in the burial place of kings; for instance at Ngalangi, as described. The Ovimbundu create new fire by twirling when a new village site is opened, and the fire is distributed from the chief's home. Lustration after an epidemic of sickness is always ceremonially carried out by creation of new fire on which the blood of sacrificed animals is sprinkled. Therefore, in general outline and considerable detail the factors associated with cattle-keeping among the Ovimbundu are those of the pastoral areas of east, south, and southwest Africa.

In summarizing we may say that contacts of the Ovimbundu with southwest Africa have arisen from occupation of contiguous territory, along with trading and raiding. The acquisitions made by the Ovimbundu from pastoral tribes include several artifacts such as sandals, the assagai, and the throwing club. More important than the diffusion of these objects into Umbundu culture has been the reception of the cattle themselves, along with the social values, usages, and religious beliefs which are the usual concomitants of the African pastoral culture.

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181 A study of the culture contacts of the Ovimbundu conclusively shows that they are not an isolated people whose artifacts, religious beliefs, and social life stand out distinctively from the culture patterns around them. On the contrary the Ovimbundu have,

through trade and warfare, been an absorbent people, reaching out 174
in all directions and assimilating all cultural traits which were of 181
service.

Up to this point, only the immediate culture contacts of the Ovimbundu have been considered. Yet it is evident that some of the cultural traits which have been discussed are widely diffused in Africa. Consequently, some further inquiry is needed if the tribal life of the Ovimbundu is to be considered against a broad ethnological background of African culture.

XI. WIDER CULTURE CONTACTS

171 121 When dealing with the immediate culture contacts of the Ovimbundu, the traits found in central Angola were considered in relation to the cultural elements of each of three areas, the Congo basin, Rhodesia, and South West Africa. In this chapter attention is given to some traits that are found, not only among the Ovimbundu and adjacent peoples, but among some other African tribes remote from the present-day location of the Ovimbundu. The Graebnerian school has indeed claimed that some of these widely distributed African traits are Melanesian and Indonesian in origin, a theory which is briefly considered in the latter part of this chapter.

114 The present examination of widely distributed traits is facilitated by referring to each of a number of papers not previously mentioned. For example, E. Torday (IV) has dealt in general with religion and social organization among Bantu tribes. H. Baumann (II) has discussed hoe-culture and matriarchal conditions in Bantu Africa. G. Lindblom (I) has brought together a large body of evidence relating to the distribution of hunting devices. H. Balfour (I, II, III) has outlined the distribution of the friction drum. Hence there exist useful summaries of trait distributions with which cultural factors of the Ovimbundu can be compared.

ANTIQUITY OF CULTURAL TRAITS

171 At the outset we must recognize that the extent of distribution of a trait and its importance in the cultural pattern may be but a treacherous guide to its antiquity. The widespread use and cultivation of tobacco and maize are instances of this kind. The growth and curing of tobacco led to the adoption of this commodity as a medium of exchange which could be conveniently carried by caravans. Exchange of snuff as a form of greeting, also the passing of a communal pipe from hand to hand in the men's house, are instances of social usages which caused a rapid spread of a commodity in a short time (Laufer, Hambly, and Linton, Tobacco and Its Uses in Africa, Field Mus. Nat. Hist., Anthr. Leaflet 29, 1929).

The use of maize, one of the most important factors in the building and preservation of Umbundu culture, has a wide distribution in Africa, but its introduction is dated only from the sixteenth century. The Portuguese carried on a regular traffic in slaves between Angola and Brazil, and in all probability this resulted in the introduction of manioc, peanuts, and sweet potatoes. Possibly

the yam also was introduced. All these food plants spread with 171
great rapidity, hence the extent of their distribution is not a guide
to their antiquity.

THE BLACKSMITH'S CRAFT IN AFRICA

The antiquity of the blacksmith's occupation is not easy to 326
determine, though the usefulness of the craft, and the accessibility 171
of surface-ore in many parts of Africa, might incline one to favor
a theory of rapid diffusion. There is an extensive literature dealing
with the origin of the blacksmith's craft, which is variously attributed
to the Negro, the ancient Egyptians, or to Hamitic invaders.

Diffusion of the craft, and not independent invention in many parts of Africa, is suggested by the continuity of like forms of apparatus; taboos of the same kind connected with the blacksmith; treatment of smiths as a special caste; also their employment of ritual in making furnaces, training apprentices, and consecrating their tools.

Iron objects requiring considerable skill in their manufacture are described by the earliest writers who came in contact with northern Angola, and early observations relating to iron gongs and axes have already been given. This evidence therefore suggests that the Ovimbundu must have had a knowledge of the working of iron when they entered the Benguela Highlands.

The following data from many parts of Africa are adduced to show the relation of the blacksmith's craft among the Ovimbundu to a wider background, of which Umbundu customs form a part. The Ovimbundu have developed ritual aspects of the blacksmith's craft which have already been described, and along with these the following instances should be considered.

Naturally, special local developments occur, but the general attitude of the Ovimbundu toward blacksmiths is in accord with a widely distributed body of African beliefs affecting Bantu, semi-Bantu, Sudanic, and Hamitic-speaking tribes, from which a few instances may be noted.

Among the Kpelle of Liberia a blacksmith receives no pay for work done for a chief, but he is free from military service. The blacksmith is a confidential person for the whole village, and he is conversant with many family secrets (D. Westermann, Die Kpelle, p. 170). Blacksmiths of the Ibo of Nigeria form a strong union which resents intrusion into the secrets of the craft. Blacksmiths are to be found only in certain towns which form halting places on

171 their itinerary (G. T. Basden, Among the Ibos of Nigeria, p. 176).
326 At Ife in a sacred grove I saw objects which were described as the hammer and the anvil of the first blacksmith. Over the anvil stone were the remains of a recently sacrificed dog. Such an offering is made twice a year to Ogun, the patron god of blacksmiths. Among the Masai, blacksmiths are said to be unlucky with cattle, and are therefore not allowed to own them. Smiths have their own language which is not well understood by other people of the tribe (A. C. Hollis, The Masai, p. 331). The Suk say that no woman may see a blacksmith at work because his tools would become heavy in his hand, then he would go mad and die. There is chanting by the blacksmiths during forging and molding (M. W. H. Beech, The Suk, p. 18).

Working in iron is accompanied by many special rites among the Bakitara; in fact, taboos are observed from the time of preparing the charcoal. Smiths belong to the serf class. Among the omens, sneezing is a warning from a ghost indicating that there is danger near and work is therefore discontinued. Offerings are made to the spirit of the hill where ore is dug in order to prevent burial of the diggers (J. Roscoe, IV, p. 218). When a Banyankole smith is making a new hammer he gives a feast at which six goats are killed. This sacredness of the large hammer was emphasized among the Ovimbundu.

Southwest of Lake Bangweolo a small shrine is erected near the smelting furnace, and here a prayer is offered to spirits of former smelters (H. B. Barnes, *J.R.A.I.*, LVI, p. 191). The Ila-speaking people of Rhodesia have a principal blacksmith who is named *munganga wa butale* ("the iron doctor"). Secrets of the craft are preserved by transmission from father to son only. The *munganga* takes charge of the preparation of iron and directs the ceremonies (E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, I, pp. 203-207). E. Torday records that the Bambala have a T-shaped hammer with a pointed handle. "It is practically impossible to obtain a specimen of these hammers since death is the portion of a smith who parts with his tools." (I, p. 406.)

These examples do not reveal the origin of the blacksmith's craft and its ritual, but they explain Umbundu customs as part of a system of ideas which affects the whole continent of Africa south of the Sahara.

BANTU RELIGION AND SOCIAL SYSTEM

171 The spiritual beliefs of the Ovimbundu have already been shown to agree with those of the Congo basin and southwest Africa.

171 E. Torday's paper, "Dualism in Western Bantu Religion and Social Organization," is an admirable summary of a wide background of Bantu beliefs with which those of the Ovimbundu agree in detail. Torday (VI) has also given a summary of Bantu sexual relations. His summary of prenuptial relationships of boys and girls, the system of polygyny, and domestic arrangements in general, indicates that records made among the Ovimbundu are but a sample of an extensive and homogeneous series of Bantu sex customs.

171 601 With regard to the classificatory system of relationships and cross-cousin marriage, sufficient quotations have been given to indicate that the system of the Ovimbundu is one which is paralleled in Rhodesia, the Congo basin, and still more remote regions. To the instances given should be added corroborative examples from J. Roscoe (The Baganda, p. 109), R. S. Rattray (Ashanti, p. 29), and H. A. Stayt (The Bavenda, pp. 172–184). L. H. Buxton and R. S. Rattray have offered a theory to explain the kinship system and cross-cousin marriage in Ashanti (*Jour. African Soc.*, XXIV, p. 83; Religion and Art in Ashanti, p. 318).

In Africa a classificatory system of relationships is particularly characteristic of the Bantu area. The system is Semitic and Hamitic. It is not reported among the Bushmen, but is in vogue among the Nama Hottentots. The wide distribution of a classificatory system, with variations, and its importance in tribal life, suggest antiquity (see Hoernlé, II, and B. Z. Seligman, III).

171 428 H. Baumann (I) has prepared maps showing the distribution of customs affecting descent of property in Africa. Investigation among the Ovimbundu proves that their scheme of inheritance of property is part of a more widely distributed system. Baumann (pp. 66, 127) states that in the Kasai valley and the Cabinda Enclave the rights of the mother's brother are expressed in his control of his sister's children. The power of the maternal uncle in Ovimbundu families was reported, and it was stated that he has the right to sell his sister's children for redemption of his debts. Baumann's map further indicates an area in which property descends, not to a wife or children, but to a mother's brother, or to the sons of the deceased man's oldest sister. The social system of the Ovimbundu is definitely a part of this cultural matrix, which extends to the north and northeast of the Ovimbundu but, according to Baumann's record, not to the south of Angola. In the south of Angola among pastoral people a system of succession and inheritance in the male line prevails, and

171 428 this method is characteristic of many pastoral tribes of south and east Africa.

171 611 The Ovimbundu are situated between two systems of reckoning descent, succession, and inheritance; namely, the Negro system of the Congo region, and that of the eastern and southern cattle-keeping people. In view of the culture contacts described in Chapter X, the mixed system of the Ovimbundu is intelligible.

On the one hand the Ovimbundu emphasize the rights of the mother's brother while denying inheritance to a wife and her children, but in royal families the eldest son of the principal wife succeeds to kingship. Among commoners descent is reckoned through both the father and the mother. Therefore the inference is that the [174] Ovimbundu have, by virtue of their position and contacts, made a blending of two distinct social systems, one of which gives succession to office in the male line, while the other gives inheritance in the female line. In their system of burial rites for kings the Ovimbundu follow the usages of the pastoral area.

171 608 Exchange of blood is an Umbundu custom resembling that which occurs widely in Negro Africa. This exchange of blood is the typical Negro form of the blood brotherhood. Another rite is the Hamitic custom of drinking a mixture of blood and milk; this the Ovimbundu do not practise.

171 241 The hoe-cultivation practised by Ovimbundu women is in agreement with Baumann's association of hoe-culture and matriarchal conditions, the latter being indicated by the importance of the mother's brother. These concomitant factors are shown by Baumann (II, p. 292) to be characteristic of a wide area in the Congo basin. To this area may be added the whole of central Angola.

171 567 The factors of slavery among the Ovimbundu are in agreement with all that is known of the treatment of slaves in the Congo area and farther west Africa. Slaves of the Ovimbundu taken in warfare were treated with less consideration than those who passed into slavery to redeem a debt. There was also discrimination in favor of slaves taken in local quarrels among the Ovimbundu themselves. The killing and eating of slaves in north Angola is a custom whose early occurrence has already been noted.

AFRICAN PUBERTY RITES

171 881 Initiation ceremonies for boys and girls are at present well preserved among the Vachokue of eastern Angola; for a period such ceremonies declined among the Ovimbundu, but there is now a

recrudescence. Masks of eastern Angola most closely resemble those 171
of the Bapindi of the southwest Congo, but the general background 881
of these puberty rites is comparable in Angola, parts of the Congo, and in several parts of the forest belt of west Africa from Sierra Leone to Cameroon.

Usually there is seclusion, hardship, training in dances and tribal customs, with ceremonial reappearance and change of name. Evidently the Ovimbundu share the material traits and the psychological background of initiatory rites with a very large number of tribes, which occupy the forest zones of west and central Africa.

G. Lindblom's publication, "The Use of Stilts in Africa and America," helps to explain the occurrence of stilt-walking at the final ceremonies of initiation witnessed at Cangamba. Since stilt-walking in Angola occurs chiefly in the eastern section, perhaps one should link the trait with the stilt-walking in Nyasaland, because there has been continuous communication from Angola to Nyasaland along the Zambezi valley. The stilt-walking of eastern Angola may, however, be a cultural offshoot from the southwest Congo, for according to Lindblom the stilt-walking trait occurs there, and the contacts of eastern Angola with the southwest Congo have been important.

In turning from these factors of social life to traits of a more 174
material kind, there are points of importance to be noted in connection with food supply and industries. A possibility exists that such traits as hunting, use of certain types of musical instruments, basketry, and pottery, will indicate that the Ovimbundu, before their separation, drew some of their fundamental traits from a widely distributed matrix.

HUNTING APPLIANCES OF AFRICA

L. S. B. Leakey (A New Classification of the Bow and Arrow 171
in Africa, *J.R.A.I.*, LVI, pp. 259–294) has dealt with the distribu- 411
tion of bows and arrows. Leakey states that, owing to lack of evidence, he was unable to describe the bows and arrows of Angola. I have therefore illustrated these in detail (Plate XVII, Figs. 1–9).

Some of the arrowheads used by the Ovimbundu resemble those of the Bashilele in the southwest Congo, but on the whole arrowheads used in Angola are of distinctive patterns, and presumably they represent a special local development. The round bow of the Ovimbundu and the Vachokue is like that of the southern Congo, and it is absolutely distinct from the short flat bow used in southern Angola among the Vakuanyama.

171 411 The question of arrow release is important in this connection. R. B. Dixon (The Building of Cultures, p. 131), while discussing evidence from Wissler, Kroeber, and Morse, has plotted a map showing the distribution of types of arrow release in all parts of the world. The Ovimbundu (Plate XXXIX, Fig. 1) use the Mediterranean release, which is shown by Kroeber (Univ. Calif. Pub., XXIII, p. 286) to occur in the southwest Congo region along with the tertiary release. My illustration and Kroeber's description of the Mediterranean release show that the thumb is kept entirely out of the way. The string is engaged by the inner surfaces of the tips of the index and middle fingers. The engaging finger-ends are at right angles to the string.

Young boys often use the primary release when shooting blunt wooden arrows at birds. In this release the butt of the arrow is clasped between the end of the thumb and the middle knuckle of the index finger. Kroeber remarks that the primary release is almost invariably attempted by children and uninstructed novices, which accords with my observations made in Angola. Presumably boys of the Ovimbundu change their method of release from the primary to the Mediterranean when they handle a man's bow and arrows. The Mediterranean release was observed throughout Angola, with the exception of the primary release employed by boys.

G. Lindblom (I, Part I) assists in comparing hunting apparatus of the Ovimbundu with a large number of African forms.

The throwing clubs of the Ovimbundu are definitely like those of the Hottentots, Barotse, and Bushmen (pp. 120–126).

224 171 In Part II of his leaflet Lindblom discusses many kinds of traps. The trap built of heavy poles, which is used for catching lions, leopards, and hyenas, is used all over Negro Africa; there is nothing distinctive in the form and use of the Umbundu pattern. The cane rat trap of conical form is described and its distribution is plotted (pp. 52, 53, 56). Lindblom's map shows a clustering round the mouth of the Congo, also again at Long. 30° E. and Lat. 10° S. The blank for Angola can now be filled. These traps are used in many parts of Angola, notably among the Vasele of the northwest, at Elende, Ngalangi, and Cangamba. The use of this trap in Angola explains its presence among the Vakuanyama. On Lindblom's map the occurrence of the trap in south Angola is isolated from the general African distribution, but use of the trap is really continuous from the Congo estuary through Angola to the Vakuanyama.

The use of bird-arrows with blunt, wooden knobs was common 171 at Elende, and I collected sharp, barbed, wooden arrows from the 411 Vasele, also from the areas of Kipungo and Mongua. This will assist in extending the information given by Lindblom (pp. 94–98). Lindblom's map (p. 99) indicates that bird-arrows are used round Lake Victoria Nyanza, at the junction of the Kasai and the Congo, and likewise among the Bushongo and the Bayaka. My observation of the distribution of wooden arrows in Angola links up these regions shown by Lindblom with the south of Angola. Perhaps a transcontinental diffusion in a southwesterly direction from Victoria Nyanza may be assumed, for it is unlikely that the diffusion would go counter to the generally accepted line of tribal migration which has been from northeast to southwest.

AFRICAN POTTERY, BASKETS, AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS 171

There is no reason to connect the pottery of the Ovimbundu [323] with that of any particular region. The coiling method is far too widespread and generic to afford evidence of contacts. The Ovimbundu have evolved their own peculiar designs and forms.

In coiled basketry also the Ovimbundu have made special [285] developments from a generic trait known in Egypt before 2000 B.C. Designs and dyes appear to be of local origin. My observation of African basketry does not suggest any particular parent form; moreover, resemblances of design may be misleading, for the nature of the material controls the shapes of the designs to a great extent in coiled basketry.

Wood-carving, on the contrary, links the culture of the Ovim- [532] bundu very definitely with that of the southwest Congo. Perhaps the work of Angola is most closely allied with that of the Bakuba, who excel in the carving of figurines, cups, and staffs.

H. Balfour's article (III) on the distribution of the friction drum [534] helps to identify the form used by the Ovimbundu with types of this instrument from other African areas. The type from Elende is like that of Barotseland with which the Ovimbundu caravans were frequently in contact, while the large friction drum from Ngalangi is of the Bayaka pattern. The friction drum is widely used in the southwest Congo among the Bakwese, the Bambala, and the Baluba.

Thus far research has been able to show a large number of cultural traits of the Ovimbundu in relation to immediate culture contacts of the Congo basin, Rhodesia, and South West Africa (chapter X). In addition to this, many traits connected with social

171 organization and artifacts have been described in relation to a wide cultural background in Negro Africa. There remains, however, the more difficult problem of a possible introduction of some of these cultural traits from regions outside the continent of Africa itself.

KULTURKREIS THEORY

174 114 Our investigation is able to account for the occurrence of certain widely distributed traits which the Ovimbundu possess, either in their common form or in some specialized aspect. The broader problem of the possible origin of African traits in Melanesia and Indonesia is one that should not be neglected.

The kulturkreis theory as expounded by Graebner (Methode der Ethnologie, Heidelberg, 1911) has been applied to Africa by B. Ankermann (*Zeitsch. Ethn.*, 1905, pp. 62–90). Frobenius has expressed his views in "Der Ursprung der afrikanischen Kulturen," Leipzig, 1894; "Das unbekannte Afrika," Munich, 1923; and the "Atlas afrikanus," Munich, 1922.

An article of Frobenius (Smithsonian Institution Reports, 1898, pp. 638–647) summarizes the Graebnerian thesis so far as Africa is concerned. Frobenius says that the Malayo-Negritan relationship of African culture is established. Certain cultural elements appear together and are equally distributed. Ethnographical objects illustrative of phases of culture may be examined with a view to fixing their descent, just as we examine the limbs and organs of a living being, and the theory is concerned with morphological considerations in particular.

Frobenius states (p. 639), that he is concerned with studying the genealogical tree of culture forms, and as a first example he chooses wooden drums which are found in the Congo basin and lower Guinea; these drums are said to be of Malayo-Negritan origin. The next example chosen is that of the Malayo-Negritan bow. Wooden shields of Africa with reed covering have related forms in New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. Pile dwellings are found in Dahomey and among the Ambuella; also in New Guinea. Chairs and neck rests used by many Negro tribes are of Oceanic form. There is a Malayo-Negritan affinity of bark fabrics of Africa with the well-known tapa cloth of Oceania (p. 644). The "likeness of anatomical origin, coupled with the outlined area of distribution, is evidence not to be gainsaid" (p. 645). The culture of a fishing community is on all sides characterized by mesh work. In New Guinea the net is used as clothing, and in the whole of west Africa we

hear of the netted jerseys of the disguised. The matriarchate is 174
possibly to be classed among Malayo-Negritan characteristics, in 114
particular when accompanied by exogamy. So runs the Graebnerian argument.

To these cultural factors from Melanesia Frobenius adds the gora, which he compares with a form from New Pommern. He also mentions the marimba; tobacco-pipes of the Ituri region, which are likened to those of New Guinea; and the scarification of the Bashilange, which has some circular characters said to be like Maori moko. The prows of canoes in Dualla (Cameroon) are compared with those of the Admiralty Islands.

The factors of Asiatic culture which have affected northern Africa are more readily accepted because of known historical contacts of a continuous kind over geographically contiguous regions. Probably Frobenius is right in attributing the drum with a pottery base, chain armor, quilted armor, the long knife, and the stringed instrument *rababa*, to Asiatic sources. The round shields of northeast Africa may be accepted as of Asiatic origin. These points, though part of the general theory, do not concern our study of the Ovimbundu, who do not possess these alleged Asiatic traits.

The supposed line of migration of Malayo-Negritan culture up the Zambezi valley, thence along the Sankuru into the Congo basin and so to Cameroon and farther west Africa, presents no great obstacle, but the hypothesis lacks a coordination of cultural elements and a historico-psychological explanation.

In considering several Indonesian factors such as those mentioned by R. Linton as occurring in Madagascar (*Amer. Anth.*, 1928, pp. 372–389), and while regarding the evidence of J. Hornell (*Man*, 1928, No. 1) respecting the similarity of canoes on Lake Victoria Nyanza and along the coast with those from Java, there is no difficulty in admitting impacts from Indonesia. There is, however, only the beginning of a hypothesis in these comparisons.

The construction of a theory purporting to show phylogenetic connection between cultures as remote as those of Sierra Leone and Melanesia still requires elaboration. At the present time there is not sufficient detail available for the filling in of distribution maps purporting to show the line of migration of this postulated Malayo-Negritan culture. But according to Graebnerian views a hiatus merely means that the intrusive culture has disappeared.

The question arises respecting evidence from Angola which may favor or refute the validity of a Malayo-Negritan origin of some

174 culture elements of Negro Africa. Among the cultural traits of 114 the Ovimbundu are a few which the Graebnerians would claim as evidence of the passage of Indonesian cultural waves. Use of the bow is part of the bow culture. Matriarchal conditions and hoe-culture by women would be regarded as a somewhat later wave of culture. Frobenius would ascribe the use of netted clothing during initiation to an Oceanic origin. There is a small area in southeast Angola where pile dwellings are built by the Ambuella tribe. Bark cloth is made in eastern Angola. The marimba and the musical bow are traits of Umbundu and Oceanic culture.

The point at issue seems to be the acceptance or rejection of cultural contacts on the ground of alleged resemblance in forms. Frobenius would doubtless add that the supposed Malayo-Negritan factors in Umbundu culture lie only a little to the southwest of the Zambezi, which is a main line of hypothetical migration of Malayo-Negritan factors.

Each of these elements of Umbundu culture is of a non-specific kind. For example, there is nothing about the bark cloth, except that it is a bark cloth, to link it with similar material in any other part of the world. Stripping the tree, soaking the bark and beating it, are part of the general technique.

The musical bow has a wide distribution, as H. Balfour (I) has shown. He studies the distribution in Africa, North and South America, Asia, India, the Malay Archipelago, Melanesia, and Polynesia. He postulates the derivation from the archers' bow and says (p. 85), "The question whether or no we are to regard the musical bows in India and in Africa as belonging to one family, is one which is difficult to answer." Balfour is impressed with similarity of forms in India and Africa, but feels that the common origin is not demonstrable.

When comparing types of masks and costumes within the African continent itself the work of Frobenius (I) is found to be useful in indicating areas over which certain types of regalia are used in initiation ceremonies. There is undoubtedly a localization of types, and we previously noted that Angolan forms of masks and costumes are definitely like those of the Bakuba and the Baluba in the southwest Congo region. Moreover, the netting costumes used by the Ovimbundu and the Vachokue of Angola closely resemble those used in some parts of the Congo basin, Cameroon, and from that point westward to Sierra Leone. Therefore, so long as comparisons are limited to Africa itself, they are instructive in showing cultural traits of Angola against a broader background.

But if the inquiry is extended with a view to proving that African masks and costumes are derivatives from Oceania, there exists no acceptable evidence of generic relationship. The mere use of fiber skirts, of netting suits, and of bark cloth for masks, is not acceptable evidence for supporting a theory of derivation of African from Oceanic forms.

More important than the study of forms is the psychological background of masks and costumes in Africa and Melanesia. In "Origins of Education" I made a comparison of factors included in the initiation of boys in Africa and Melanesia. The boys are secluded, circumcised, instructed, harshly treated, and after a change of name are reintroduced to their villages at a dance in which masks and costumes are used.

Waiving the question of similarity of masks and costumes, do the psychological factors provide reasonable grounds for assuming generic relationship of initiation customs? Possibly the psychological setting suggests a single origin, but the matter is so largely subjective, that a decision cannot be made without further evidence of the correlation of forms, the details underlying their origin and use, and the establishment of a more definite and unbroken track of distribution. To have an intuition and a vague hypothesis is very different from the demonstration of a theory. Delafosse (Negroes of Africa, p. 3) pictures the peopling of Africa by Negro impacts from Asia on the east coast near Madagascar. If true, this suggestion would support the views of the Graebnerian school, but the theory is highly speculative.

The extent to which an observer may be misled by fortuitous resemblances in form has been demonstrated by a number of American anthropologists. Every investigator who attempts comparative study and classification is prone to unite concepts, customs, and artifacts which have only a superficial and misleading resemblance to one another. This failure to discriminate may be illustrated as follows: R. H. Lowie (Plains Indian Age-Societies, Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Papers, No. 11, pp. 883–951) has shown the fallacy of assuming genuine cultural resemblances between Age-Societies of Plains Indians, the Masai, and the Melanesians, because the phenomena when analyzed prove to have different psychological settings, and they are structurally as distinct as are their geographical areas.

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W. D. Wallis points out the care that should be exercised in assessing the evidential values of culture traits. These should be weighted according to their simplicity or complexity, and their logical connection with one another (*Amer. Anth.*, XXX, p. 94). The cultural factors of the Malayo-Negritan migration have not been considered in the manner advocated by Wallis.

Lowie examined apparently similar cases of exogamy, but found that these depended on different conditions; for example, exogamy might depend on either clan or locality (The Principle of Convergence in Ethnology, *Jour. Amer. Folk-lore*, XXV, pp. 24–42).

A. A. Goldenweiser shows that totemism has many social and psychological interpretations differing greatly according to locality. In order to include the many forms of totemism a broad definition has to be accepted. Totemism is indeed nothing more than a tendency of social units or individuals to become associated with symbols of emotional value (Totemism an Analytical Study, *Jour. Amer. Folk-lore*, XXIII).

Lowie further emphasizes the distinctive types of totemism, in order to show the fallacy of linking many different concepts under one term, without recognizing the broad significance of the term (*Amer. Anth.*, XIII, p. 189). This research shows Frobenius to be at fault in merely noting the presence of totemism and other traits without defining their forms and examining the psychological background.

An article by A. L. Kroeber and C. Holt (Masks and Moieties as a Culture Complex, *J.R.A.I.*, L, p. 452) has a special bearing on Graebnerian views with regard to the spread of cultures. Kroeber set out to test the validity of the statement that North American culture had been affected by the east Papuan layer of the Graebnerian culture stream, which was supposed to have brought masks and moieties to North America. The Graebnerian method assumes that a culture trait never develops twice; also that instances of geographical isolation of a trait must be ascribed to migration and subsequent loss in intervening areas. The conclusion of Kroeber, based on statistical examination of instances of conjoint occurrence of the two traits, indicates that the union of masks and moieties comes out fortuitously.

R. B. Dixon indicates several factors to which attention should be paid in making comparisons of culture traits (*Science*, XXXV, p. 46). In the first place there is the question of relationship on geographical and historical grounds. It is also important to know

what degree of complexity there is in the artifacts and beliefs which 174
are under comparison. Reason and form, that is, psychology and 114
morphology, are both important aspects of comparison. The work so far accomplished with regard to the Malayo-Negritan theory of African cultural traits fails to comply with the foregoing essentials of comparative study.

There is consensus of opinion against the Graebnerian hypothesis in its present form. E. S. Hartland reviews Graebner's "Methode der Ethnologie" (*Man*, 1914, No. 70) with the result that he finds Graebner too insistent on the value of forms as a criterion of generic relationship. In fact such a method may degenerate into pure subjectivity. F. Boas (*Science*, XXXIV, No. 884) takes the same point of view in remarking on the exclusion of the psychological field of inquiry; Graebner's method has a too mechanical character.

In view of this criticism, and as a result of personal observation of the culture elements of Angola, I am convinced that the somatological, linguistic, and cultural data for considering the spread of the Malayo-Negritan culture in Africa are not sufficiently understood to lead to a demonstration of any kind. For instance, Portuguese East Africa, the hypothetical starting point of the migration, is by no means well studied in detail, and the problem demands that data relating to the supposed area of introduction should be particularly complete.

The same criticism relates to the farthest point of west Africa reached by the supposed cultural stream from Melanesia. A theory which aims at showing generic relationship between secret societies of west Africa and Oceania cannot successfully rely only on general resemblances of masks and the use of netting costumes. Something more specific than a comparison of forms of artifacts and the occurrence of such ill-defined institutions as age-grades, totemism, and secret societies is essential in order to make the kulturkreis theory acceptable.

The problem of cultural relationships between the Ovimbundu 174
and other African tribes is simplified in several ways. Geographical 177
continuity exists between the African areas discussed, and to a great extent the cultural contacts described are matters of historical fact. (Data relating to the Ovimbundu themselves are fairly complete; and what is equally important, there is trustworthy literature bearing on the areas surrounding the Ovimbundu. Therefore, comparisons do not rest on the study of a few simple forms, but on the cultures taken as a whole with regard to cultural traits of all kinds.

174 Evidence adduced up to the present has indicated the relationship
177 of cultural elements of the Ovimbundu to those of tribes immediately surrounding them (chapter X).

In addition to this, the ethnological facts of the present chapter have made it clear that the tribal life of the Ovimbundu cannot be explained by confining the inquiry to immediate culture contacts. The Ovimbundu have without doubt drawn very widely on African cultural streams during the growth of their present social pattern. The truth of this statement has just been illustrated by reference to ritual connected with blacksmiths, Bantu religious beliefs, the Bantu social system, African puberty rites, hunting appliances, musical instruments, and other cultural elements.

A consideration of the kulturkreis theory indicated that a search for the origins of Umbundu culture cannot profitably be extended to Indonesia and Melanesia. Therefore the final chapter is confined to a summary of types of African culture, with a view to showing the relationship of Umbundu culture to each of the main racial, linguistic, and cultural patterns that are known to have affected the African continent.

XII. CULTURAL PROCESSES

ANALYSIS OF AFRICAN CULTURES

The difficulties of making a study of the Ovimbundu in their 172 relation to a general background of African cultures are connected with unsolved problems of archaeology, physical anthropology, linguistic study, and the history of cultural traits.

With the exception of data from Algeria, Egypt, Kenya, and south Africa there is a paucity of archaeological information which might determine the antiquity of past cultures, the relation of these to past and present races, and the routes by which races and cultures traveled. In the regions mentioned systematic excavations are in progress, but for the greater part of Africa archaeologists have no knowledge of the relative antiquity of stone implements found on the surface.

African ethnologists are not consistent in the connotations of terms such as Bantu and Hamitic. The word Bantu primarily refers to a linguistic family of Negroes, but a Bantu Negro culture exists with many divisions, and later we shall see that a somatological concept is associated with the word Bantu. The word Hamitic may describe a linguistic family, a series of physical traits differing from those which characterize the Negro, and a type of pastoral culture in which all the activities and beliefs of tribal life center in the keeping of cattle. The adjective Semitic can also be used to denote a well-defined linguistic family, a type of culture, or somatic traits. But the Semitic problem does not concern us [171] since the Ovimbundu have no traits that could be associated with Semitic culture, either Mohammedan or pre-Koranic; with the possible exception of blood brotherhood by exchange of blood, and the use of a scapegoat (Robertson Smith, Lectures on the Religion of the Semites, p. 296; Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia, pp. 57, 61).

The comparative studies of physical anthropologists are retarded 144 by paucity of skeletal material both ancient and modern, while series 114 of measurements on living subjects, especially women, are inadequate in relation to the great size of Africa and the complexity of the problems which arise from comparative study of anatomical data.

Darwin's "Descent of Man" recognized the possibility of man's origin in Africa, and the recent excavations of L. S. B. Leakey in Kenya may finally prove that the oldest remains of *Homo sapiens*

114 144 are within the African continent (Stone Age Cultures of Kenya, Cambridge, England, 1931). H. H. Johnston concludes that the place of origin of the African Negro is unknown. A. C. Haddon (The Wandering of Peoples, p. 54) surmises that "there is reason to believe that all the main races reached Africa from Asia." G. Sergi (The Mediterranean Race, pp. 41-42) regards the Hamites as a single human stock, but disagrees with a theory of Asiatic origin, and postulates the origin of Hamites in northeast Africa.

C. G. Seligman summarizes the views of Sergi and other writers respecting the origin of Hamites (Races of Africa, pp. 96-156). Among the eastern Hamites cranial characteristics, though variable, are generally convergent and are to be regarded as old variations of an original stock. Apart from Negro admixture the face of the Hamite is never prognathous. The nose is straight. The lips are often thick but never everted as in the Negro. The hair is often frizzly, but sometimes wavy or almost straight. The color of the skin varies; it may be yellowish, coppery red-brown, through every shade of brown to black, according to the amount of miscegenation that has taken place. Seligman states "that the Hamitic cradleland is generally agreed to be Asiatic, perhaps southern Arabia, or possibly an area farther east. Be this as it may, there is no doubt that the Hamites and Semites must be regarded as modifications of an original stock" (Some Aspects of the Hamitic Problem in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, *J.R.A.I.*, XLIII, pp. 593-705).

As a result of research in the north Arabian desert Henry Field states that the stony desert between Transjordania and the Euphrates River was probably well watered and fertile at an unknown period. The locality may have been a focus, first of concentration, then of dispersal. Archaeological evidence arising from a comparative study of stone implements from Arabia and east Africa, together with data of physical anthropology, and the basic unity of Semitic and Hamitic languages support a theory of Hamitic intrusion from Asia (H. Field, The Cradle of Homo Sapiens, *Amer. Jour. Arch.*, XXXVI, No. 4, pp. 426-430; The Antiquity of Man in Southwestern Asia, *Amer. Anth.*, XXXV, pp. 51-62).

144 142 Although the origin of Hamites and Negroes is obscure it has been possible to give a summary of the chief physical traits of the former, and the same can be done for the latter. Typical Sudanic-speaking Negroes, who are sometimes referred to as "true Negroes," are to be seen in the Ibo and Ijaw tribes of southern Nigeria, and among the Kru of Liberia. The characteristics of the Negro are a

heavy torso, disproportionately long arms, a dark skin, prognathous 144
jaws, broad nostrils, thick everted lips, and woolly hair. But usually 142
a modification of these features occurs in Bantu-speaking Negroes. How did this modification of physique arise?

A. C. Haddon (Wandering of Peoples, p. 54) expresses a generally 144
accepted view when he states that Bantu-speaking Negroes are 114
a mixture of true Negroes with Hamites. Seligman (Races of Africa, p. 181) refers to an infusion of Hamitic blood which has differentiated the Bantu Negroes from true Negroes, and this is a generally accepted hypothesis. But Torday (H. Spencer, Descriptive Sociology of African Races, preface, p. iii) questions whether the physical and linguistic cleavage between Bantu-speaking and Sudanic-speaking Negroes is due to an admixture of Hamitic blood. He attributes the physical differences of the two great linguistic divisions of Negroes to disparity of environmental conditions. But at present no physical anthropologist could say to what extent climatic factors, nutrition, and other environmental conditions can be held responsible for the physical differences of Negroes.

The question of a mingling of Hamite and true Negro to produce a modified type of Negro is not the only difficulty. How does one account for aberrant Negroid types such as the Pygmies of the Ituri forest and the Bushmen? They have a phylogenetic relationship, but what is the racial affinity? Again, will change of environmental conditions account for the Pygmy and Bushman types? Or are we to form a hypothesis of origins by assuming establishment of new species by variation or mutation?

In the absence of certain knowledge science accepts a hypothesis 144
which best explains the known facts. And in this matter of a modified Negro type speaking Bantu languages, the idea of a mingling of the blood of Negroes and Hamites best explains the gradation of physical types from west African, Sudanic-speaking Negroes, through various types of Bantu Negroes, to Hamites, as exemplified by the Somali, Beja, and Hadendoa.

The main characters of linguistic families of Africa are clearly 197
defined by A. Werner (Language Families of Africa, pp. 20–23) who refers to the works of D. Westermann and C. Meinhof. The distinguishing features of Hamitic, Semitic, Bantu, Sudanic, and Bushman speech are known, yet the task of placing a particular language in its appropriate family is not always simple. The classification may depend on the particular facet of the language which is under examination. Hausa (Hamitic), is difficult to classify

197 since the language has Sudanic and Hamitic elements with some Semitic roots. The earliest relationships of African linguistic families, for instance Hamitic and Semitic, also Sudanic, Bantu, and Bushman, is a field for further research. To take only one instance of complexity, Bantu is divided into more than two hundred languages and innumerable dialects, whose origin, structure, and evolution have been treated by C. Meinhof (Introduction to the Phonology of the Bantu Languages, London, 1932; a translation, by A. Werner and N. J. von Warmelo, of Meinhof's Grundriss eine Lautlehre der Bantusprachen).

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114 In conclusion of this summary of the background of African history, there arises the difficulty of ascribing to each of the races those cultural elements for which the race is responsible, either by primary invention within Africa, or by introduction from some source outside Africa. The difficulty may be illustrated by quotations relating to the iron industry of African Negroes. Rival theories claim origin of the craft in Asia, in Egypt, and among African Negroes themselves.

Seligman (Races of Africa, p. 158) states, "We may believe that the Negro, who is now an excellent iron worker, learnt this art from the Hamite." Torday writes (H. Spencer, Descriptive Sociology of African Races, preface, p. iii), "To state that Bantu civilization—or any civilization whatever—is due to the ancestors of such absolutely primitive tribes as the Hadendoa and Beja (identified by some with the enigmatic Hamites) presupposes that these people who were ignorant of agriculture, or the production of iron, and of all arts and crafts denoting a higher culture, who, as we know, have not progressed a step within the past five hundred years and considered all manual labor degrading, had the power to give that which they never possessed."

The complexity of argument relating to the origin of just one cultural trait, iron-working, can be judged by consulting the writings of W. Gowland (The Metals in Antiquity, *J.R.A.I.*, XLII, pp. 235–287), W. M. F. Petrie (The Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt), W. Belck (Die Erfinder der Eisentechnik, *Zeitsch. Ethn.*, XXXIX, pp. 335–381; XL, pp. 45–69; XLII, pp. 15–30), and F. Luschan (Eisentechnik in Afrika, *ibid.*, XLI, pp. 23–59).

Even with these reservations and disputed points in mind, it is yet possible to speculate with some accuracy respecting the origin and assembly of traits which, welded together, form the culture of the Ovimbundu.

ASSEMBLING OF TRAITS

The data which have been assembled in relation to the Ovimbundu, if considered in conjunction with the analysis of African cultures made in the foregoing chapter, lead to the following historical reconstruction. 174

When somatic traits of the Ovimbundu are considered it is clear [142] that the general type is removed from that of true Negroes. Among the Ovimbundu are persons of a slender, brown-skinned type, with some refinement of lips and nasal width; while other persons possess the opposites of these features, but in no instance as intensely as do true Negroes. I accept the view of physical admixture of Hamites with true Negroes and believe that types like the Ovimbundu and the Vakuanyama have resulted from infusion of Hamitic blood which has modified Negro somatic traits in the way mentioned.

Linguistically the Ovimbundu have a pure form of Bantu speech. 174 The Umbundu language is tonal, but there are few semantic words 197 whose meaning depends on a high, middle, or low tone. Probably Umbundu should be classified with the southwestern Bantu languages, but further research may show that on structural grounds Umbundu has to be accorded an intermediate position between the southwestern and the central Bantu languages. Study of vocabulary definitely links Umbundu with the Ukuanyama language of the southwestern Bantu group, but conclusions based on comparison of vocabularies are hazardous because of the dissemination of Umbundu words by extensive caravan trade of the Ovimbundu. We may therefore be dealing with loan words and not with bifurcation from the same matrix.

When comparing the social pattern of the Ovimbundu with that 174 of other African tribes the following elements of culture should be borne in mind.

(1) Traits associated with an archaic hunting culture.

(2) Factors typical of the culture of Negroes, both Bantu and Sudanic.

(3) Cultural traits from pastoral tribes of south and southwest Angola. These tribes speak Bantu languages but have somatic traits which are Hamitic, while their culture exhibits some main features of the Hamitic pastoral pattern.

Among the earliest elements of Umbundu culture would probably be the traits of hunting and food-gathering. The antiquity of hunting has been indicated by considering the wide distribution of appliances

174 of like kind. Furthermore, the details of ritual connected with the hunter's occupation, and the survival of these to the present day, tend to show that hunting was not a trait of late introduction. A people who adopted hunting when in an advanced state of their cultural history would not invent an elaborate ritual which is still connected with the initiation of young hunters, ancestor worship, and special modes of burial. Moreover, the Ovimbundu are primarily an agricultural people; therefore it is unlikely that at a late date in their cultural development they would take over hunting and its ritual as a means of augmenting their food supply. I conclude, therefore, that the elements of a hunting culture are ancient and fundamental.

To the archaic elements of hunting and food-gathering should perhaps be added the use of the musical bow, the bull-roarer, and the making of fire by twirling. The bull-roarer is an object associated with important ceremonies among many African and other tribes of the present day, though among the Ovimbundu the instrument is used only as a toy. This is probably a degradation of function associated with the known disappearance of initiation ceremonies. Making of fire by twirling is now of importance only as a ceremonial method of creating new fire at the time of building a village, during epidemics, and after the death of a king. But formerly the twirling method was the only means of ignition.

The most important cultural traits of the Ovimbundu are those which they possess in common with Negroes who speak Bantu languages. Most of the traits mentioned here as characteristic of the Bantu are also to be found among the Sudanic Negroes of west Africa.

Negro cultural traits which are or were prominent in the tribal life of the Ovimbundu are as follows:

Tooth mutilation and scarification of the body.

Blood brotherhood by exchange of blood.

Hoe cultivation by women.

Classificatory system of kinship terms and cross-cousin marriage.

A system of succession, inheritance, and family government in which the maternal uncle plays an important part.

Tribal government under a well-coordinated political system in which kings and village chiefs are of paramount importance.

Slavery as an economic institution.

Ritualistic slaughter and eating of slaves at the death of a king.

Tribal initiation for boys with use of masks, netting costumes, seclusion, circumcision, harsh treatment, change of name, and re-introduction into society. 174

The poison ordeal of general Negro type.

Religious ideas of a supreme being, Suku, Nzambi, or Kalunga, who is thought of as a creator. He is, however, far removed from all tribal affairs, and there is no sacrifice or appeal to him.

An active ancestor worship with good and bad spirits who require sacrifice and recognition by supplication through the agency of a medicine-man. Use of wooden figures in connection with this appeal to spirits. Great importance of the spirits of kings as arbiters in matters of tribal welfare.

Importance of medicine-men in conducting trial by ordeal, making rain, healing the sick, and consulting ancestral spirits by divination and the use of wooden images in which "medicine" is placed.

Methods of fishing with poisons and conical fish traps.

The technique and ritual of the blacksmith's craft.

Wood-carving which particularly resembles that of the southwest Congo region.

Making of bark cloth.

Types of musical instruments, including the friction drum, the marimba, tubular drums, flat drums, metal-keyed instruments, and many other forms which are typical of Negro culture, particularly that of the southwest Congo.

Weaving on a loom of central African type (now obsolete).

Coiled basketry and pottery.

The foregoing elements are associated to form the cultural pattern of the Ovimbundu. All these traits are characteristic of Bantu and Sudanic Negro culture in general. Therefore the Ovimbundu are most closely allied with Negroes, from the cultural point of view.

The elements taken by the Ovimbundu from pastoral tribes, whose culture has invaded east and south Africa, are: 174 177

Cattle and the social values attached to these, together with ceremonial rites which are characteristic of pastoral cultures. Such rites include burial of kings in oxhide, and the killing of oxen at the funeral feast; also the mounting of horns over the grave, and use of sacred fire.

Ideas of succession in the male line, whereby kingship passes to the eldest son of the principal wife, are more characteristic of pastoral than Negro systems.

174 From the pastoral tribes of southern Angola the Ovimbundu
177 have adopted a peculiar type of assagai, a throwing club, and sandals.

Primarily the culture of the Ovimbundu is that of African Negroes with persistence of traits that have survived, possibly from a pre-Negro culture, which depended entirely upon food-gathering and hunting. Grafted on these traits are important elements from a pastoral culture which is generally conceded to be Hamitic.

European contacts led to the introduction of maize, manioc, sweet potatoes, and peanuts, so stimulating the indigenous hoe culture. This agricultural life was further encouraged by settlement in the Benguela Highlands, where temperature, rainfall, and open spaces favored a great expansion of agricultural pursuits, especially the growth of maize and beans.

Early contact with the Portuguese led to an encouragement of trade. Guns and powder, together with other European goods, were received in exchange for ivory and slaves. An increase in the supply of slaves led to changes in the social life, whereby the Ovimbundu gained more time and opportunity for extensive raiding and trading, by which means their wealth was further increased.

As time progressed, the nature of the contact with the Portuguese changed. Instead of alliances made on a commercial basis, the Portuguese gradually assumed control, the results of which are now distinctly felt in the disintegration of Umbundu tribal life.

The data supplied by personal field work, supported by a perusal of ethnological literature, suggest the foregoing summary as the briefest possible outline of the history of the Ovimbundu, the growth of their culture, and the nature of traits that have been welded together.

Cultural losses will now be considered, and in the final pages an explanation will be given of the way in which traits derived from various sources are associated to form a workable tribal system.

CULTURAL LOSSES

177 The loom and the conical furnace for smelting iron have disappeared in recent times because of the increasing importation of foreign cloth and the greater facility for obtaining scrap iron. Bark cloth, except in eastern Angola, is no longer made because traders are distributing European goods. For the same reason wooden hair-combs are going out of use. Drum signaling has declined with the disappearance of warfare, and for the same reason the double iron gong is rare.

The Ovimbundu have lost any ideas that they may have had 177 concerning sentimental relationships between men and animals. I know of no belief in animal helpers, and of no divisions of people with an animal or a plant as their emblem. The only idea of reincarnation was expressed in the instance of a spirit, neglected in sacrifice, prowling near the village in the form of a lion or a leopard.

There has been a total absence of the shield for so long that no one was able to describe it. Old men state that the Ovimbundu used to have a shield; probably this information is correct, as the shield is commonly used in the Congo region. The Ovimbundu use the bow, spear, and throwing-club; no doubt a fourth item of equipment was more than a man could conveniently manage. Furthermore, individuals who obtained guns and powder would naturally discard other weapons.

Originally the Ovimbundu were cannibals. The Vasele, a sequestered Umbundu-speaking people, were definitely known to be practising cannibalism in 1865 (Monteiro, vol. II, p. 157). The early writers, Battell, Merolla, and Cavazzi, mention cannibalism in northern Angola; undoubtedly slaves were killed and eaten at the accession of a king until late in the nineteenth century. From Bailundu a spear formerly used for thrusting into the side of a slave, then into the side of an ox, was obtained. The flesh was cooked and eaten before a warlike expedition. Among objects from the Esele country is an ax formerly used for beheading slaves at the accession of a new king. These objects, collected in 1929, and described on page 277, are survivals of defunct traits.

Kingship, warfare, slavery, and cannibalism constitute an allied group of factors which are here mentioned in the order of their importance. European contacts have discouraged all these traits. Portuguese authority has gradually usurped the jurisdiction of native kings, and at the same time has discouraged intertribal warfare. With the decline of warfare the capture of slaves became obsolete. In addition to the discouragement of cannibalism by direct legislation, the decline of slavery has tended to make cannibalism fall into desuetude, because slaves were always the victims for ceremonial cannibal feasts.

The present attenuated distribution and form of puberty rites for Ovimbundu boys may be accounted for as follows: During the period of desultory warfare in northern Angola (1600–1800), ceremonies, which in Africa are usually associated with sedentary life, must have suffered interruption and curtailment. Such ceremonies

177 are typically allied, so far as Africa is concerned, with a forest culture with its sacred groves and facilities for seclusion during a period of three months or longer. Such a condition was lacking in the Benguela Highlands, which are sparsely wooded in comparison with the more northern tropical areas of Angola.

When the Ovimbundu settled in the highlands, warfare and distant caravan trade were factors that would tend further to disintegrate elaborate ceremonies requiring several months for their completion. As a supplement to these reasons for decline, there is the effect of European disapproval, and in some localities positive prohibition.

In addition to traits that have blended and those that have become obsolete, there arises the question of opportunities which have been neglected in the course of cultural growth.

The Ovimbundu, with local exceptions, do not use the milk or flesh of cattle, neither is the milk of goats utilized; vegetable food forms a large proportion of the diet.

The papaya (papaw) and the banana are not cultivated to any great extent by the natives. The raffia palm grows well in some parts of the Benguela Highlands, but the Ovimbundu do not use the fiber for anything except ropes. They have no raffia weaving such as is found in the Congo region.

Failure to utilize these vegetable products has to some extent a rational basis. The fruit of the papaya could never be more than an addition to the already generous vegetable diet, as it is unsuitable for consumption in large quantities owing to laxative properties; neither has it the food value and the marketable possibility of maize. The banana will grow at a height of 3,000 feet in the Benguela Highlands, but attention is required. Nights are cold, hence some naturally screened site should be selected. During the dry season the roots should be protected against too rapid evaporation, but this careful attention is foreign to native methods of agriculture. Use of raffia is discouraged by the presence of trade cloth and easy access to locally grown cotton, which is made into thread.

To account for the failure to use the milk and flesh of cattle is not easy, neither is the neglect of goat's milk readily explicable. Neglect of these foods is due to prejudice and conservatism, of which there are many examples in Africa. For instance, Hamitic tribes, of whom the Bahima are typical, avoid all vegetable food. Milk is their staple diet, and vegetable foods are regarded as positively unclean.

Cattle-keepers of southern Angola make butter in calabash 177 churns which are gently swung on a pole. The Ovimbundu have taken cattle from the south and west, but have not adopted dairy products. The cattle of the Ovimbundu are valued as a standard of wealth; have great purchasing power; are used to pay taxes and fines; and, in addition to these social and economic values, are the most important sacrificial animals. This is an instance of the arbitrary selection of some traits of a culture complex, while other factors, even those of economic importance, are ignored.

Cultural losses, and failures to utilize factors which were accessible are, according to the foregoing examples, due to change of habitat from northern Angola to the Benguela Highlands; European contacts; long-established agricultural habit; and conservatism, which to some extent is a characteristic of tribes at all cultural levels.

INTEGRATION OF TRAITS

A study which is concerned with growth of culture, demands more 121 than a historical, geographical, and mechanistic interpretation. Morphological and historical research assists in tracing origins and in forming hypotheses respecting the order in which the traits were brought together. But such inquiries are static rather than dynamic, and they are a necessary prelude to anthropological work rather than an ultimate aim.

To the methods of research already followed there should be added a psychological approach with the object of showing the way in which various elements of culture are blended and are made to function.

The following pages illustrate the way in which a field investigation is brought into contact with the welding of cultural elements, and the examples chosen call attention to principles that are responsible for the process of integration. This assimilation of cultural elements renders the study of an isolated trait impossible, as the following instances indicate. These illustrations are chosen from field notes, and are grouped in such a way as to emphasize the pivotal elements of Umbundu culture around which minor traits revolve.

Some of the examples given are intended to illustrate a relation- 105
ship between language (which includes folklore, proverbs, and 182
riddles) and nature knowledge. The latter is closely connected with hunting, food-gathering, and the selection of materials for handwork.

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The inquiry then turns to occupations which indicate that sex dichotomy of labor is a fundamental principle of tribal life. In connection with the details of food supply and occupation, ritual acts are prominent, and in association with these the functions of the medicine-man are important.

Cultural liaisons are again illustrated when studying domestic animals, for this inquiry leads to a consideration of the social and economic importance of cattle, which are used in ritual connected with the death and burial of kings.

These are but a few instances indicating the way in which lines of investigation converge, though they may appear to be distinct. In fact the very division of a monograph into chapters is misleading in its suggestion of distinct divisions of tribal life, whose parts are actually a psychological unity.

When accompanying boys and men during their food-collecting and hunting expeditions a wealth of nature lore and a richness of vocabulary were discovered, and a vocabulary of one hundred and thirty words comprising names of birds, reptiles, mammals, and plants was prepared. Species are carefully distinguished, to such a degree that discussions respecting the correct native names for similar species tend to be prolonged and humorous.

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When I realized the closeness with which the native observes the habits of animals, there was no difficulty in understanding why folklore stories of animals are so popular and so amusing in their descriptions of animal behavior. In addition to its associations with nature study, folklore reveals standards of conduct and processes of rationalization.

In collecting names of birds and their crics, and while recording hunting customs, I was informed of the bird Onjimbi which flies at night to give the sound of death to those who will not see the morning. Then there is a nocturnal bird called Esuvi which is able to catch spirits of the dead who are active at night. A spirit so caught dies a second death, but what this means I could not immediately discover. Later a man said he was sick because Esuvi had caught the spirit of his grandfather. This implies the belief that an ancestral spirit is a guardian whose function ends when a second death is experienced.

Study of natural history sometimes leads to a point of importance in social procedure. There is a bird Onduva whose feathers are used for decorating the head of a dead king and for embellishing the person of a medicine-man; the feathers may not be used in any other

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way. Such instances as these came to light when my primary inten- 182
tion was a study of the use of wooden arrows for killing birds. 825

An inquiry about the names of trees and the use of timbers led to the topic of making and using wooden figures for magical purposes. Woodcraft, wood-carving, and religion are associated.

There is no fallacy so great as that of supposing that data may be collected and retained in mutually exclusive divisions. For example, a study of proverbs leads to native ideas concerning government, succession to office, and standards of conduct. The Ovimbundu say, "A turtle cannot climb on a tree stump, some one has to place it there." What is the meaning of this proverb? There are some men who occupy positions for which they have no ability; such men have been chosen through influence. The normal successor to chieftainship and kingship is the eldest son of the deceased man's principal wife, but if this rightful successor is stupid, some other son will be chosen. Yet the foolish youth may have friends who see their own advantage in having a weak ruler; they therefore combine to place him in office. The turtle has been placed on the tree stump, since it could not climb there.

In addition, folklore shows projection of the mentality of human beings into the lives of animals. Bird cries, with their supposed calls and answers, indicate that the birds have their family relationships involving strife, love, jealousy, and generosity. To the Ovimbundu, birds are a feathered human community.

Proverbs reveal a philosophy which is expressed by the German 538
Weltanschauung. "If you are full of food, do not climb on a leopard's 829
back; the leopard may be hungry." This means that one should 182
not be foolishly exalted through good fortune. "You cannot tie a buck's head in a cloth; the horns will stick out," expresses the idea that crime cannot be concealed. "Hot water does not burn a house, and cold water does not make mush," is a sarcastic reply to one who boasts of things he cannot do. A riddle may express a philosophical train of thought. "What is it that lives while it dies and dies while it lives?" This is the log of wood the end of which is from time to time pushed farther into the fire. Like a human life, the log is being slowly consumed while yet living. Such examples as these call attention to a welding of thought, language, nature lore, and ideas that regulate conduct.

In considering food supply and occupations, division of labor 183
on a sex basis is clear. Social sanctions have determined the appro- 462
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priateness of certain tasks for males and females respectively, and individuals reflect these attitudes in their ideas and conduct.

My interpreter and others who were questioned laughed at the idea that men and women might interchange their occupations in the course of house-building. A woman collects wood for fuel, but not for house-building. Structural work is in the hands of men who dig the foundations, erect the poles, tie the crosspieces and add the roof. Women carry water for mixing the clay which is puddled by children; men, women, and children apply wet clay to the wattle walls. "Suppose a man should carry water?" I asked. "He would be laughed at and people would say that he was a he-woman," came the ready answer.

Women invariably make pottery among the Ovimbundu, but this is not always so in Negro tribes. Women of the Ovimbundu are likewise basket-makers, but they do not make mats, for this occupation is considered suitable for men only. Only women pound corn; before daybreak the heavy wooden pestles are at work and until sunset the rocks reserved for this operation are the centers of female activity, which includes singing and gossip. Only men herd cattle and only males are hunters. Women and children are the collectors of wild fruits and caterpillars, but only men take honey from the hives.

Agriculture and the preparation of food are entirely in the hands of the women. Men never eat with women; the latter have to carry the prepared food to the men's communal house in the middle of the village. Both men and women catch fish, but there are methods appropriate for each sex. There is a sex-division of labor without any implication of the inferiority of women.

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Occupations cannot be studied merely in a formal way, for, although the tasks are performed every day, a ceremonial element is involved. A clay pit is consecrated by the killing of a fowl; so also is the rock which is used as a base for pounding grain. The young blacksmith is initiated after two years of apprenticeship. On this occasion a dog is killed with the hammer which the master made for his pupil and the blood of the sacrificed animal is sprinkled on the tools. The remainder of the ritual and belief has been described in connection with occupations of the Ovimbundu. Study of the blacksmith's work was begun as research in technology; but failure to purchase the large hammer, even for a tempting sum, led to the discovery of considerable ritual.

Abstention from sexual relationships is enjoined on men and women who are going fishing. That copulation would induce the fish to stay together at the bottom of the river, is the reason alleged for this taboo. A young hunter is ceremonially initiated. Throughout his life he has to make sacrifice to the ancestral spirits of hunters who are in the house where bows of famous hunters are kept; these ceremonies must be performed before a hunter leaves for the chase. A caravan is a commercial undertaking, but, before setting out, the head of a dead chief is asked for a guarantee of success; meanwhile a sacrifice is made by a medicine-man. A wooden image, when consulted by the medicine-man, indicates the correct caravan route. These instances illustrate a blending of the sacred and the profane in occupations. 105 788

Sexual relationships among the Ovimbundu form a basis of social life, as they do in all communities, but the sexual aspect is not all-pervading and completely dominant. 567 103

In early years children separate during play. Boys play games of hunting and warfare, enter into competition with bows and arrows, or amuse themselves with wood-carving. Girls find amusement in imitating their mothers in the occupations of making pottery and baskets, and in cultivating the fields. The small sums of money which a girl derives from the sale of produce from her own corn patch are personal property which she usually spends on trinkets and palm oil. This measure of economic independence, combined with considerable freedom of choice in marriage, indicates an individuality that has not been generally recognized.

I have mentioned among the Ovimbundu a system of friendship between boys and girls of from twelve to sixteen years, which permits the children to sleep together in the home of one of the girls in whose house the early evening has been spent. Cohabitation is forbidden, and pregnancy would be a disgrace. The practice is not unlike that of night visits by a lover in certain European countries during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (W. Goodsell, A History of the Family as a Social and Educational Institution, p. 365). Clearly sex is a factor that plays its part as a formative influence from infancy onward, until final emphasis of sex dichotomy is made by tribal initiations.

The social position of woman may be considered by selecting a few points from the data relating to courtship, marriage, and divorce. Marriages are sometimes arranged during infancy, but this does not invalidate the previous statement that considerable freedom of choice is allowed; a girl is not compelled to follow arrangements made during her childhood. A bride has to make contributions toward the

105 562 domestic equipment. Ritual enters into the introduction of the bride to her home, as was shown by explaining the functions of three elderly women, who erect the fireplace, bring new fire from the chief's house, and assist the bride in a ceremonial way. If a husband has reason to doubt the virginity of his bride, he bores a hole in her cloth with a firebrand, and makes her carry the cloth to her parents. But the marriage is not necessarily invalidated, since the husband is reconciled by a return of some portion of his gifts to the parents.

543 105 Some light is thrown on the ethics of family life by considering the meeting which takes place in the men's council house (*onjango*) before the bride goes to her new home. Here in the presence of relatives from both families the father of the bride says, "We are taking these things for our daughter, we hope she will not shame us." He turns to his daughter, enjoining her to be hospitable, never forgetting to feed her husband's people when they call.

Minor incidents help in a study of the psychology of family life. When husband and wife have quarreled, the latter goes away for a few hours into the bush and arranges that a number of burrs shall be clinging to her dress when she returns. If her husband silently and spontaneously picks these from her cloth, amicable feeling is restored.

Analysis of the grounds for divorce shows that women have their rights, though the male is in the more favorable position. In Rome the legal rights of a matron were slender, but in actual practice she held an important and honorable position. Similarly the status of an Ocimbundu woman is higher than the divorce laws imply.

The human side of family differences was well brought out by studying the interference and indirect influence of relatives on the relationship of husband and wife. Details have been given indicating that divorce is not entirely a matter of adjustment between families; the village chief may be called upon to act as arbiter. The final ceremony of repudiation, at which the husband slaps his wife's back saying, "It is finished," is a public rite. There is here a close connection between family consent and public ratification.

Although a woman may return to her parents under certain conditions which justify the divorce of the husband, parents are not anxious to encourage this practice. Marriage tokens would have to be returned to the husband of their daughter; moreover there might be a difficulty in securing another husband. In this instance a conflict occurs between parental obligations and cupidity. This is again shown by the argument which always arises respecting

105 593 the custody of a widow. The father, the brother, or the maternal uncle of the widow may take her. In the words of my interpreter, each says, "It is better that you should take her," and at last someone says, "I will take her."

595 A chief of Ngalangi revealed the most important aspect of polygyny when he apologized for the fact that only five of his eleven wives were present. The chief was anxious to emphasize the fact that he had eleven wives, though six were at work in the fields.

When one considers the prestige of village chiefs, and further reflects on the desirability of maintaining this power within family groups, the institution of polygyny becomes more understandable. In addition there is the necessity of having women to cultivate the fields. A polygynous system does not necessarily cause domestic conflict, because each wife has her own hut, fireplace, and utensils. Custom obliges a chief to spend four nights in each hut in regular sequence.

A first and principal wife is not offended by the introduction of other wives, for these reduce her own labor and announce the fact that she is the principal wife of a wealthy man. When photographing the king of Ngalangi with his wives, I observed that he sent the principal wife from the group in order to adorn herself with a piece of cloth whose value was greater than that of the clothing worn by any of the others. Among the Vakuanyama it was noticeable that the principal wife wore a head-dress of clay with five horns; and in addition to this she had costly necklaces of ostrich-eggshell beads, also more of the coveted *omba* shells than were allowed to other wives. In this way the prestige of the first or great wife is preserved.

602 The persistence of custom, the force of education through suggestion in early years, and the power of social attitudes, are well illustrated by the survival of kinship terms and the classificatory system of relationships, with its marriage prohibitions and sanctions of an arbitrary kind. The strength of the mores and the fundamental nature of this system of relationship in determining marriage, descent, succession, and inheritance, are indicated by the fact that the system is unaltered after three centuries of contact with Europeans.

The rights of a mother's brother extend so far as a sale of his sister's children to redeem his own debts; and reciprocally he is responsible for the conduct of his sister's children, even to the extent of paying fines for the thefts they may commit. This prerogative and responsibility of the maternal uncle is fundamental, and around the trait cluster points of law and legal procedure.

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Ethnologists have often emphasized the supposed subjection of the individuals to the group. Initiation rites do tend to uniformity of conduct and group control; yet among the Ovimbundu there are renowned leaders of caravans, chiefs who are respected because of their justice and intelligence, also medicine-men, craftsmen, and musicians who display great individuality. Their self-expression in tribal life results from special aptitude and natural force of character, which qualities are made evident by daily actions, or through loquacity in the council house. In several localities live chiefs, who, by personality and tact, make possible a social adjustment between the indigenous culture and foreign intruders.

In former times kings were at the head of the legal and military systems, and in this capacity they acted when appeals were made from the jurisdiction of village chiefs. Prosperity of the country is today thought to center in kings both living and dead, and the extant ritual associated with the obsequies of a king is an illustration of this dependence. The importance of the medicine-man as a diviner, physician, and rain-maker is little diminished even at the present day.

The operation of village communism and the manner in which this centers about persons of importance is seen during the preparation of a new site for a village. A description has been given relating to the selection of the site, employment of communal labor, the creation and distribution of new fire, and the function of the medicine-man on this occasion.

776 Direct questioning concerning spiritual beliefs and the nature of a supreme being elicits little information, and that of a contradictory kind. As usual, actions are more important than statements. At a funeral, women dance, clap hands, and sing, "God has cheated us of a life." The inference seems to be that Suku gives and determines life. Beliefs respecting the good and bad spirits (*Olosande* and *Olondele*) are deeply ingrained in the lives of the Ovimbundu, who are confident of the need for placation of spirits by sacrifice, the use of wooden figurines, and the aid of the medicine-man. A study of the contents of a diviner's basket gives a clear idea of the powers and the activities of spirits; and the function of a spirit, which is able to hear and answer the living, is understood after observing the questioning of the corpse at a funeral. Without doubt, a belief in spirits and a reliance on the power of medicine-men are two of the fundamental ideas which permeate every thought and activity of the Ovimbundu, for by these agencies mundane matters are raised to a spiritual level.

I cannot find in the life of the Ovimbundu anything to support 105
the opinion of W. C. Willoughby. This writer sees in the soul of 114
every race an instinct for god that tells upon behavior, an upward 771
urge that makes for betterment, due to the unwearied play of the spirit of god on the souls of man. The views of E. Torday and R. J. van Wing (Dualism in Western Bantu Religion and Social Organization, *J.R.A.I.*, XLVIII, p. 225) seem to be more applicable to the spiritual beliefs of the Ovimbundu.

The Ovimbundu have standards of conduct, codes of laws, crimes, 577
and punishments. In addition to the *ekandu* (antisocial acts) 105
already noted, *ohembi* is a liar, *okusapa* means to be greedy, and such actions are deprecated; but there is no deistic injunction toward the virtues of truthfulness, hospitality, and fair dealing.

Standards of conduct and social values are preserved by the educational forces previously mentioned (chapter VII), and in addition to these there are such controls as trial by ordeal, and divination to detect guilt. The satirical song is also a form of correction, though its application may be antisocial, for instance in taunting the sexually impotent.

Music and dancing are adjuncts for the preservation of social 532
customs and the stimulation of collective emotions on which coopera- 105
tion depends. Music and dancing are also aids to magical practices. For example, a friction drum is played while a medicine-man carries out his divination with the basket, and vigorous drumming takes place during treatment of the sick. Music and dancing were again seen to be of importance at a funeral ceremony.

These instances, which are chosen from many of like kind reported 182
in the foregoing chapters, serve to indicate an interrelationship 105
among the main aspects of tribal life. I have endeavored to choose from personal experience those facts and incidents which illustrate the mutual dependence of language, folklore, proverbs, nature lore, food supply, and occupations.

The sexual division of labor, the connection of ceremonial with occupation, the relationship of the sexes, and the position of woman, have all been brought forward as examples of social controls.

The persistence of belief and custom despite foreign influences; the nature of government, including the psychology of prestige and leadership; spiritual beliefs; the training of children; and the value of music and dancing, have likewise been emphasized as coordinating

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principles among the religious, social, and economic aspects of tribal life.

In searching for some monism which integrates tribal thought and conduct, I would emphasize the relationship between the sacred and profane. The former is derived from the latter by ritual acts which are frequently, but not exclusively, connected with the medicine-man and spirits of the dead. These departed spirits do not sever their connection with the living. On the contrary, they are concerned with the affairs of men, which they handle benevolently or malevolently according to caprice.

Attention has been called to the importance of fire when ceremonially kindled and distributed; this is but a single instance of the sacred use of an everyday commodity. A woman's belt is an ordinary item of clothing, but it may be something more important. A woman who is the mother of girls only, exchanges belts with the mother of boys only, and in future the mother of female children will give birth to boys, and conversely. This is the simplest instance of transfer from a secular to a magical use without resort to an intermediary person such as the medicine-man.

Bows, mats, and staffs are articles of everyday use until their owners are dead and the articles are deposited in the house of bows. Such a house is then sacred, because the ancestral spirits can be induced to enter it to grant favors after sacrifice has been made. Cowrie shells were normally a medium of exchange, but they may become a charm in order to induce conception. A snake's backbone acquires power when threaded by the medicine-man and placed round the neck of a patient who suffers from rheumatism. A cooking pot of clay is entirely secular until it becomes the property of a hunter, after which no other person may use it. A piece of an ant hill is merely earth. But if the belated traveler takes such a piece from the top of the hill and places it in the fork of a branch there will be an extension of daylight. A ritual element enters in the spell, "O sun, wait for me a little while."

The unifying and binding effect of magical rites, simple or complex, private and public, is the warp of the fabric by which the weft threads of the social pattern are bound together. To vary the metaphor, tribal life is a sphere of action, a universe having principal units around which others revolve. Each unit of the structure has a course and movements peculiar to itself, but there is no actual isolation from the influences of other bodies.

The part played by Portuguese influence in the formation of the culture of the Ovimbundu has previously been recognized, and in conclusion reference should be made to Portuguese and Ovimbundu relationships at the present day. 177

Native trade and military organization were at one time aided by caravan journeys resulting in the acquisition of slaves and ivory, which were traded for guns and powder. But this caravan trade touching remote parts of central and east Africa is now obsolete. Therefore a breaking down of the economic structure has occurred, but this has to some extent been counteracted by the development of agriculture, which yields large crops of maize and beans.

In the administration of law a new social consciousness has arisen. Portuguese government is of a somewhat direct kind, yet village chiefs and kings have some juridical rights. Appeal to a chief or a king was the old method of securing justice, and at present such appeal may be made by an aggrieved Ocimbundu; but should the appellant be dissatisfied he turns to the Portuguese court.

Portuguese policy aims at making the Ovimbundu a social reflection of the Portuguese themselves. European clothing and manufactures are favored, and Portuguese speech is encouraged, to the detriment of the native Umbundu.

Initiation ceremonies are forbidden, but the bush is wide and protective. To prevent these ceremonies is to take the core from the social system, which has already been weakened by recruiting of labor, so leading to disturbance of family life and village organization. Christian missions have an influence on dress, beliefs, and habits, but these effects appear to be local.

Although this report has been chiefly geographical, ethnological, historical, and analytical, no apology for the method chosen is necessary since this kind of approach is fundamental. I might, in compliance with a modern trend, have made the monograph center in persons, especially Ngonga. By making a close psychological study of his early years, his native environment, and changes in mental attitude arising from contact with Portuguese rule and American missions, an illuminating record of the result of conflicting social forces could be given. 121

In a sense, Ngonga, who speaks English, Portuguese, and Umbundu fluently, has been the focus of study, and care has been taken to recognize his personality in this report. I realize that in Angola work of an intensive psychological and sociological kind remains to be done by means of a penetrating analysis of many [115]

12-1 individual careers. Inquirers should closely observe persons who are yet molded chiefly by their native environment, and these individuals should be compared with those who have left their own culture, either permanently or temporarily, to form part of a European social and economic system.

Ethnologists, educationalists, and administrators are concerned with the effects of conflicting cultures on individual attitudes and the stability of native institutions of all kinds. This type of psychological and sociological study has not been attempted in detail here, and I am not confident that research so closely concerned with administrative methods would be encouraged from a foreigner, though he might be welcomed in Angola as a collector and ethnologist.

During four centuries of foreign contacts the Ovimbundu have continued their resistance to European influence, and field records of 1929 are clear evidence of the tenacity of indigenous culture. But, unfortunately, the decline of indigenous industries, thought processes, institutions, and language has begun. Yet I venture to hope that this monograph will lay a dependable and timely foundation for future studies of behavior, for on research of that kind depends a sympathetic understanding of Negro reaction to European intrusion.

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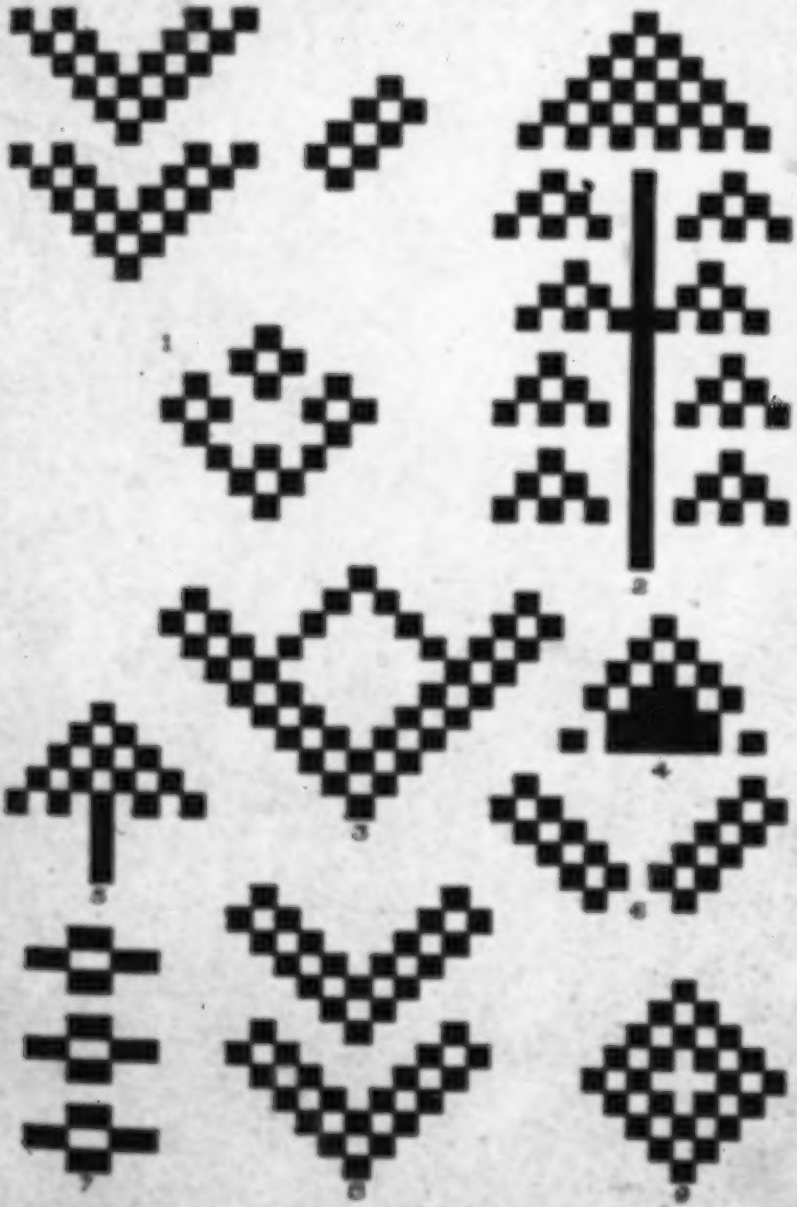

BASKET-WORK PATTERNS

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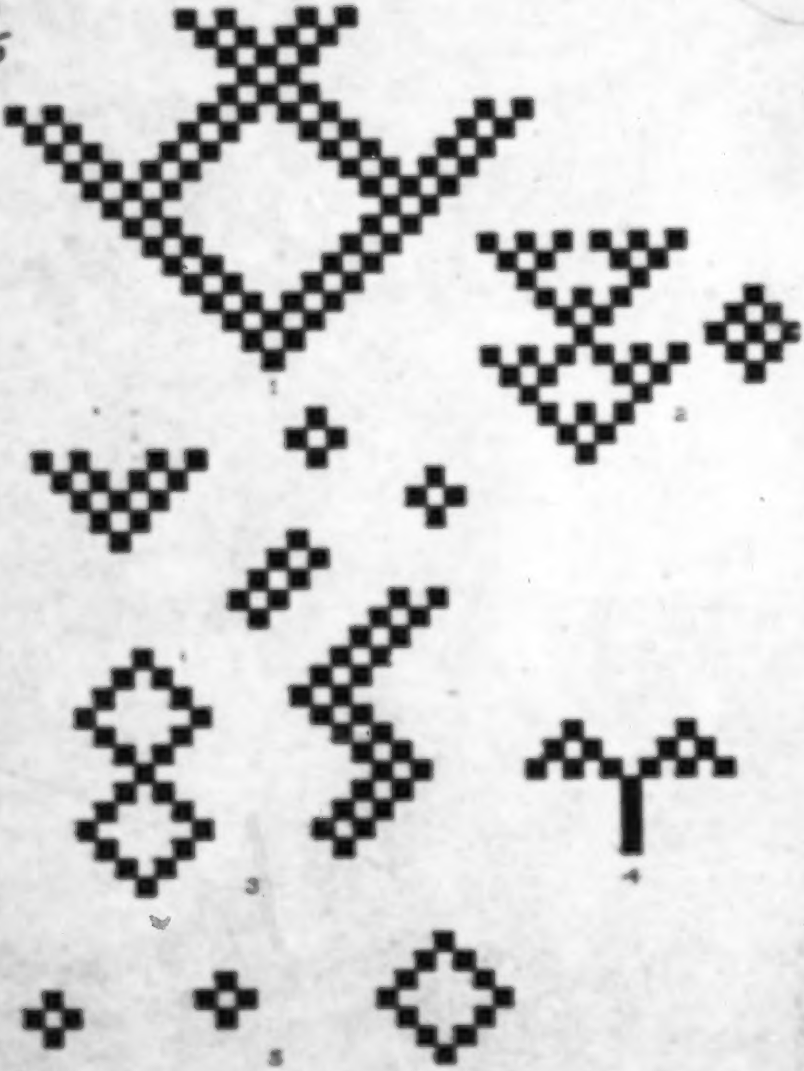

BASKET-WORK PATTERNS

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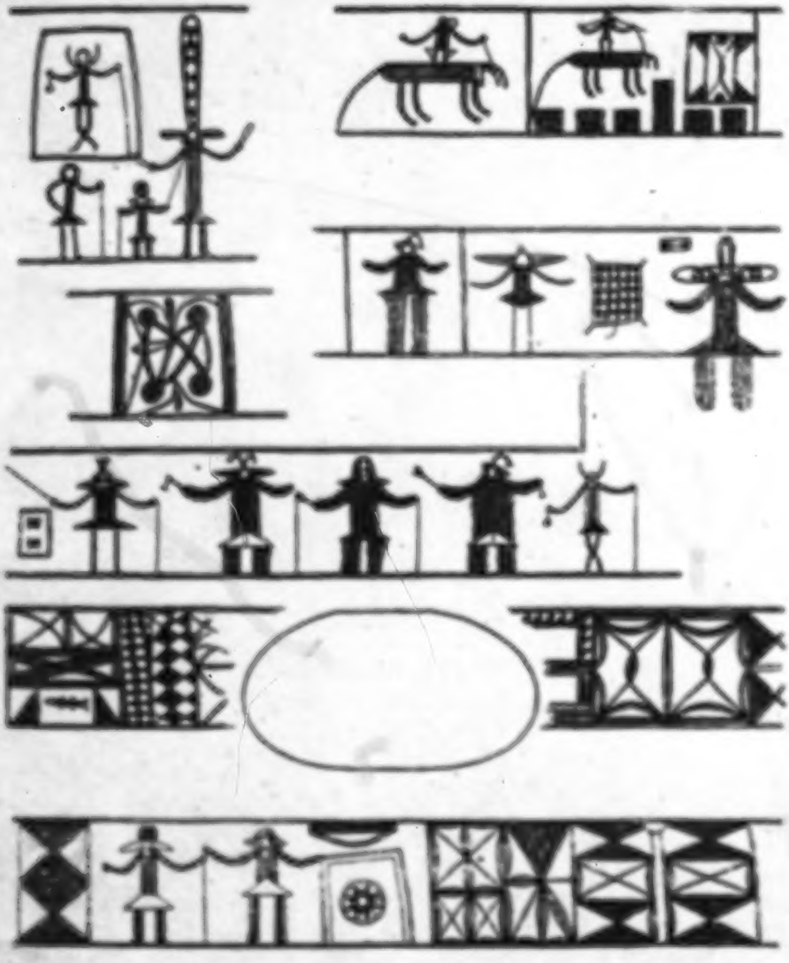

INCISED AND BURNED DESIGNS ON A GOURD

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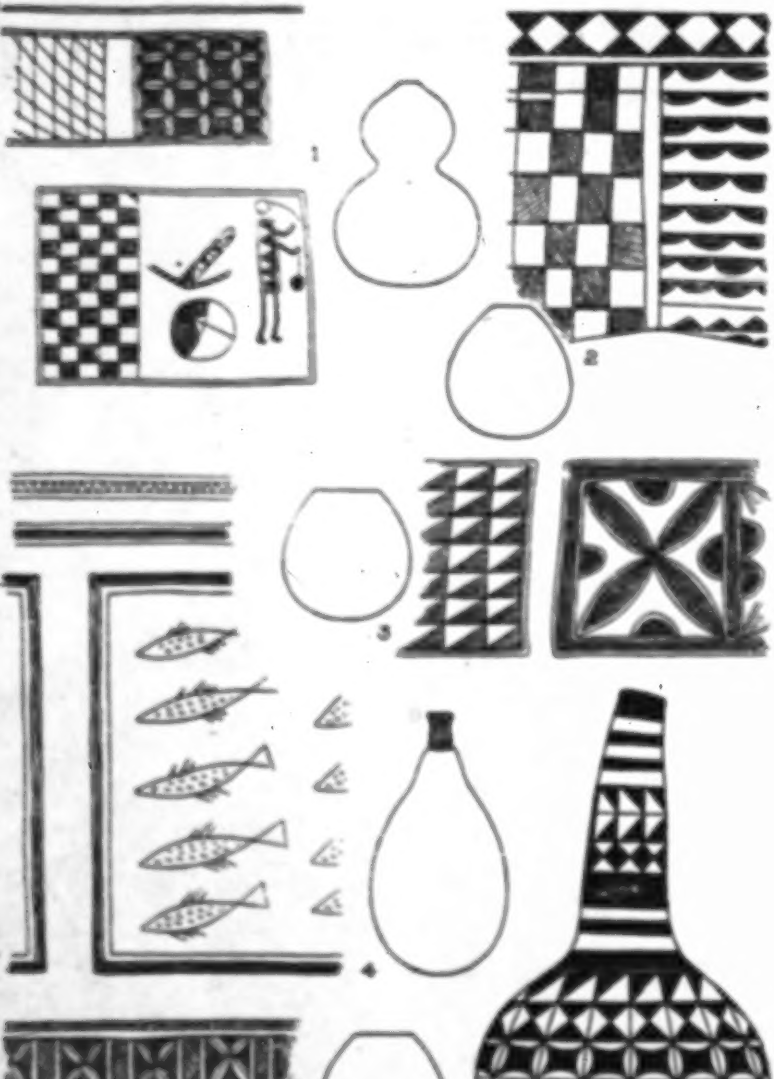

INCISED AND BURNED DECORATIONS ON GOURDS

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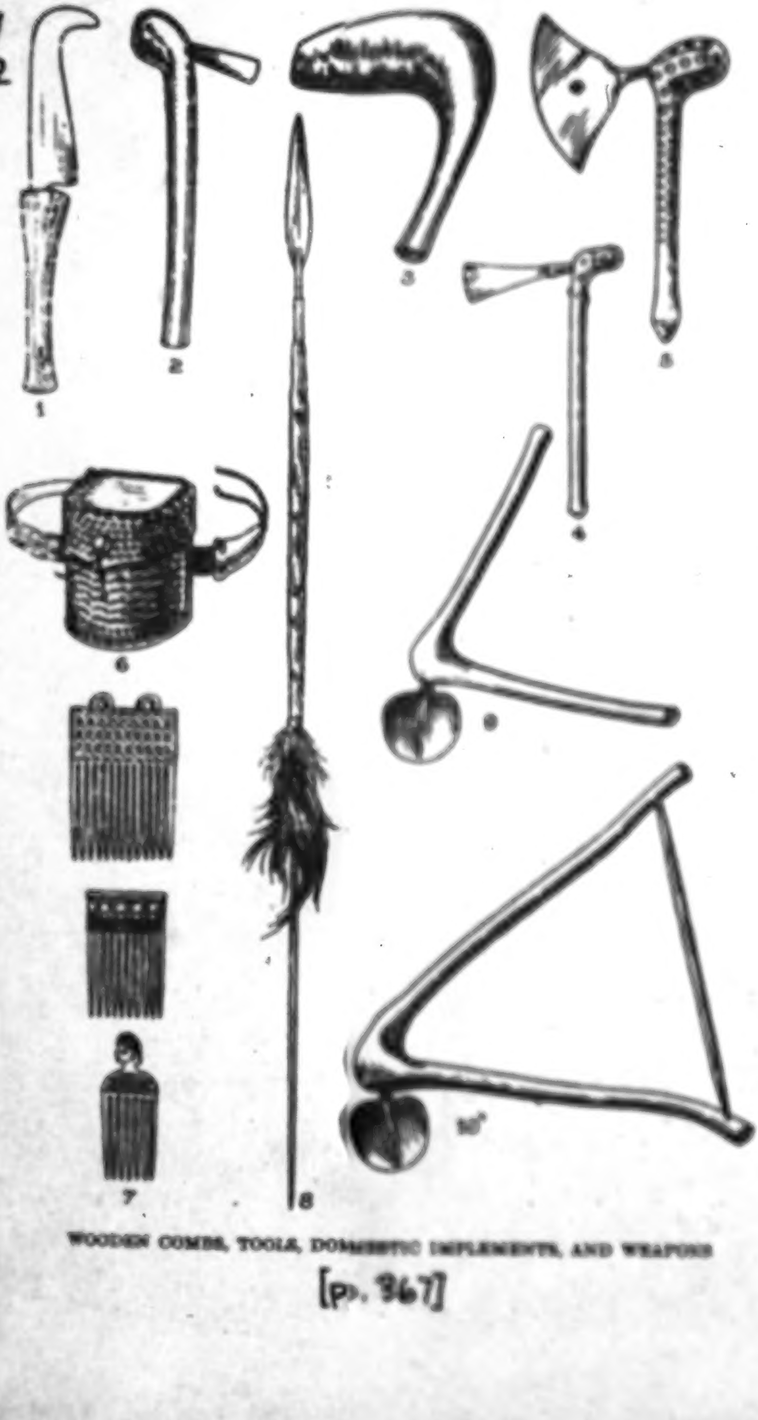
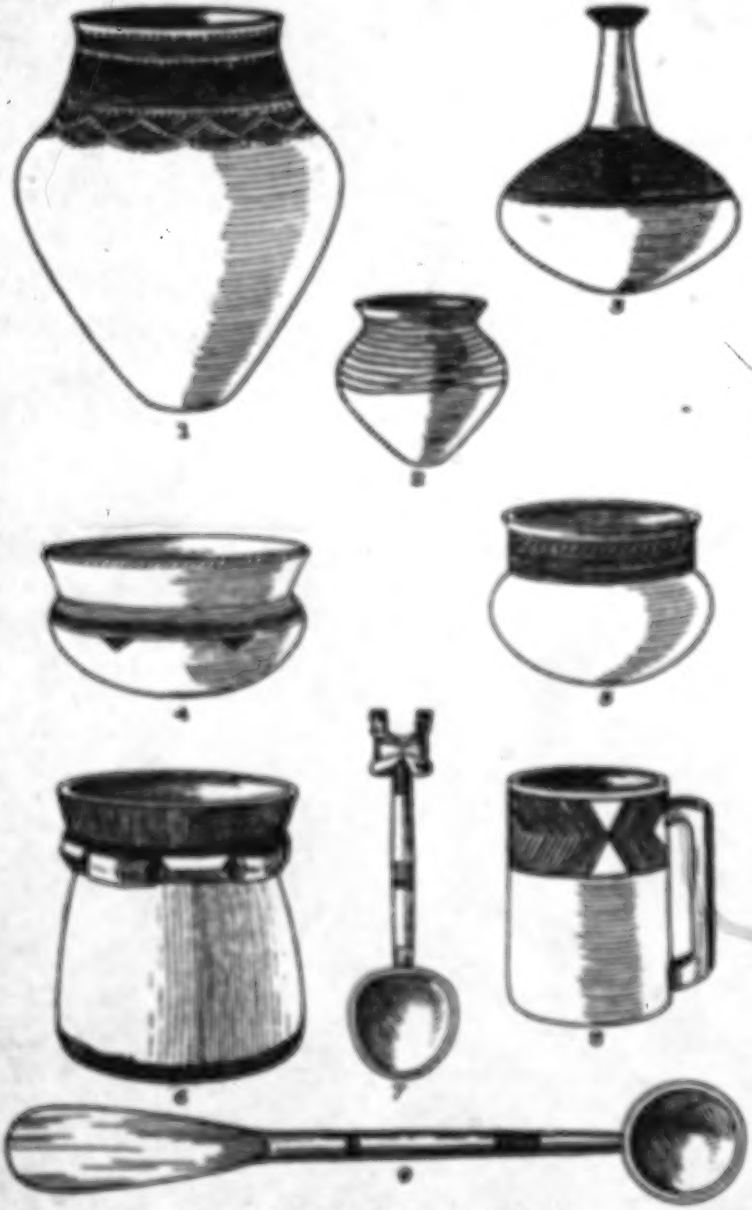


WOODEN COMBS, TOOLS, DOMESTIC IMPLEMENTS, AND WEAPONS

[p. 367]



POTTERY AND WOODEN UTENSILS

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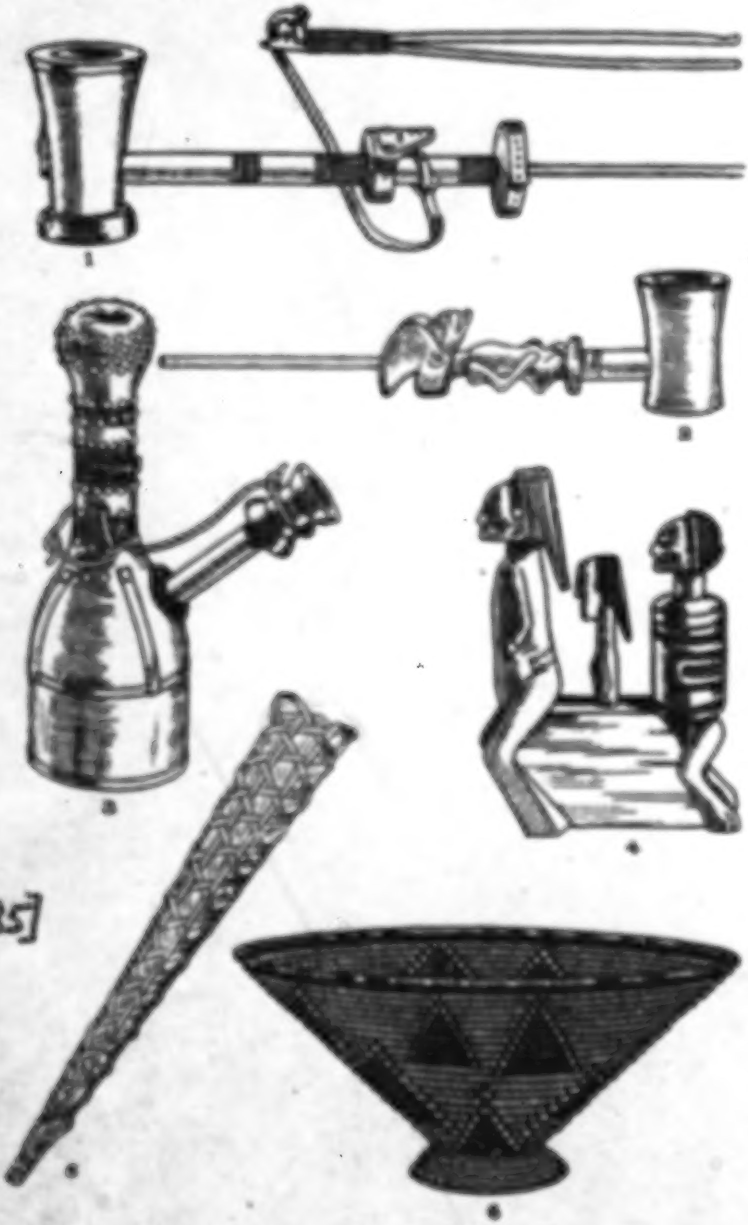

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TOBACCO-PIPES, SNUFF BOX, RAT TRAP, AND BASKET

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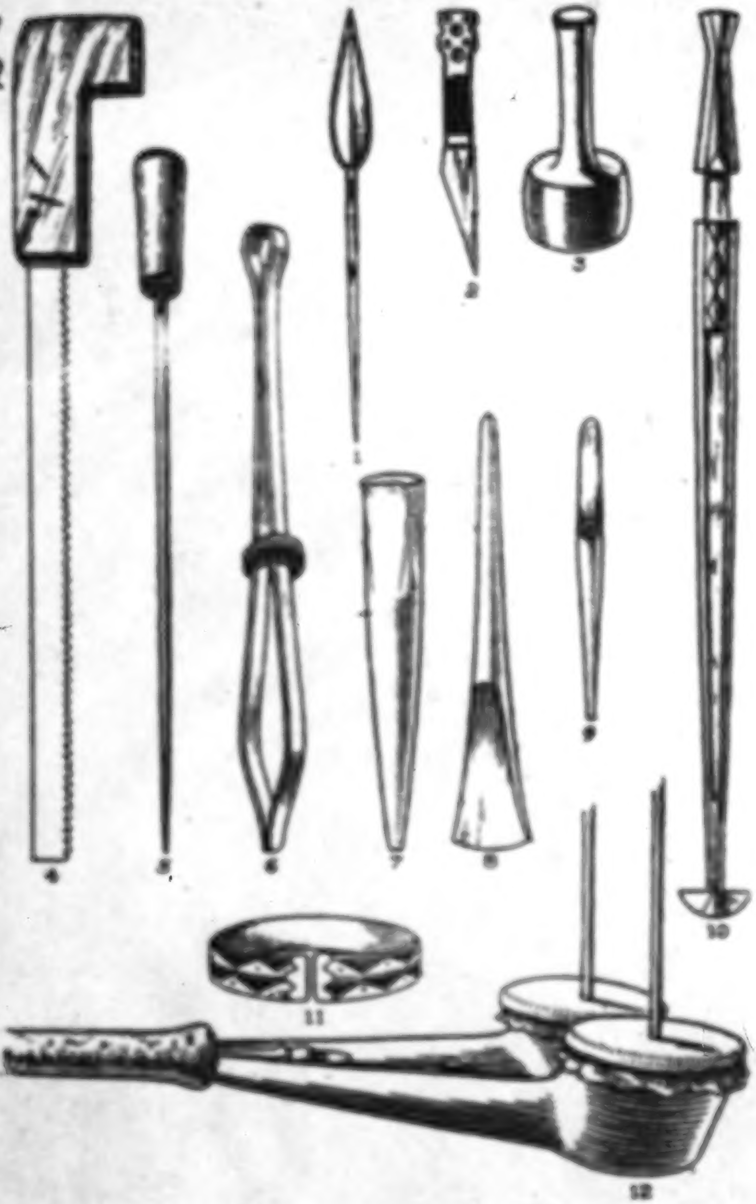
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TOOLS AND WEAPONS

[p.370]

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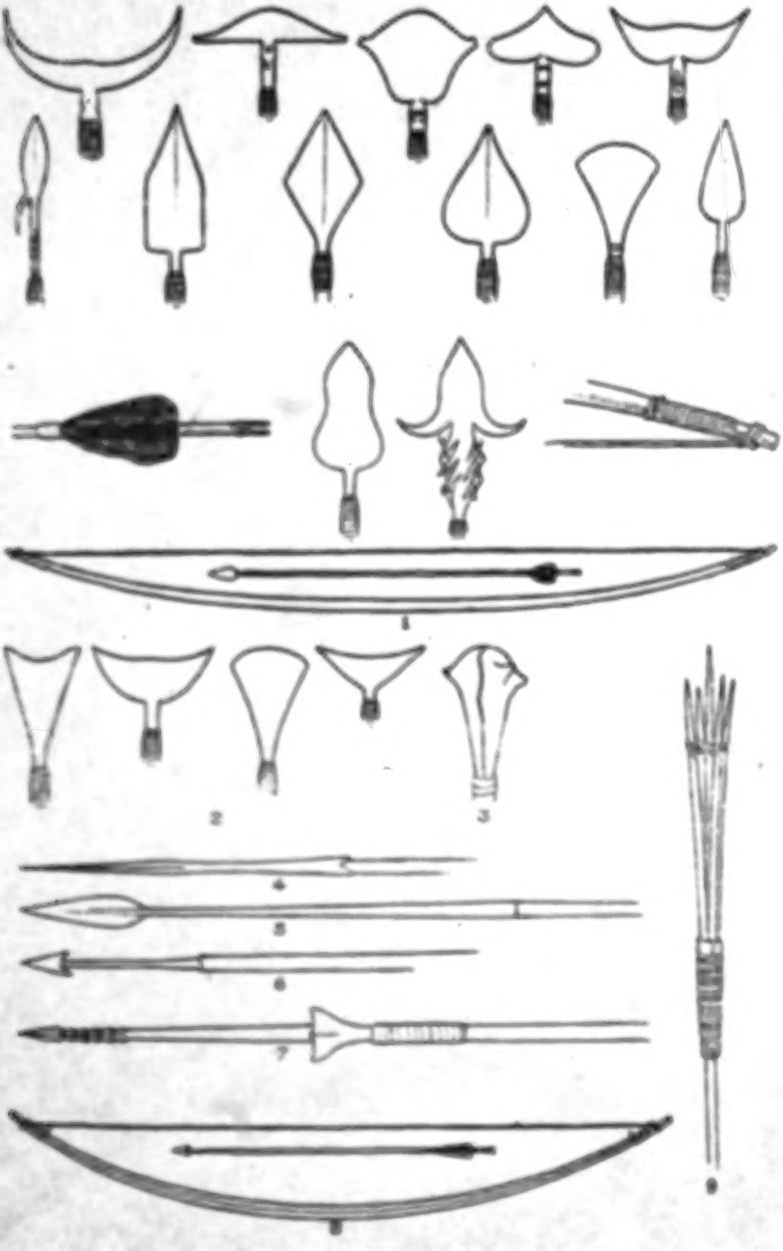

BOWS AND ARROWHEADS

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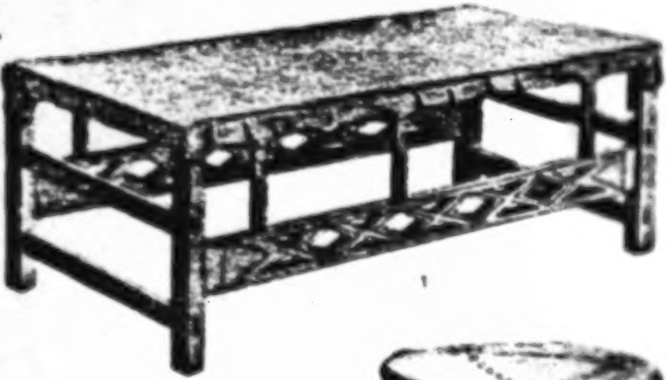

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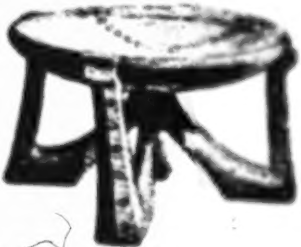

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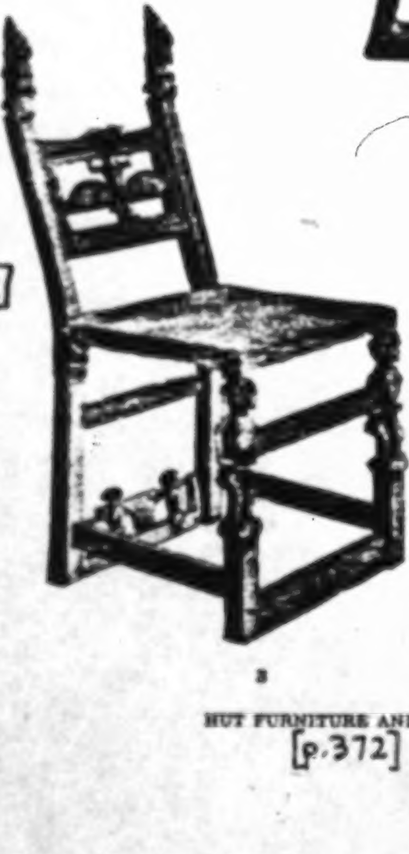

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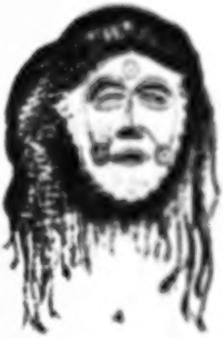

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HUT FURNITURE AND MASK

[p.372]

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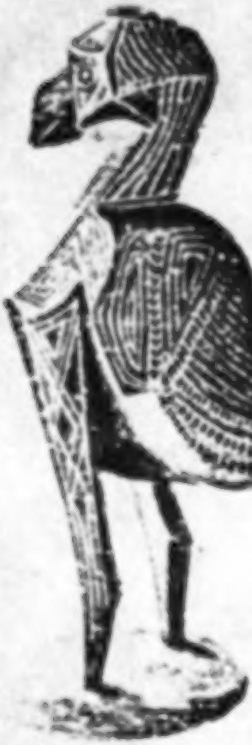

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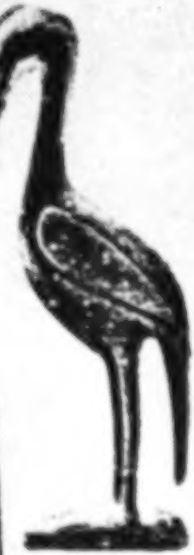

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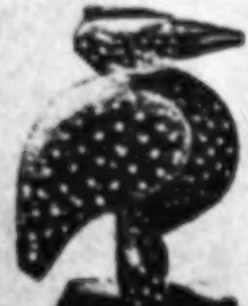

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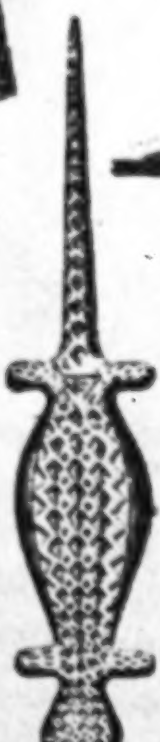

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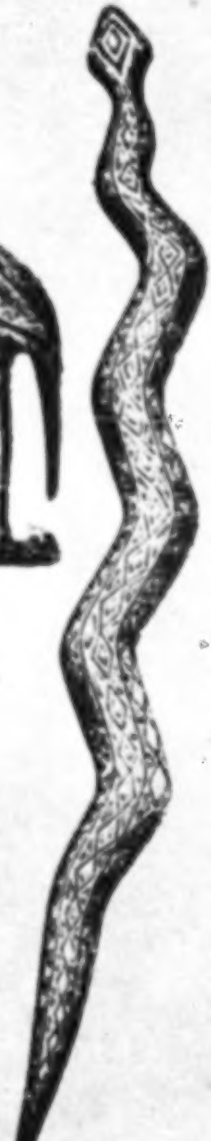

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WOOD-CARVING

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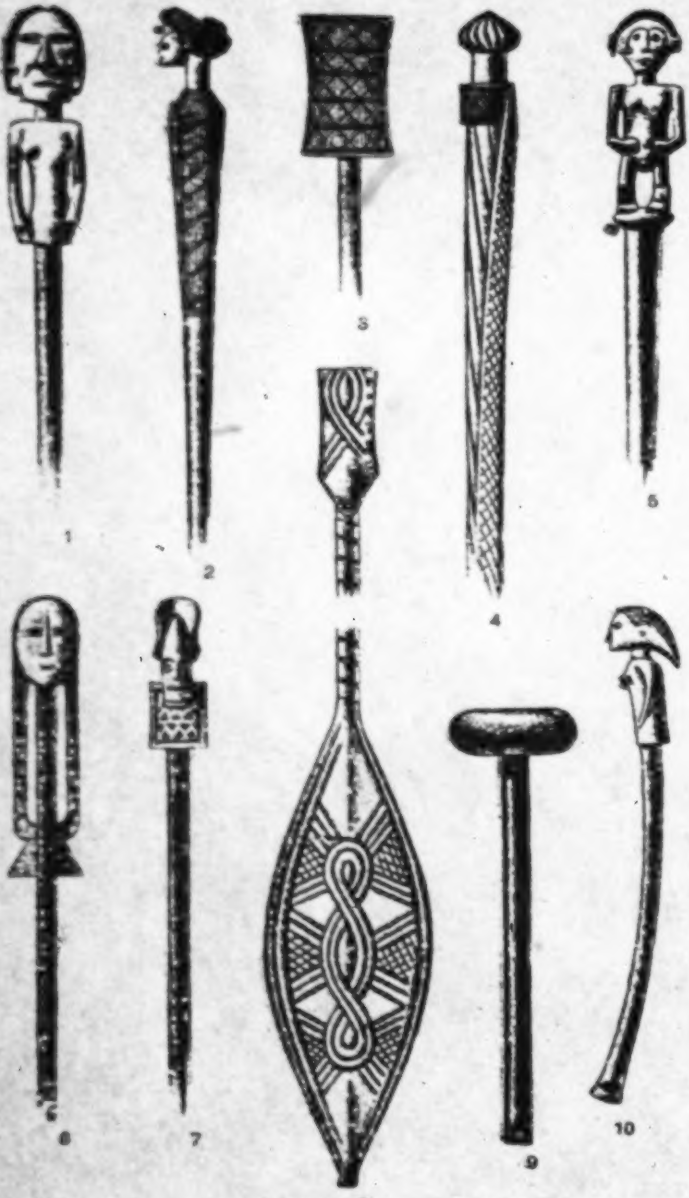
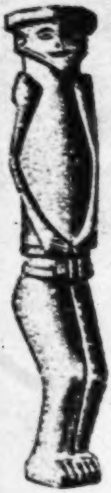


STAFFS OF VILLAGE CHIEFS

[p. 374]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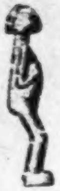
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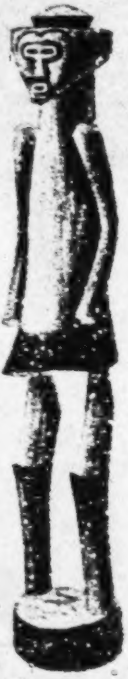
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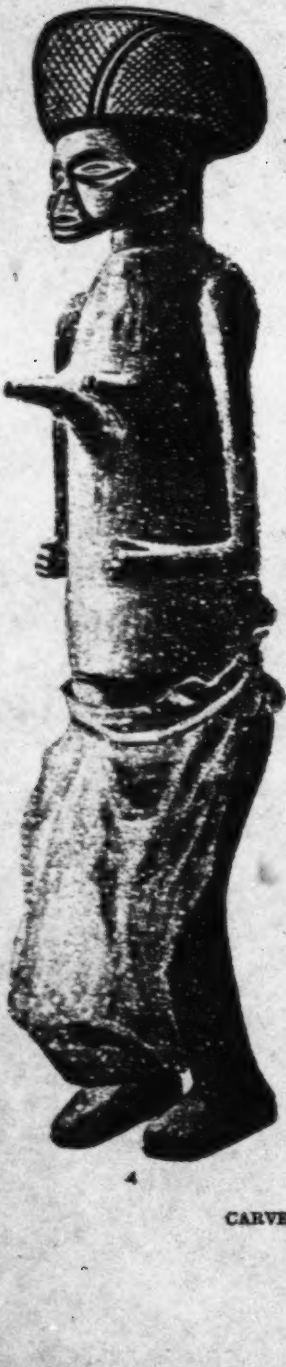
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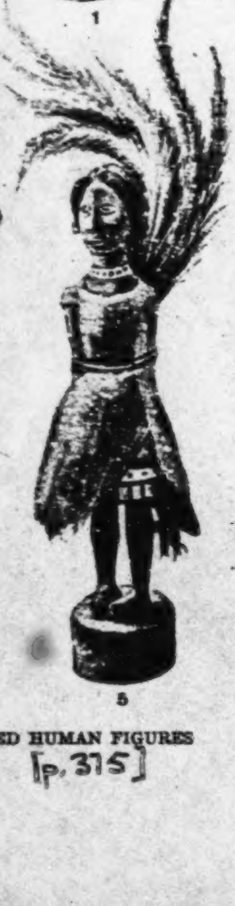
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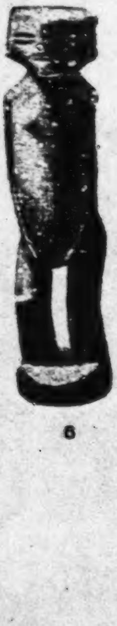
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CARVED HUMAN FIGURES

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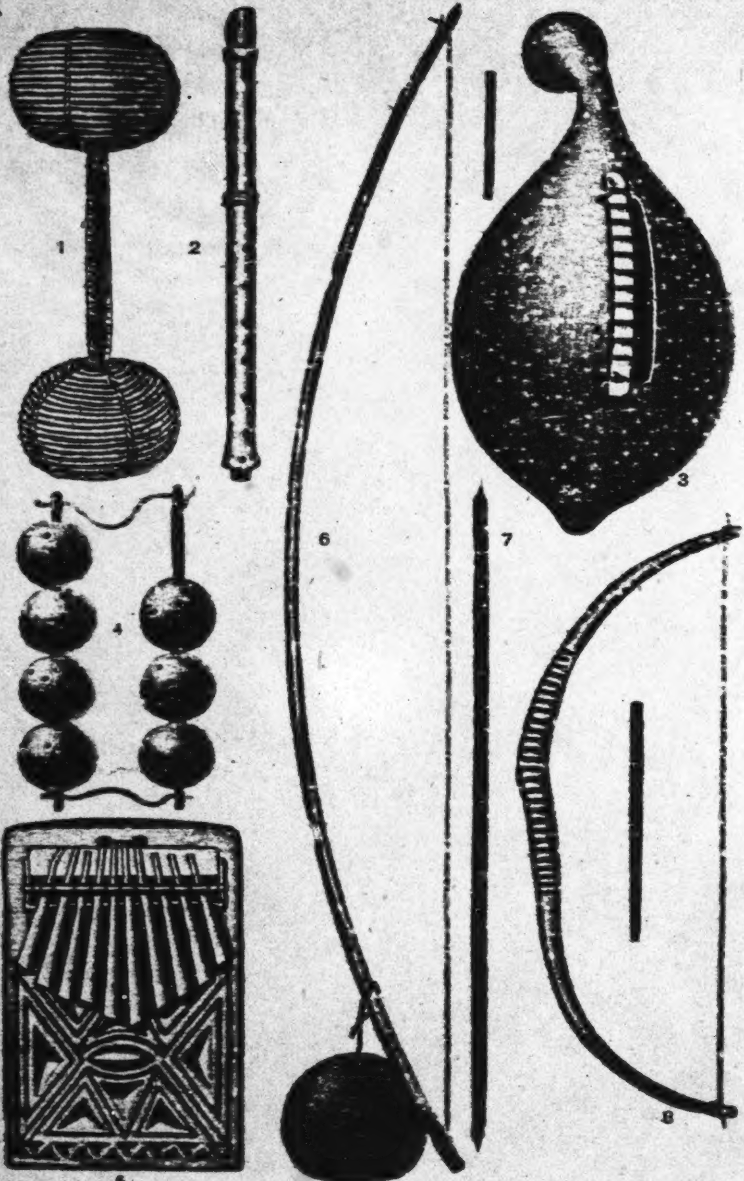
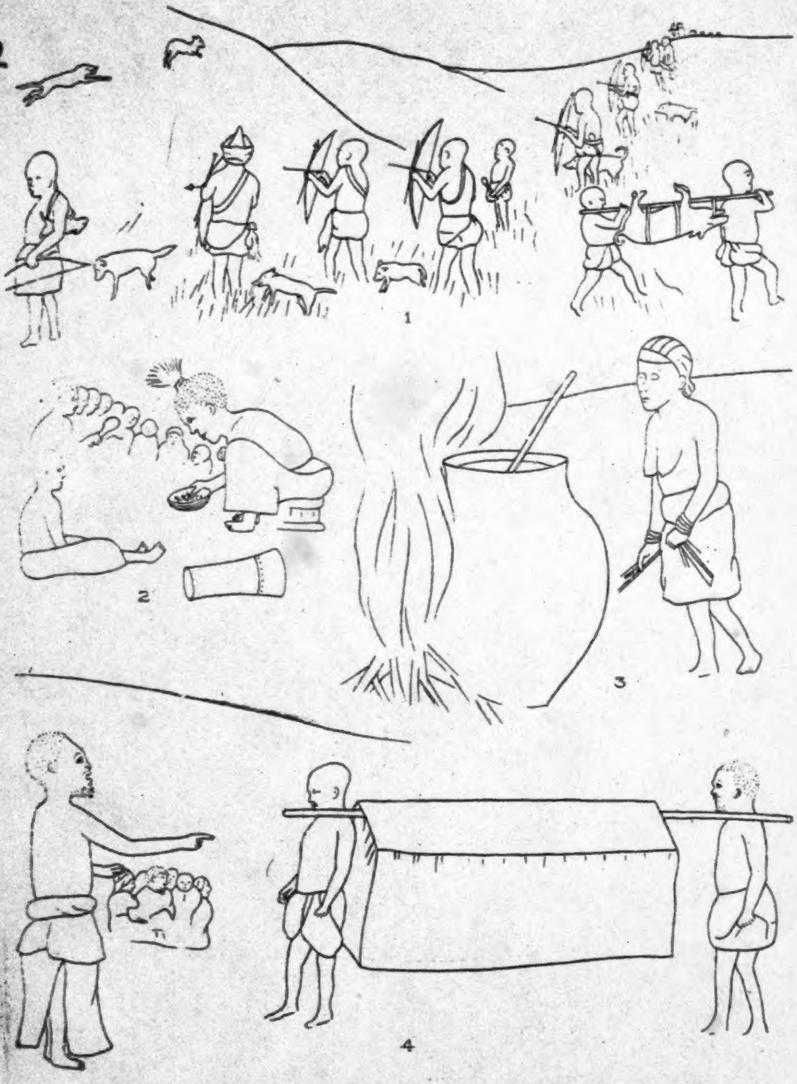
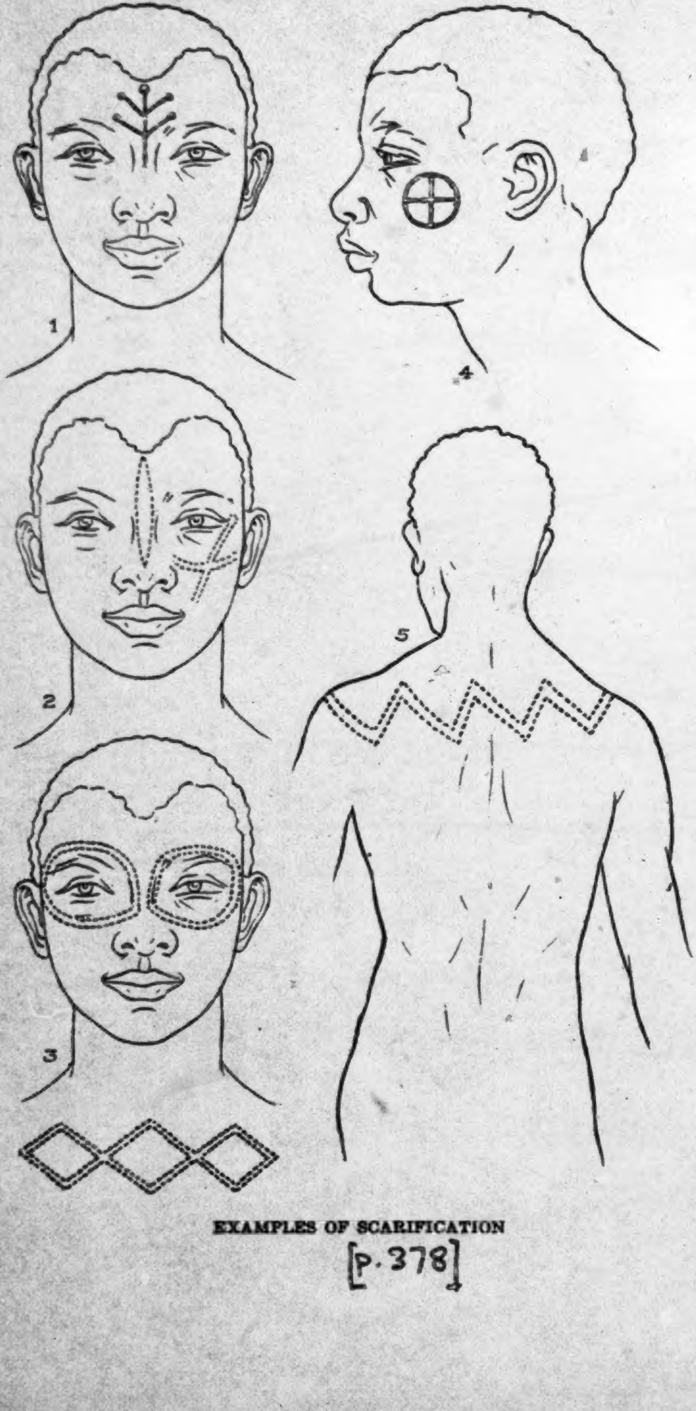


MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

[p 376]



DRAWINGS REPRESENTING LIFE OF OVIMBUNDU, ELENDE
Made by untrained Ocimbundu youth who had lived with Europeans



EXAMPLES OF SCARIFICATION

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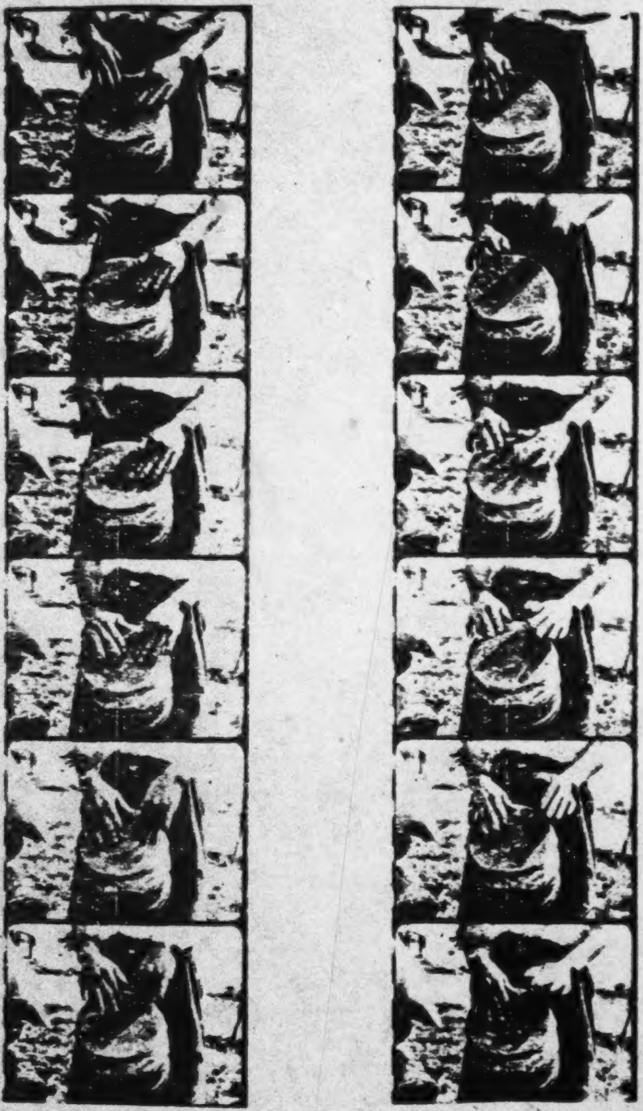

POSITIONS OF HANDS IN DRUMMING, OVIMBUNDU, ELENDE
Front view

[p. 379]

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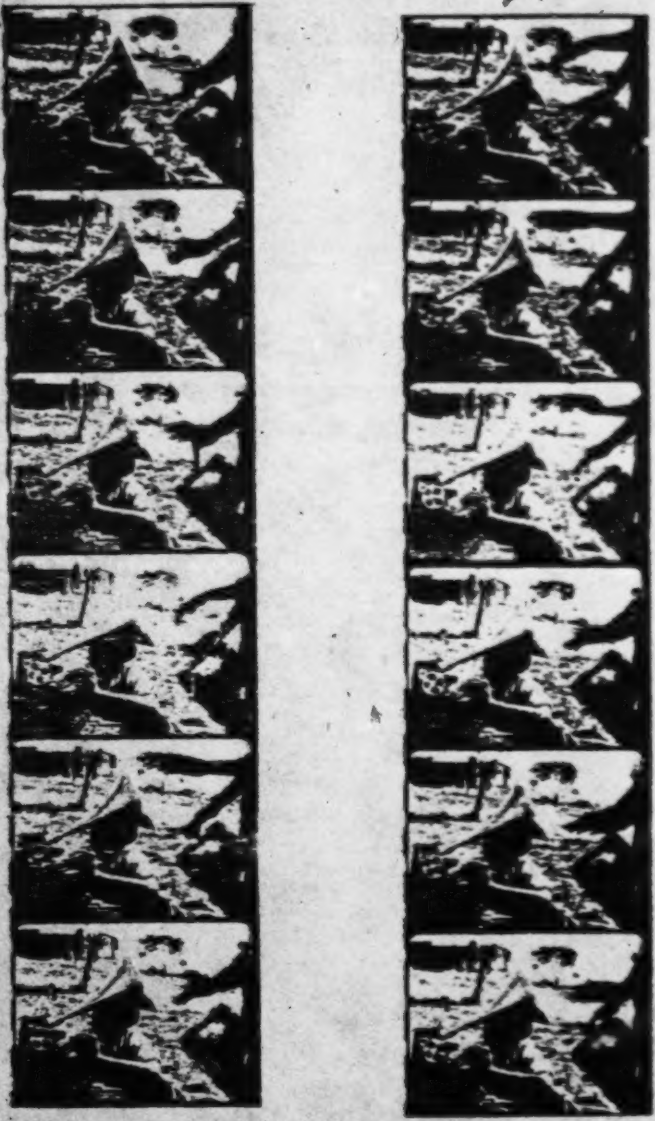
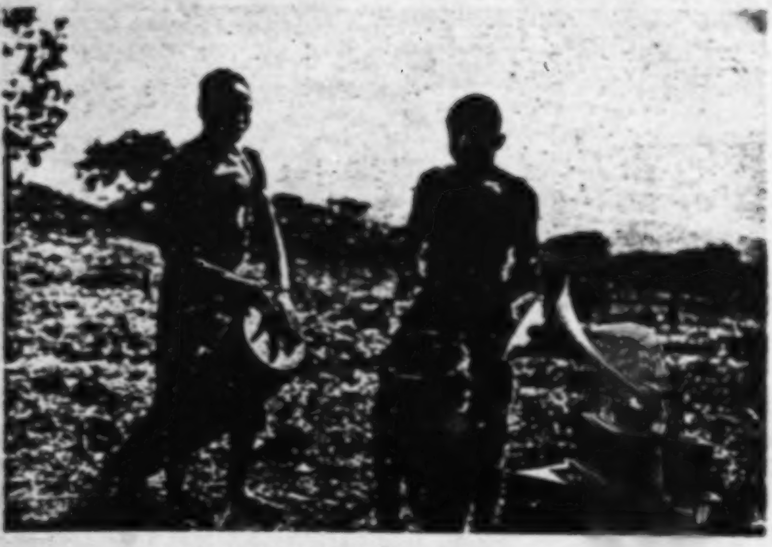


POSITIONS OF HANDS IN DRUMMING, OVIMBUNDU, ELENDE
Side view

[p. 380]



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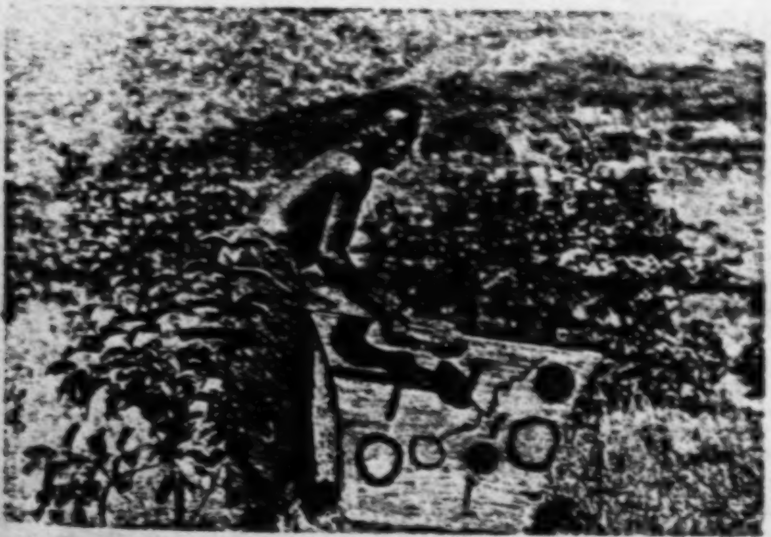

2

OVIMBUNDU DRUMMERS, ELENDE

Fig. 1. Long drums. Fig. 2. Flat drum

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OVIMBUNDU, ELENDE

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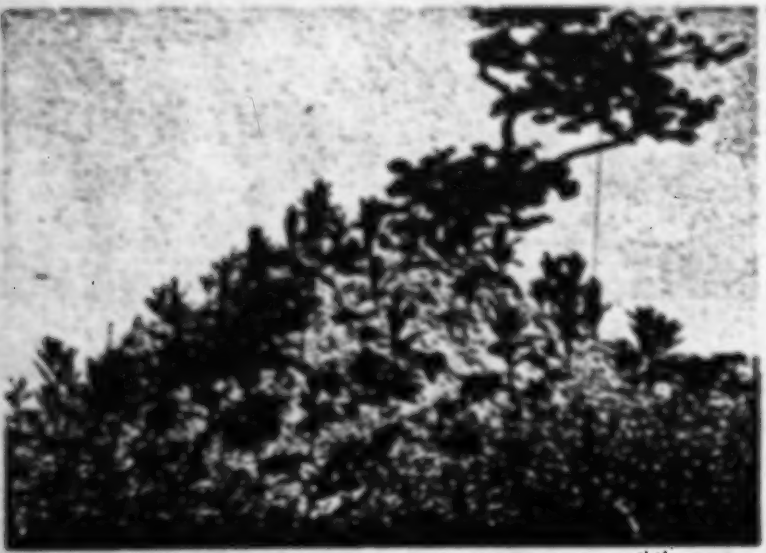

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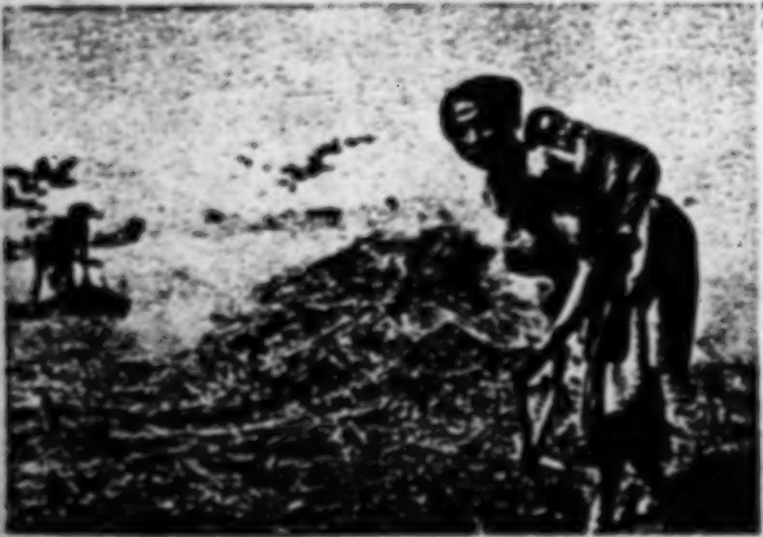

2

AGRICULTURE NEAR GANDA

Fig. 1. Tobacco plants on ant hill. Fig. 2. Clearing the bush

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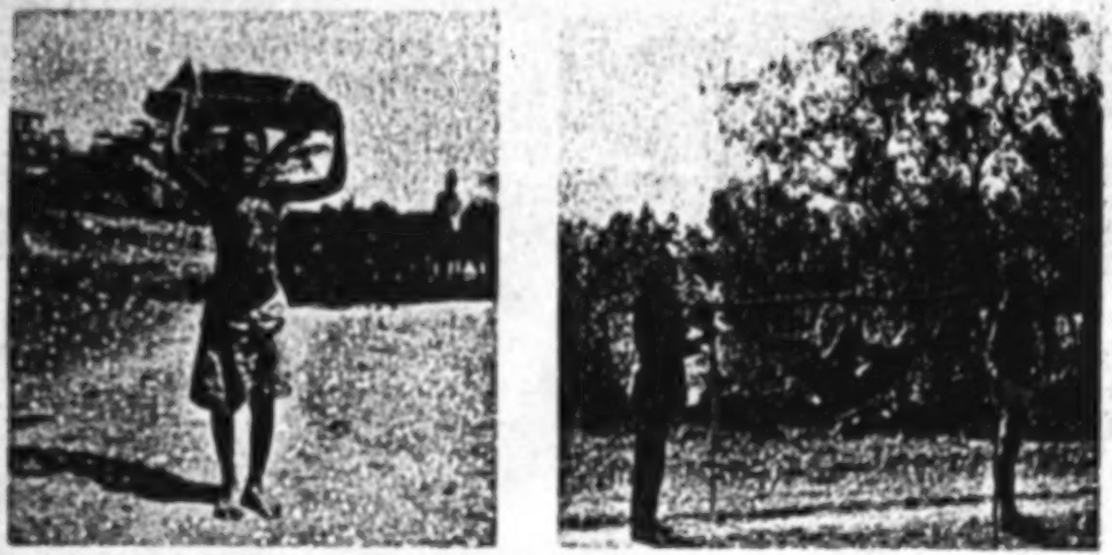
METHODS OF TRANSPORTATION, ELENDE

[p.385]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METHODS OF TRANSPORTATION, OVIMBUNDU, ELENDE
Fig. 1. Boy carrying pig. Fig. 2. Man bearing sick man in hammock

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2: Hambly E-5 [illegible] 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

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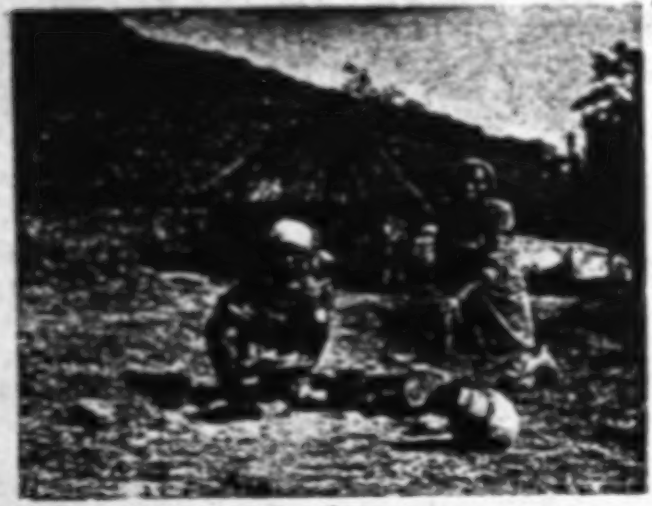

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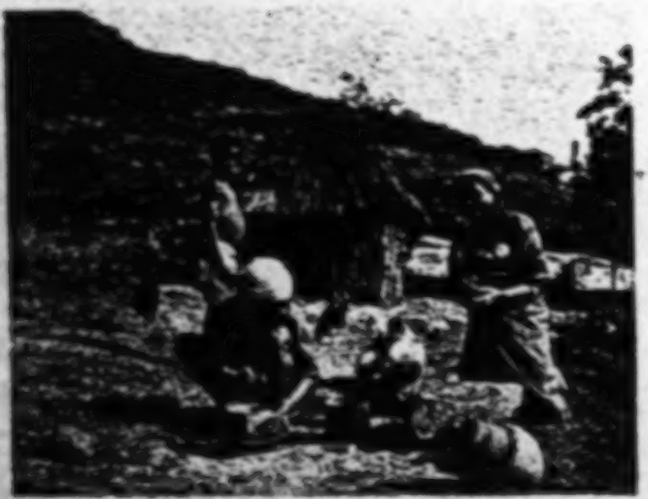
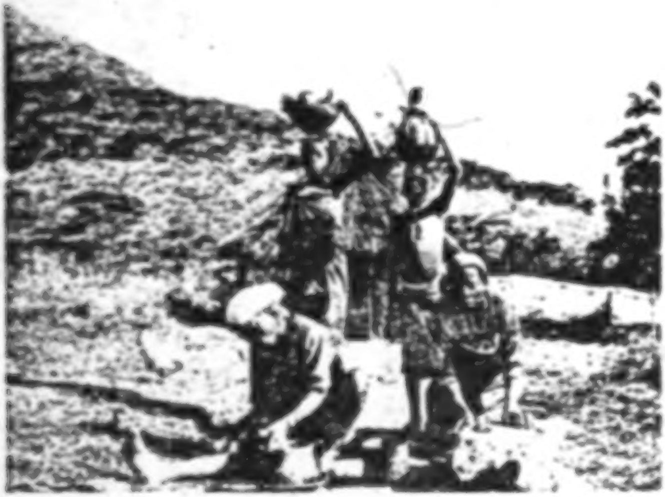


2

OVIMBUNDU MAKING POTTERY, ELENDE

Fig. 1. Building pottery vessel. Fig. 2. Molding pot with hands and gourd

[p.381]



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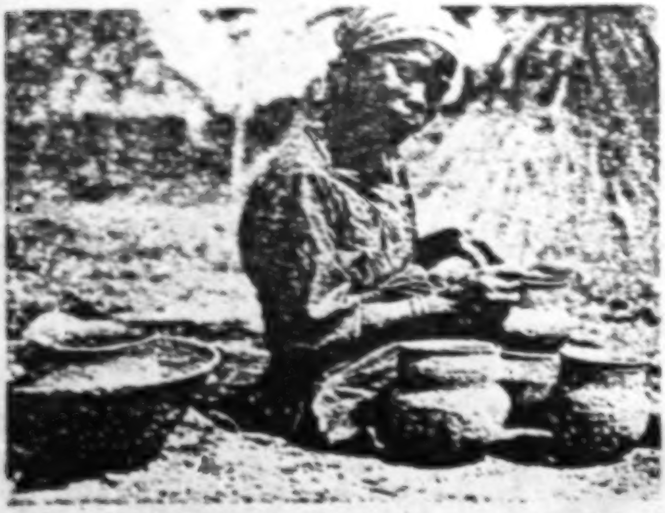


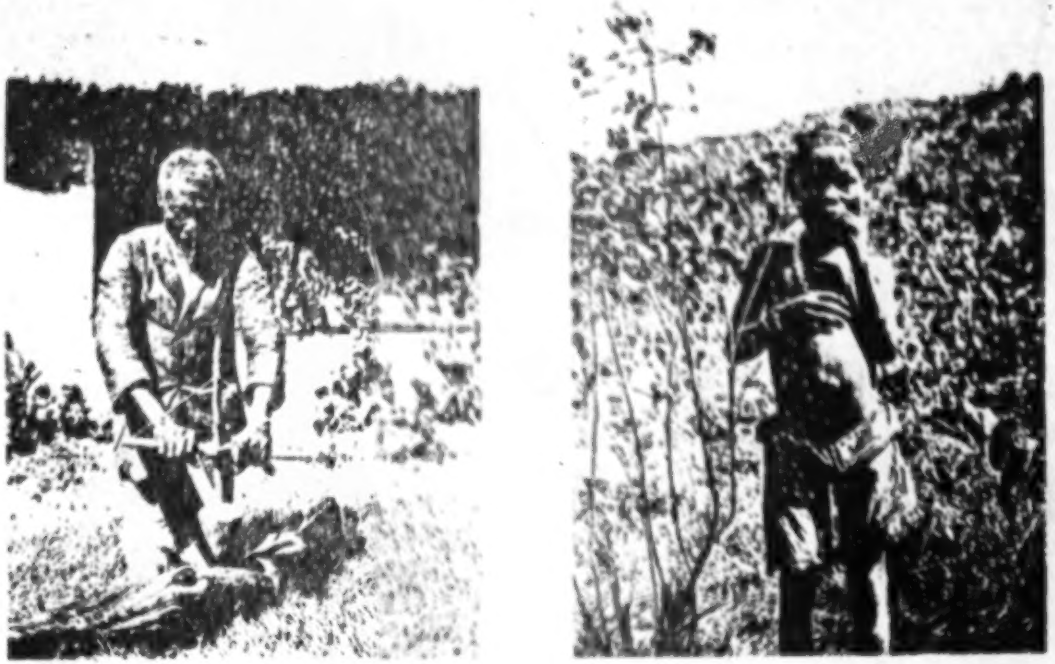
2

OVIMBUNDU MAKING POTTERY, ELENDE

Fig. 1. Moistening and smoothing wet pot. Fig. 2. Finished wet pots with incised designs

[p. 388]

[p.384]



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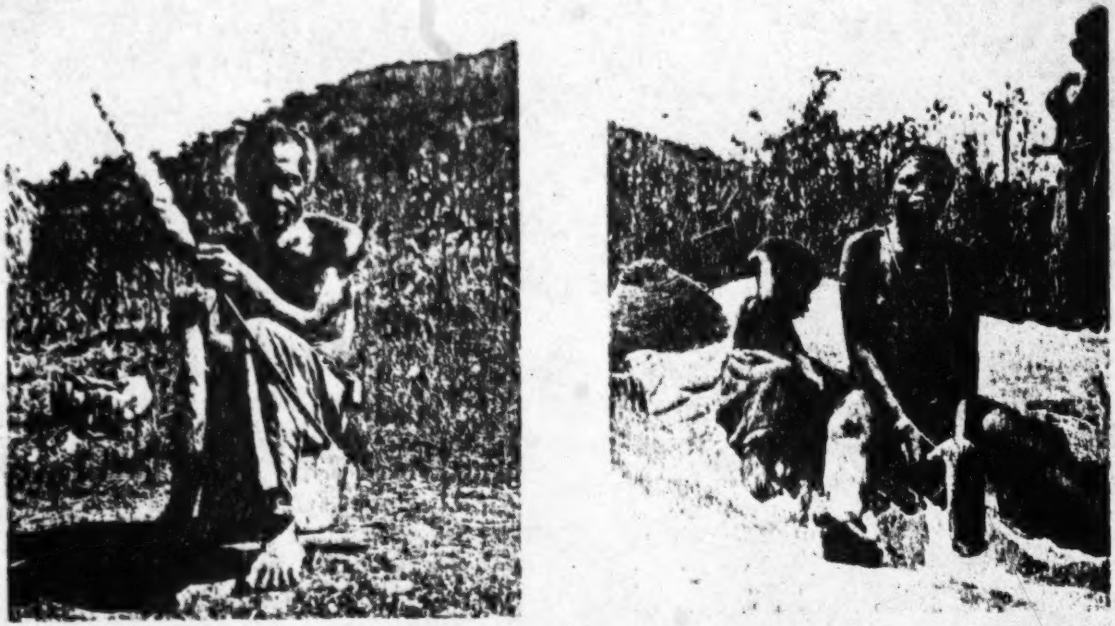
OVIMBUNDU

Fig. 1. Using drill, Bailundo. Fig. 2. Girl, Elende

[p. 390]



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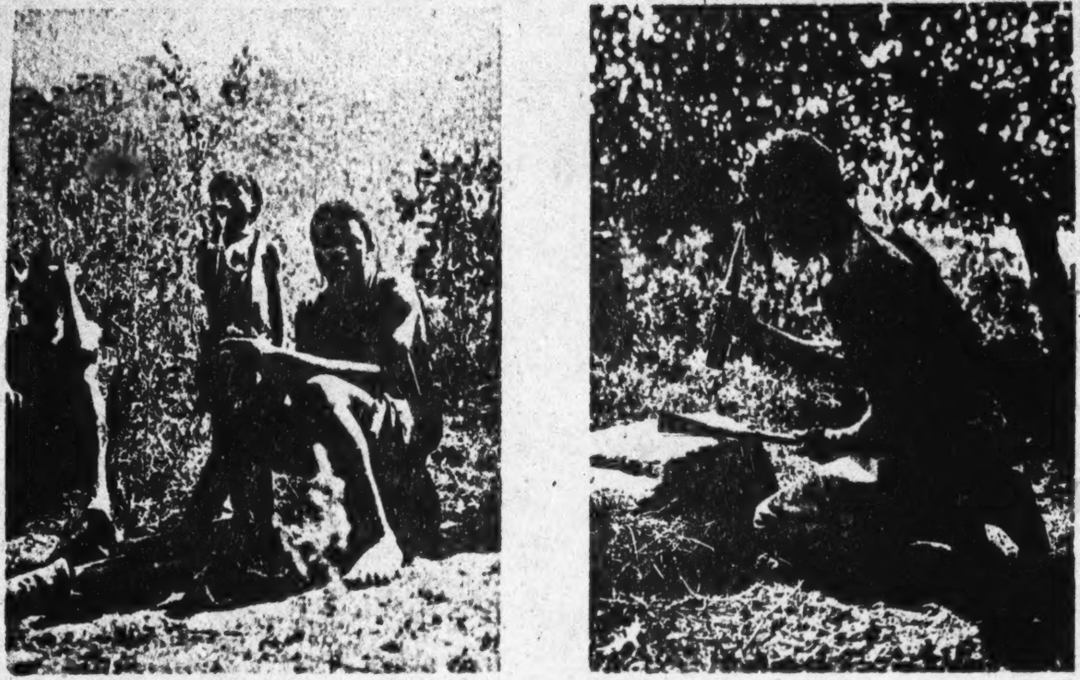
OCCUPATIONS OF OVIMBUNDU, ELENDE

Fig. 1. Male cotton spinner. Fig. 2. Woman pounding maize

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

[p. 391]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BLACKSMITHS AT WORK, OVIMBUNDU, ELENDE

Fig. 1. Working bellows. Fig. 2. Forging axhead

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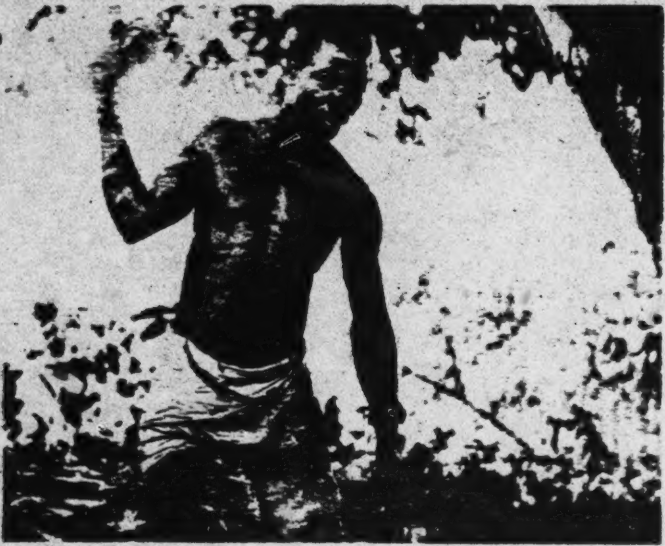

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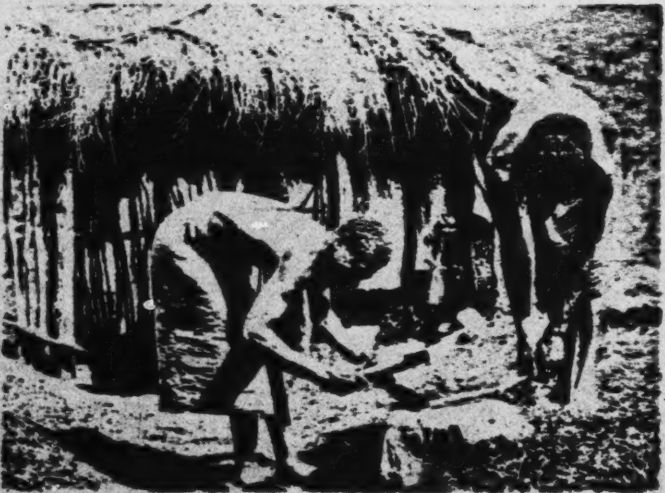

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BLACKSMITHS AT WORK, OVIMBUNDU, ELENDE

Fig. 1. Pounding on anvil. Fig. 2. Using cutting tool

[p. 392]

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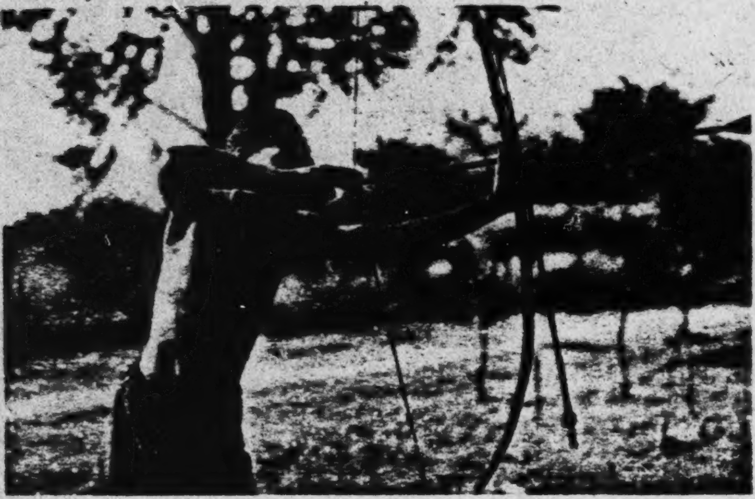

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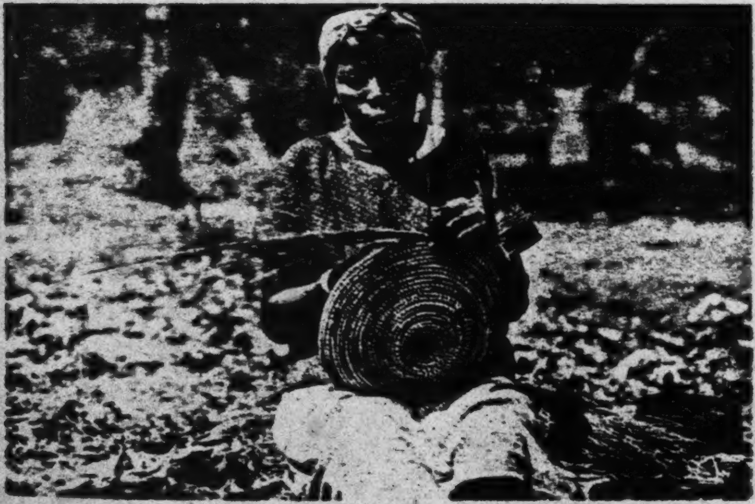

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OVIMBUNDU, ELENDE

Fig. 1. Hunter. Fig. 2. Woman making coiled basket

[p.393]

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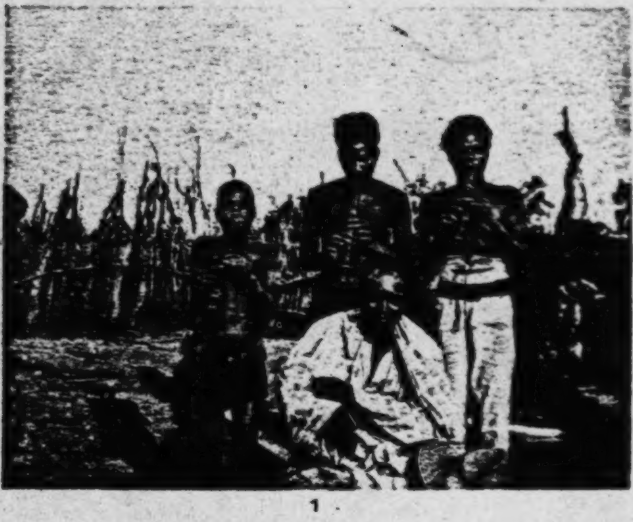

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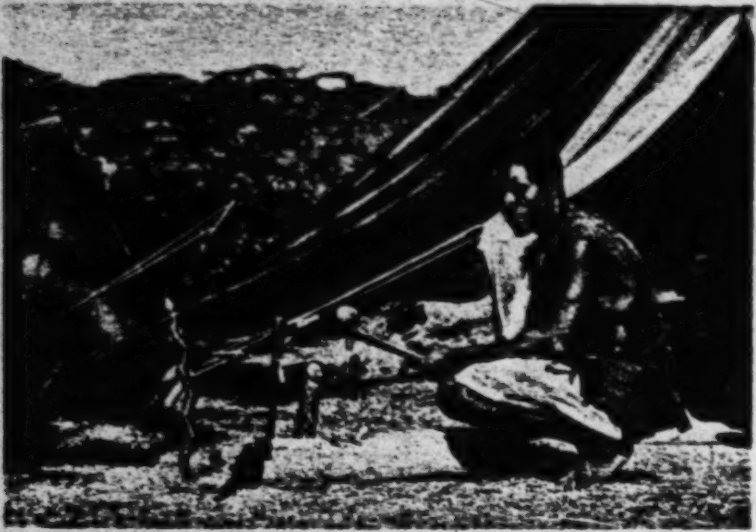
OVIMBUNDU TRIBE

Fig. 1. Flute players, Bailundo. Fig. 2. Bark removed for making utensils, Elende
Fig. 3. Girl, hair studded with brass nails, Elende

[p.394]



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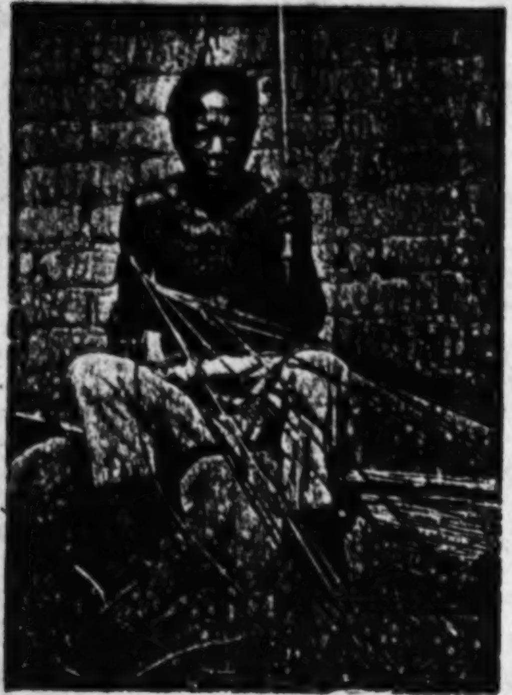
OVIMBUNDU WOOD-CARVERS, ELENDE

Fig. 1. Making human and animal figures. Fig. 2. Carving drum

Hambly E-5 1929-1930 1934 FR3 Mbundu FR3

[p.396]



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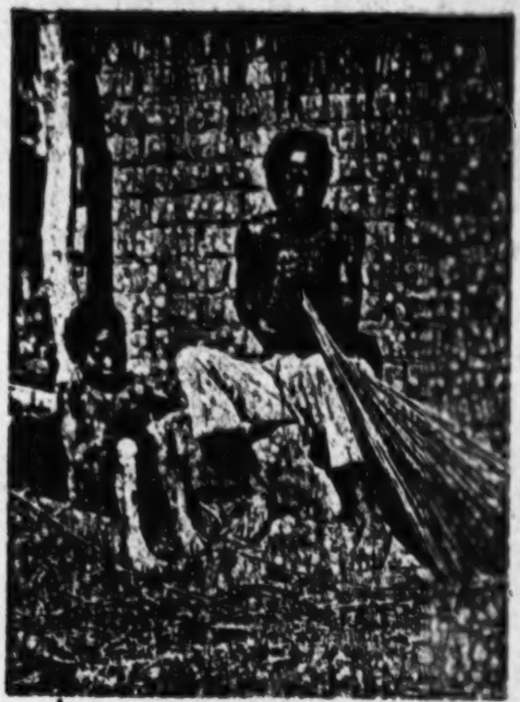

2

OCIMBUNDU MAKING MATS, ELENDE
Fig. 1. Tool for mat-making. Fig. 2. Threading reeds on tool

491

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TRANSPORTATION, OVIMBUNDU, ELENDE

Fig. 1. Bridge across swamp and stream. Fig. 2. Carrying chickens

[p. 397]

343

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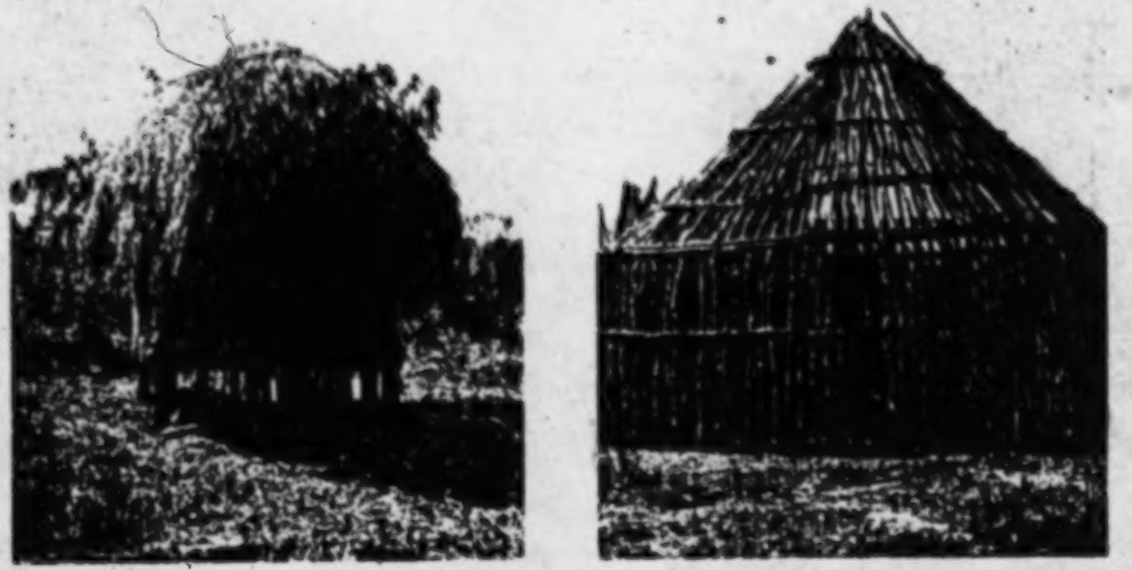
[p.398]



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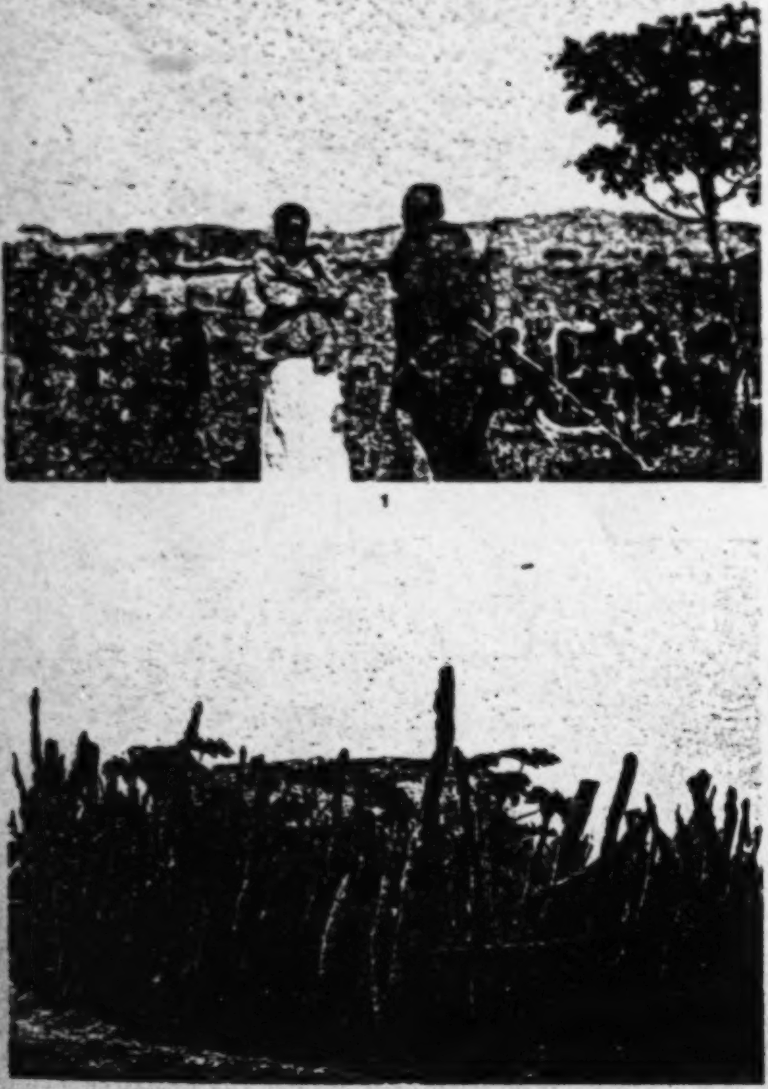
BUILDING CONSTRUCTION, OVIMBUNDU, ELENDE

Fig. 1. Maize bin. Fig. 2. Framework of house



FUNERAL RITES, OVIMBUNDU, ELENDE

Fig. 1. Old Ocimbundu questioning corpse and offering food. Fig. 2. Burial place of chief, Elende

Field Museum of Natural History Anthropology, Vol. XXI, Plate XLVI

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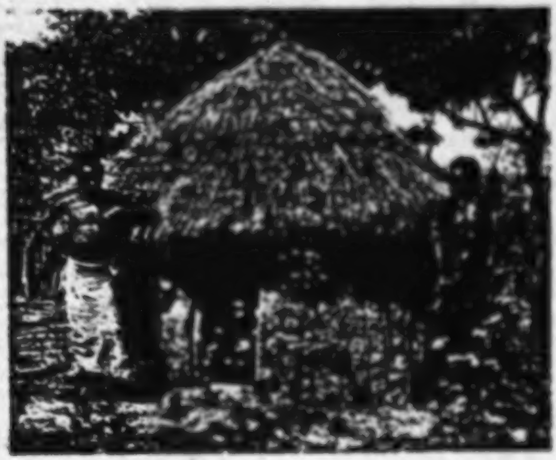

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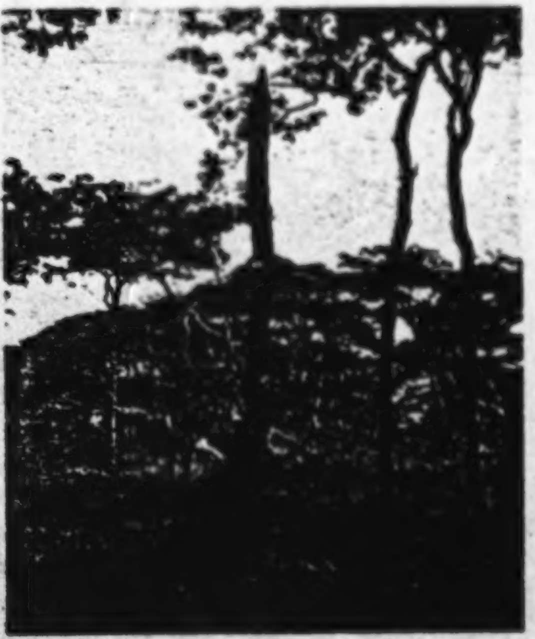

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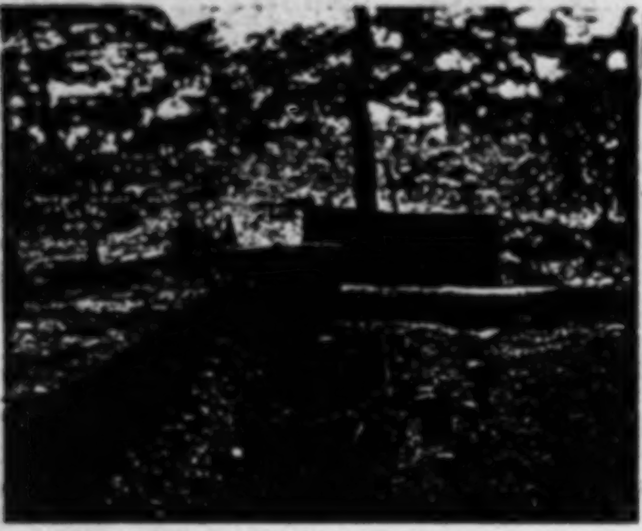
FUNERAL RITES, OVIMBUNDU

Fig. 1. Hut where possessions of dead chiefs are kept, Elende

Fig. 2. Horns of an ox over grave, near Caconda

[p. 400]



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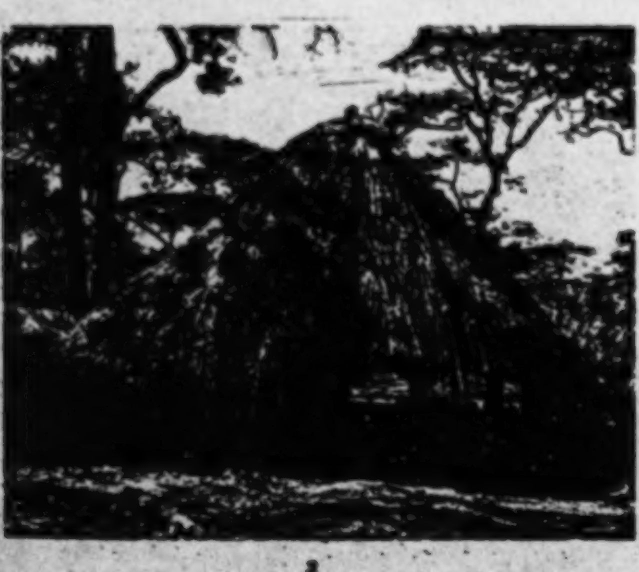

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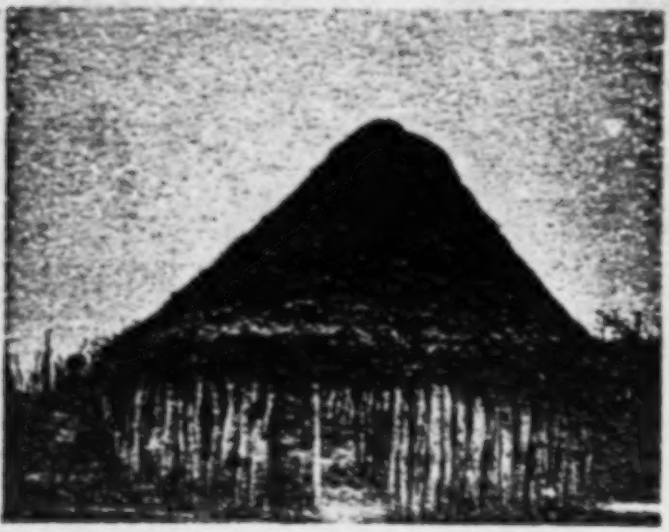
FUNERAL RITES, OVIMBUNDU, CACONDA

Fig. 1. Baskets and coffin pole on grave. Fig. 2. Hut over grave

[p. 401]

345



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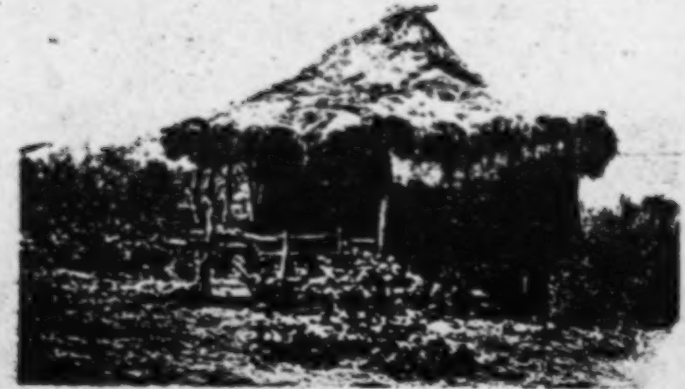

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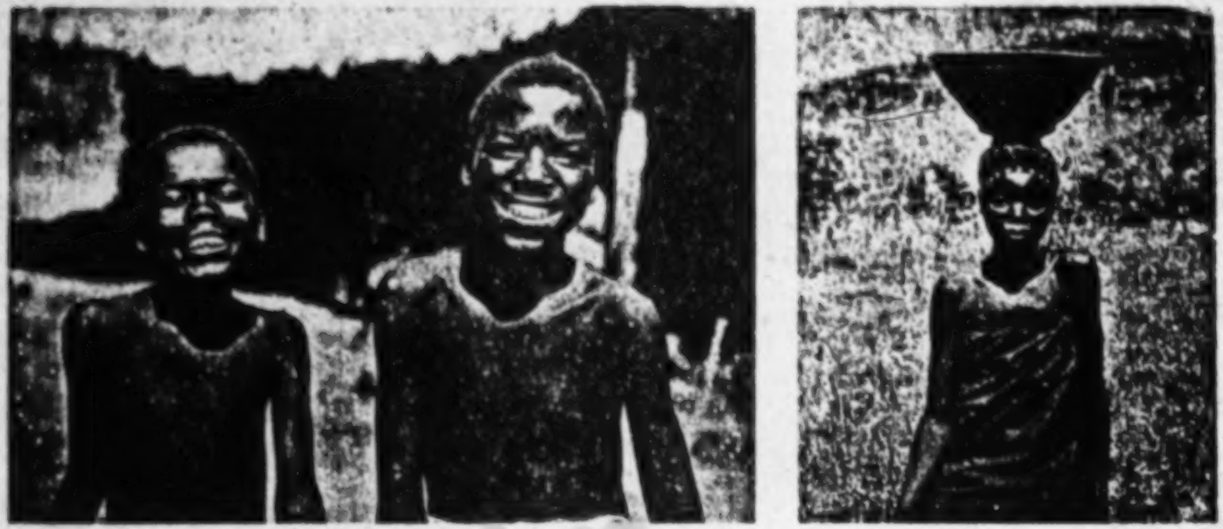
SOCIAL LIFE OF OVIMBUNDU

Fig. 1. Man's club house, Bailundo. Fig. 2. Guest house, Elende

[p. 402]

[p.403]



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PHYSICAL TYPES, OVIMBUNDU, ELENDE

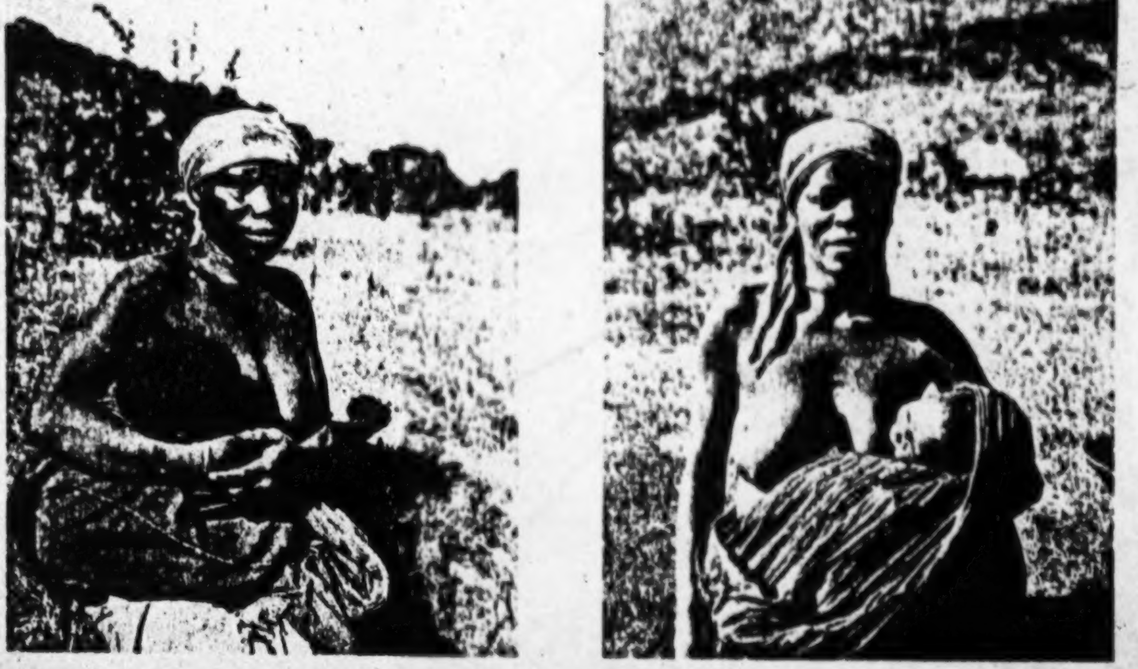
Fig. 1. Boys, showing tooth mutilation on left. Fig. 2. Girl with field basket

304

482

854
142

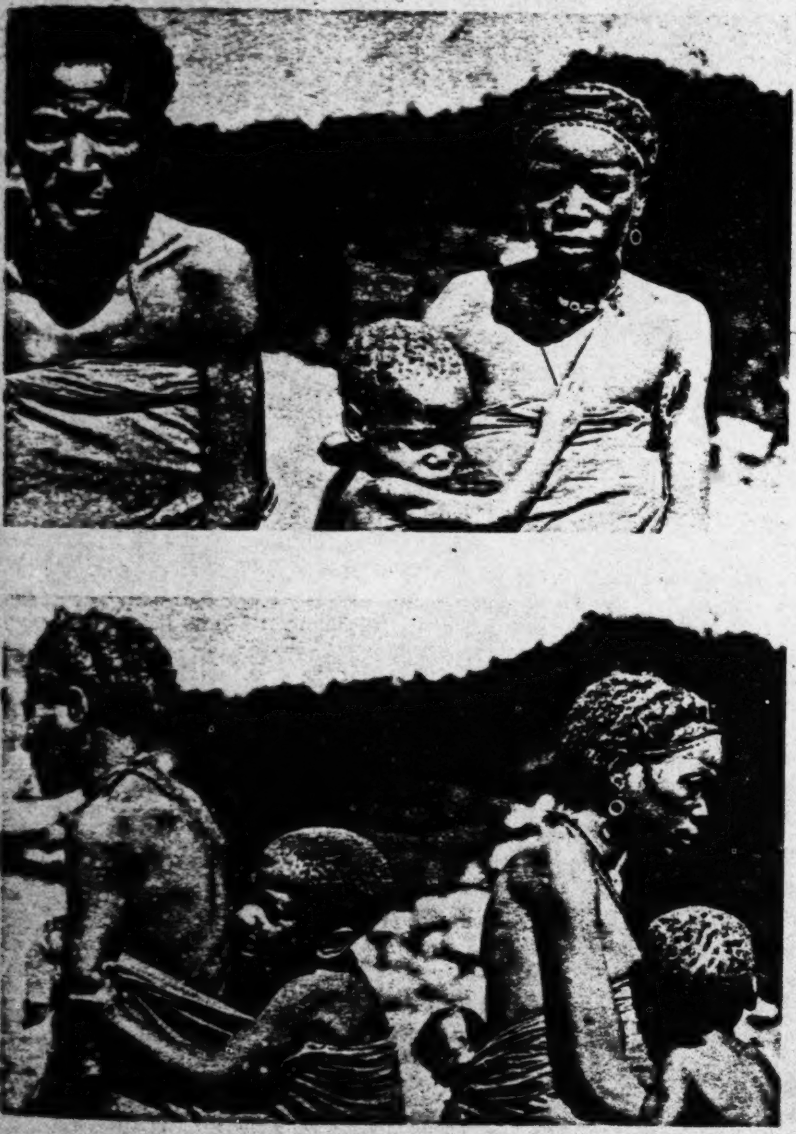
[p.404]



OVIMBUNDU WOMEN AND INFANTS, ELENDE

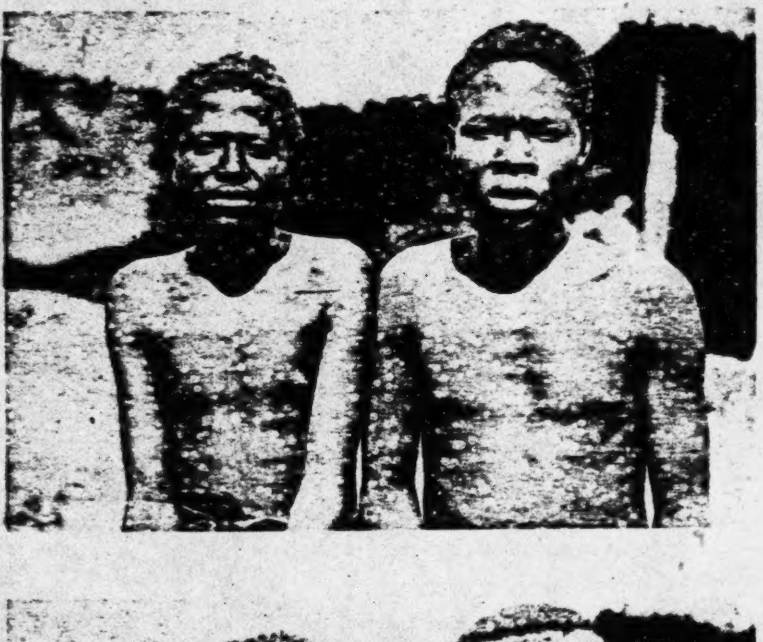
Field Museum of Natural History Anthropology, Vol. XXI, Plate LI

854
142



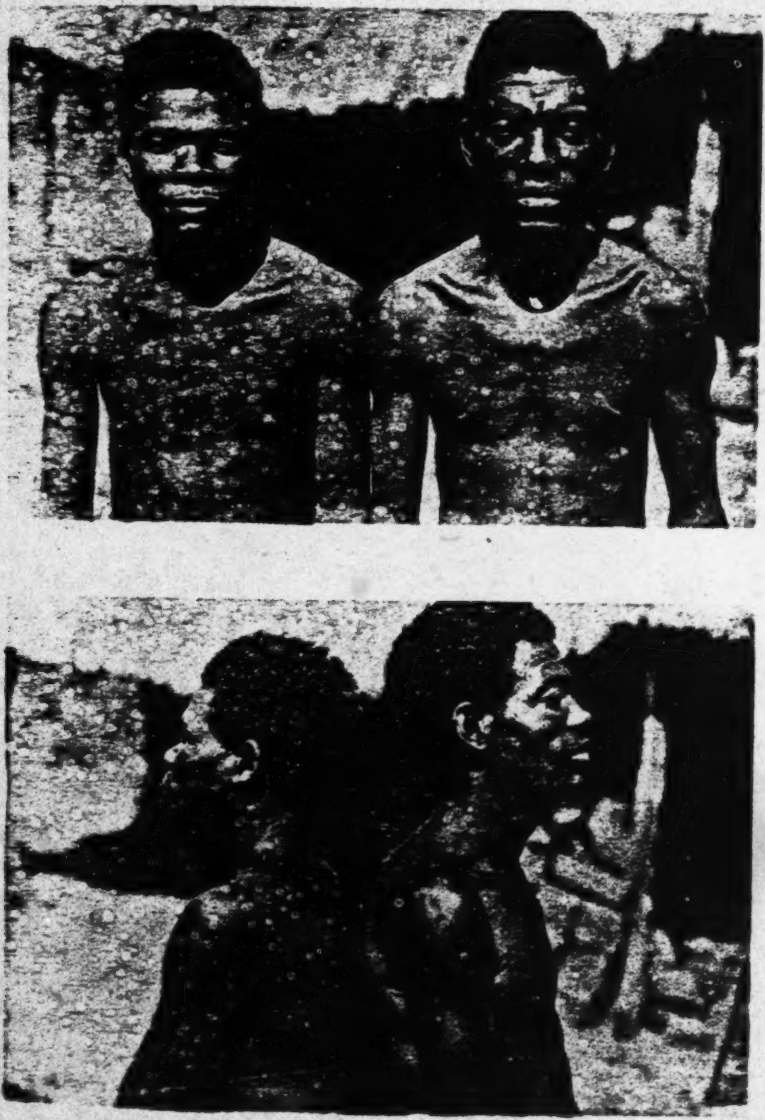
OVIMBUNDU WOMEN AND CHILDREN, ELENDE

[p. 405]



OVIMBUNDU YOUTHS, ELENDE

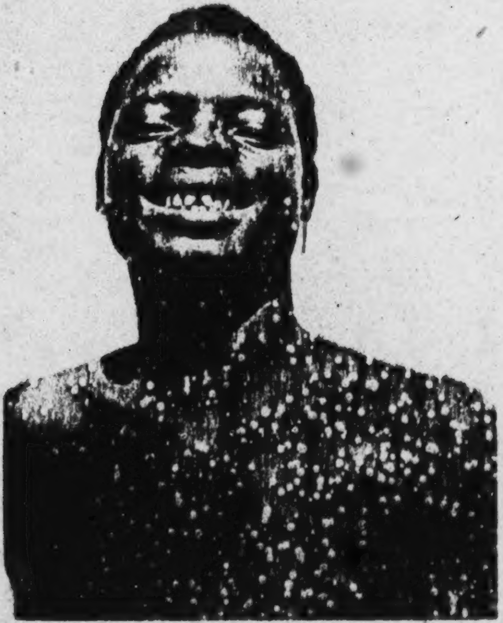
[p. 406]



OVIMBUNDU MEN, ELENDE

[p. 407]

[P.408]



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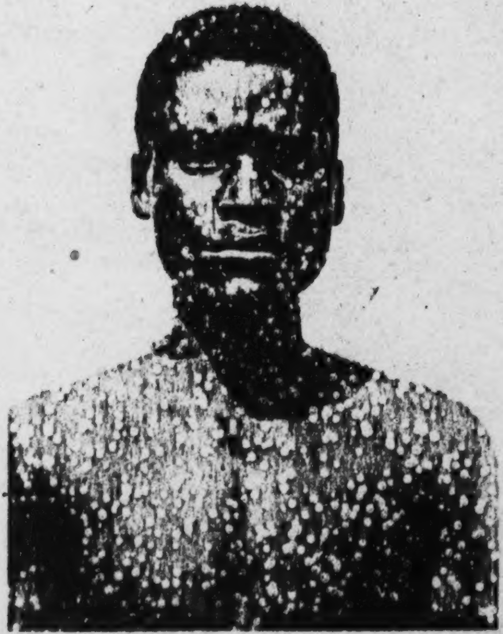

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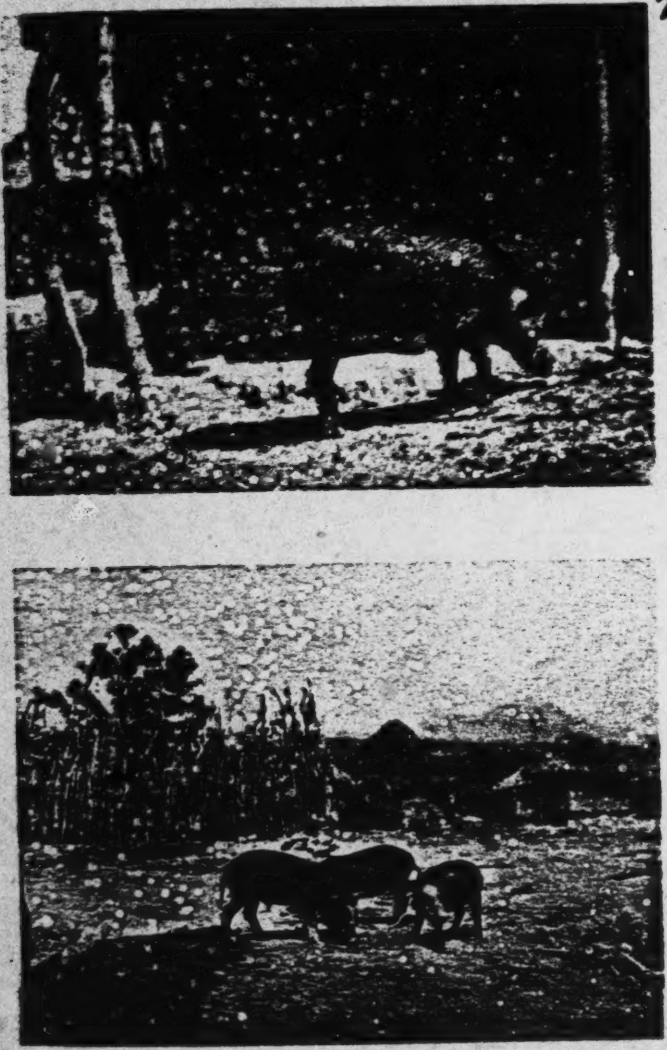
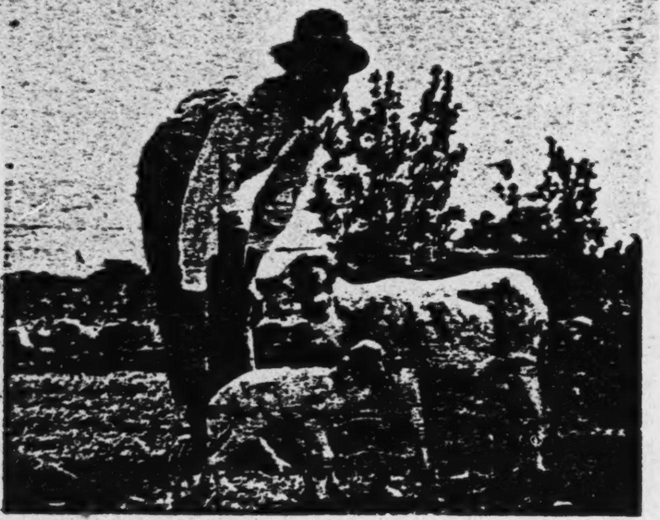
TYPES OF OVIMBUNDU, ELENDE

Fig. 1. Negro type, teeth mutilated in tribal manner. Fig. 2. Modified Negro type



PIGS OWNED BY OVIMBUNDU, ELENDE, KELTIC BREED

[p. 409]



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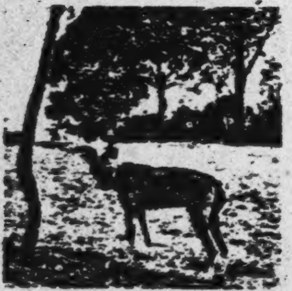

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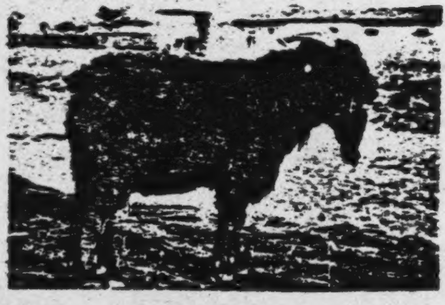

3

DOMESTIC ANIMALS, OVIMBUNDU

Fig. 1. Sheep and lamb, Elende. Fig. 2. Dog, Elende, ears clipped "to make him hear well." Fig. 3. Goat, Bailundu

[p. 410]

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

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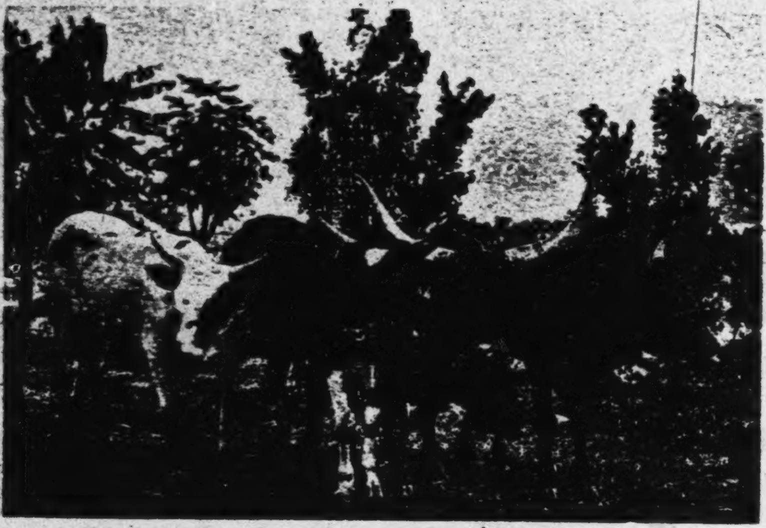

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DOMESTIC ANIMALS, OVIMBUNDU, ELENDE

Fig. 1. Cattle. Fig. 2. Goats

[p. 411]

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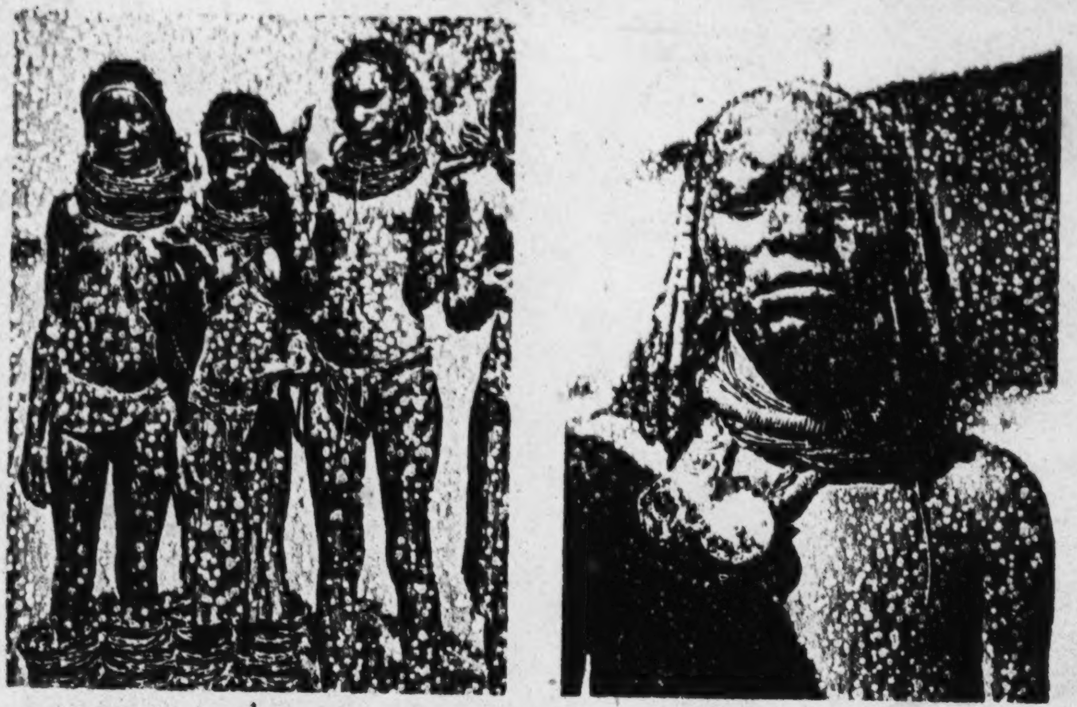
301

[p.412]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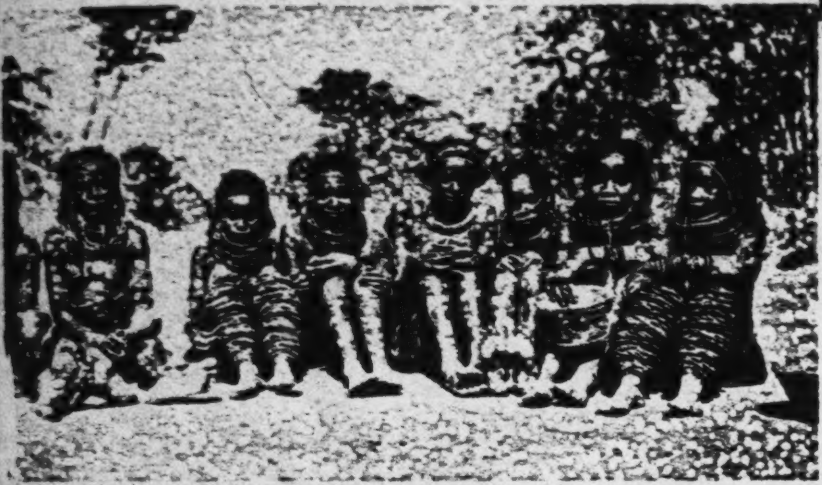
PHYSICAL TYPES, SOUTHWEST ANGOLA

Fig. 1. Girls of Luvando tribe. Fig. 2. Woman of Gambos wearing omba ornaments

142
301



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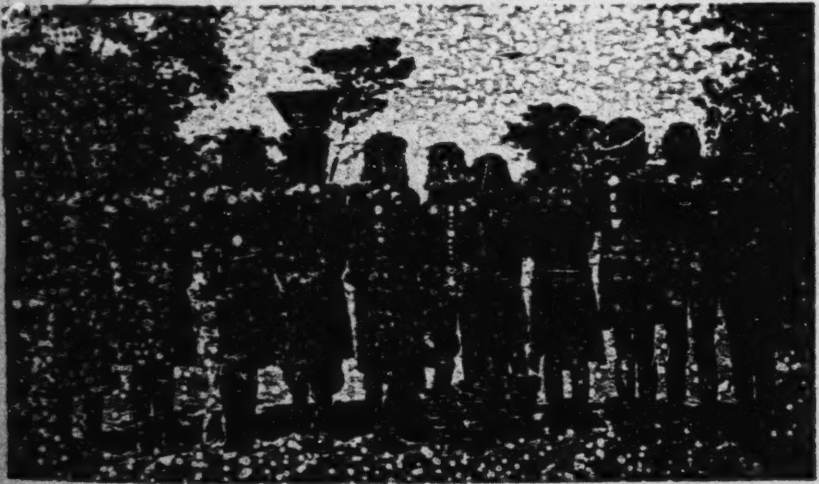


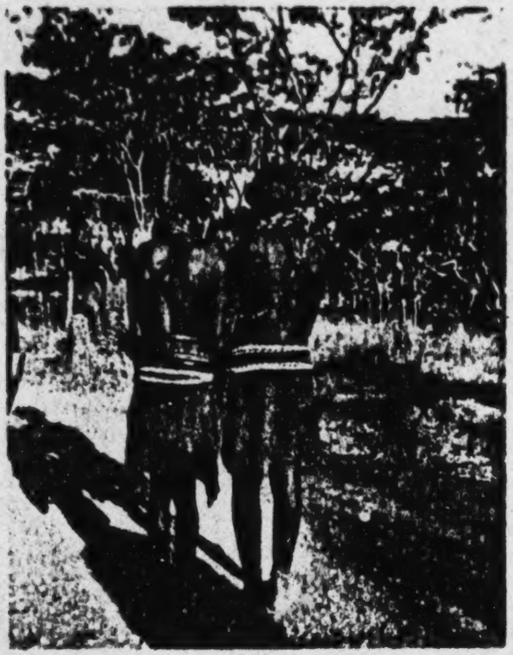
2

FEMALE TYPES, SOUTHWEST ANGOLA

Fig. 1. Luvando girls near Kipungo. Fig. 2. Back view, same type.

[p. 413]

[p. 414]



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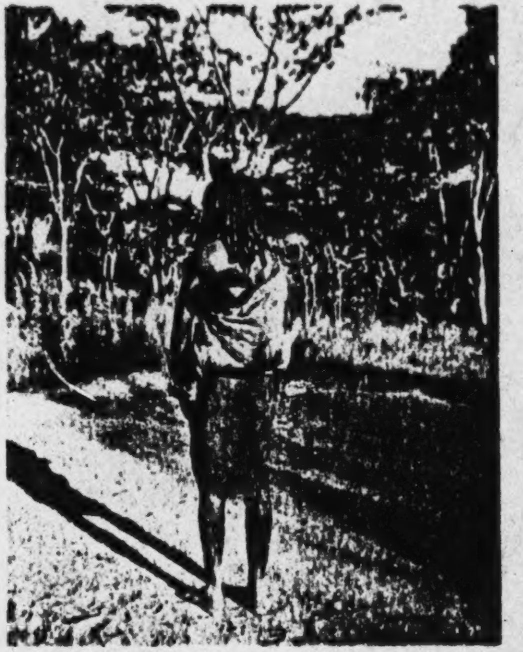

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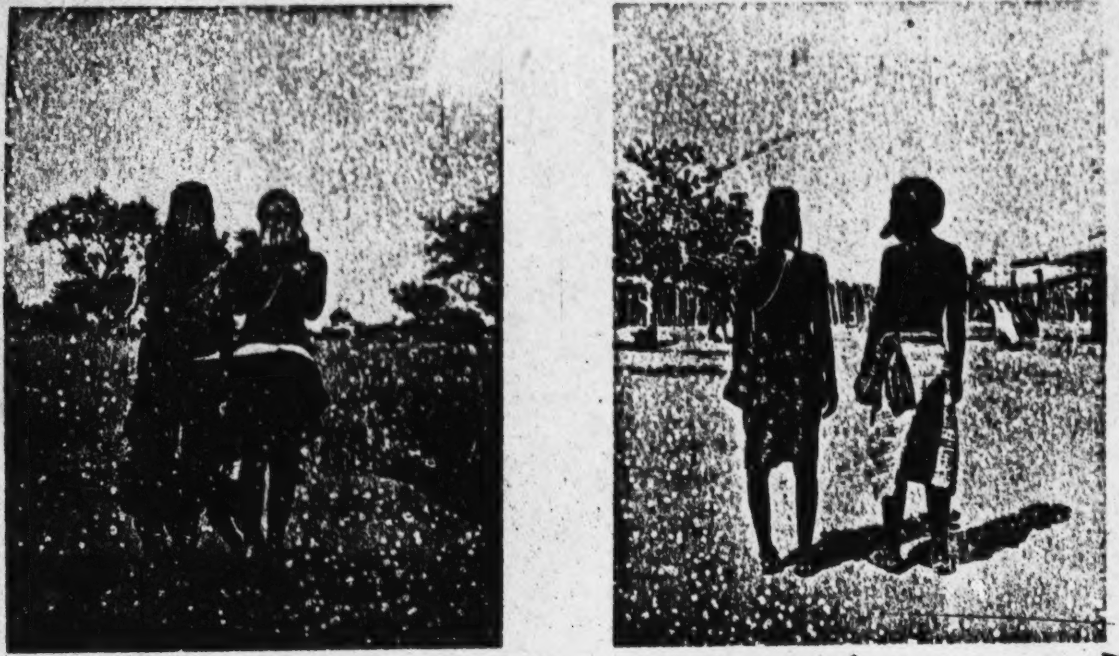
FEMALE TYPES, SOUTHWEST ANGOLA

Fig. 1. Girls of Vahenaca tribe near Huila. Fig. 2. Woman of Huila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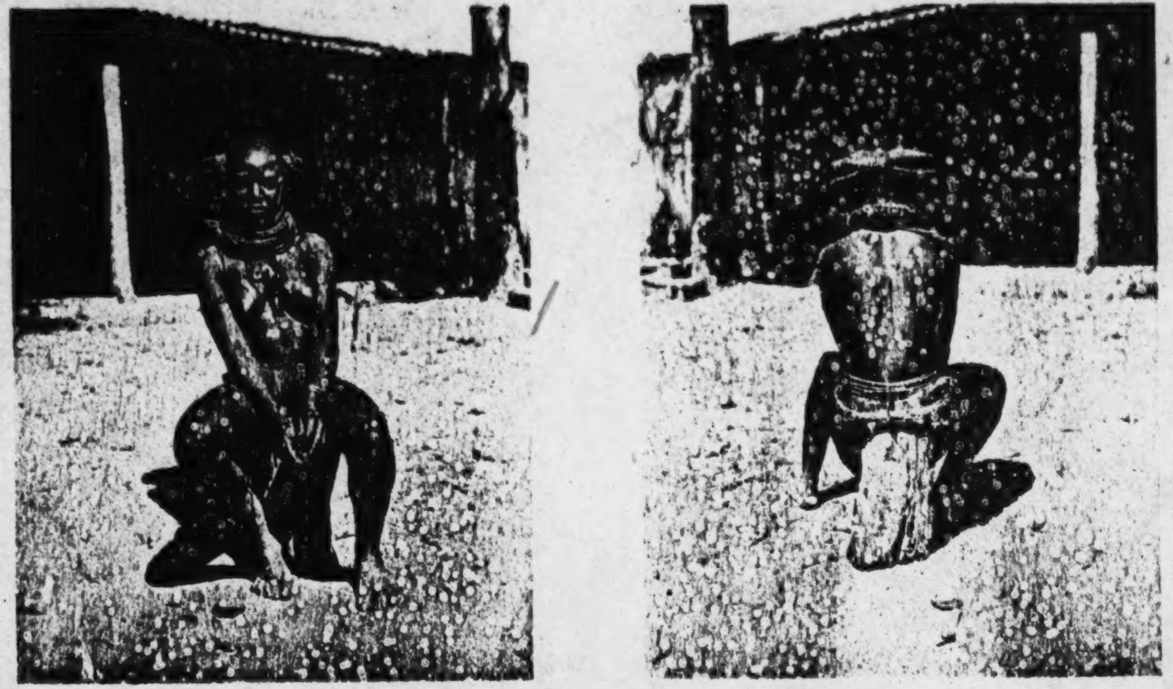
FEMALE TYPES, SOUTHWEST ANGOLA

Fig. 1. Women of Gambos. Fig. 2. Women of Humbe tribe, Mongua

142
301

[p. 416]



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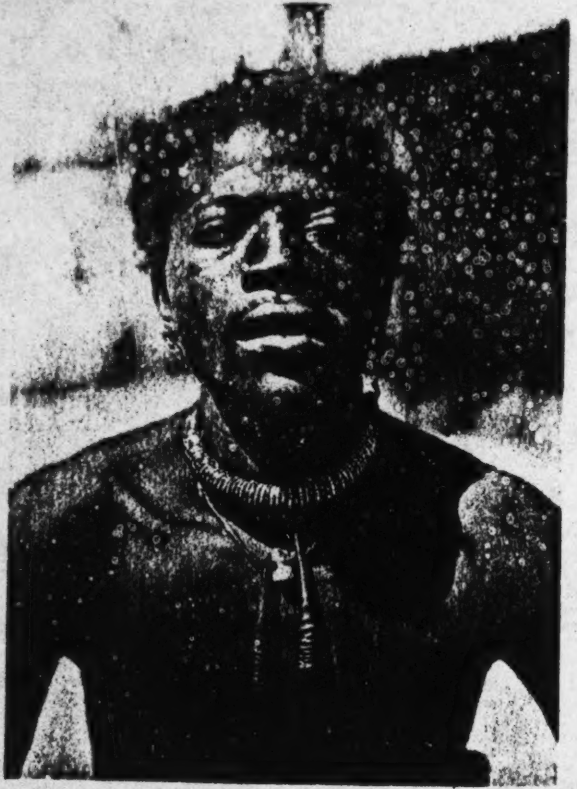
VAHENECA GIRL AT HUILA

Fig. 1. Front view. Fig. 2. Back view

[p.417]



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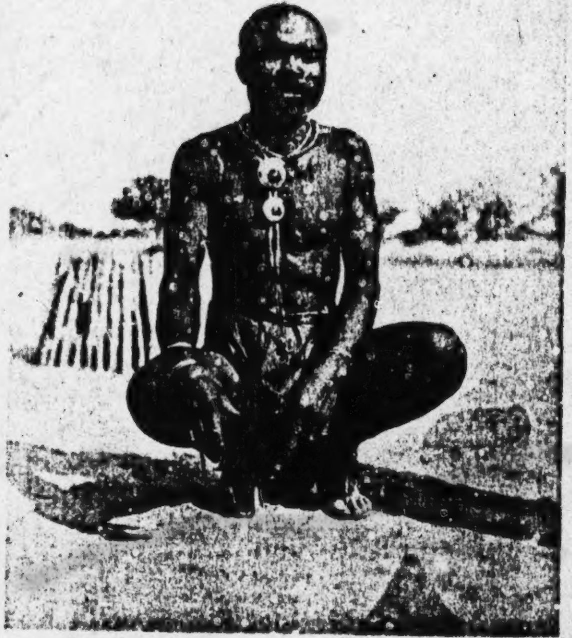

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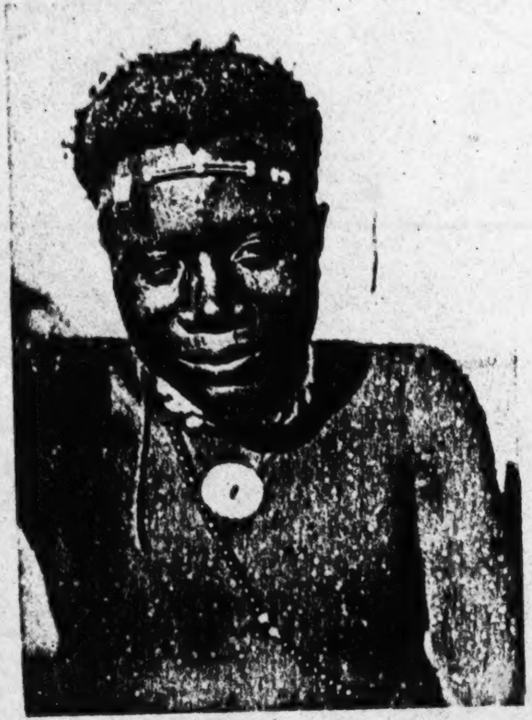
142
301

VAKUANYAMA TYPES, MONGUA, SOUTH ANGOLA

Fig. 1. Man [illegible]

142
301

[p.418]



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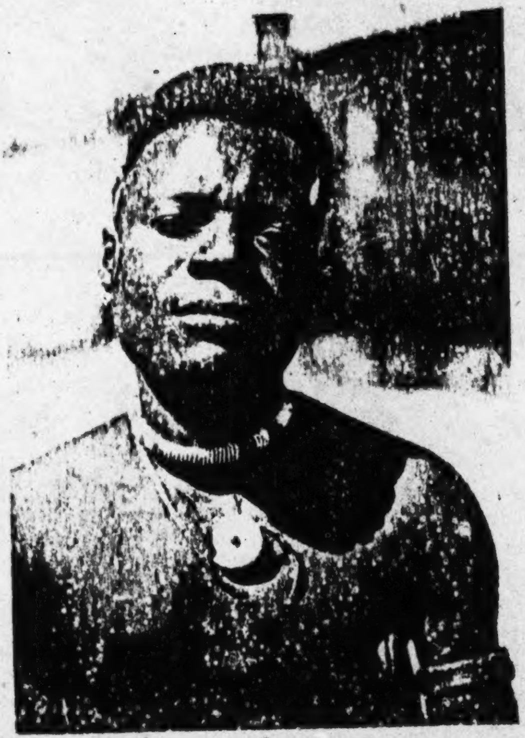
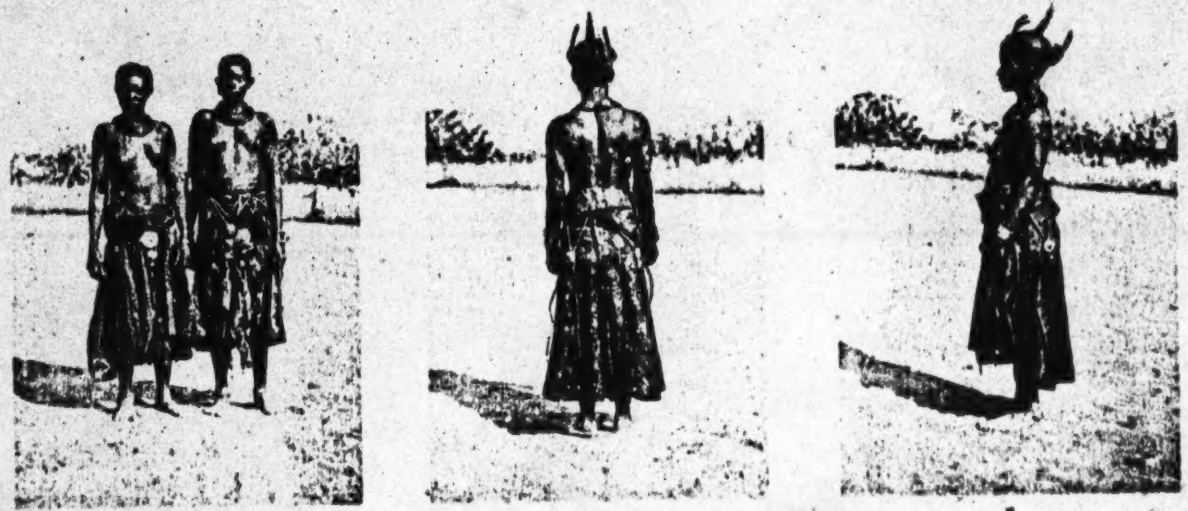


2

NATIVES OF HUILA, SOUTHWEST ANGOLA

Fig. 1. Wearing forehead band and ombo shell. Fig. 2. Wearing beaded collar and ombo shell

[P.419]



1 2 3

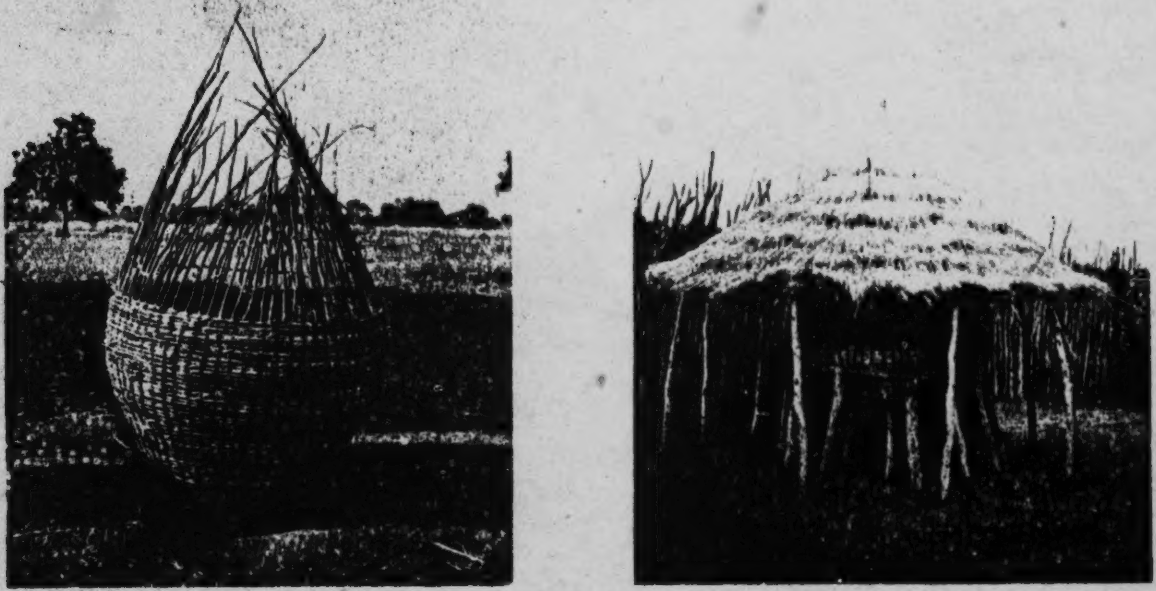
VAKUANYAMA WOMEN, MONGUA, SOUTH ANGOLA

Fig. 1. Wearing pleated leather skirts. Figs. 2, 3. Showing headdress which denotes position as principal wife in polygynous family

292

285
343

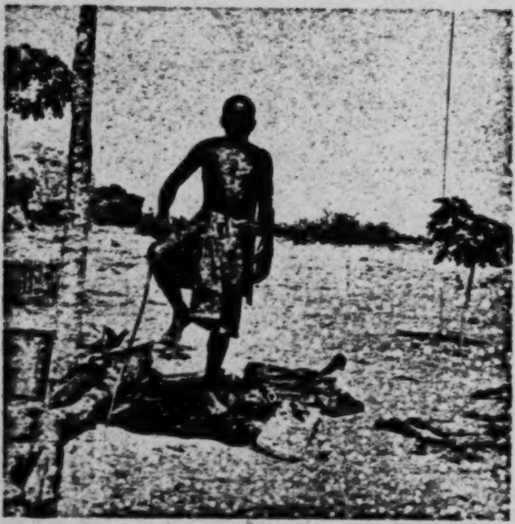
[p. 420]


1 2

STORAGE OF MAIZE, VAKUANYAMA, SOUTH ANGOLA

Fig. 1. Grain basket. Fig. 2. Shelter for basket

438



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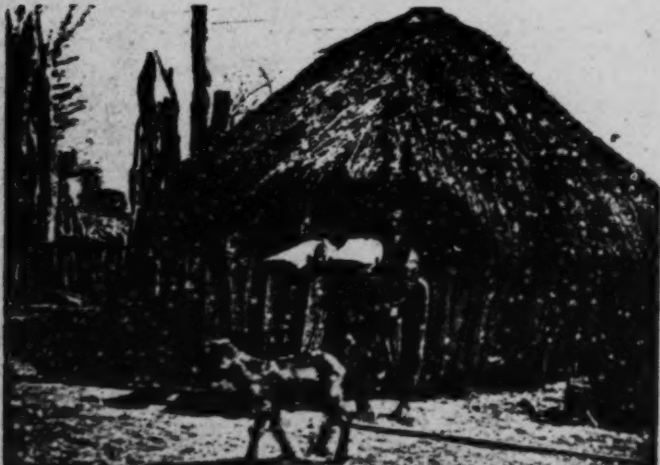


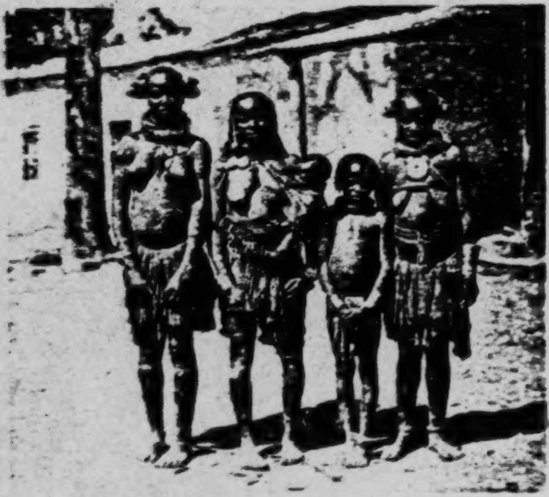
2

VAKUANYAMA TRIBE, SOUTH ANGOLA

Fig. 1. Man treading hide, for making woman's skirt. Fig. 2. Typical dwelling, Dera Manuel

[p. 421]

142



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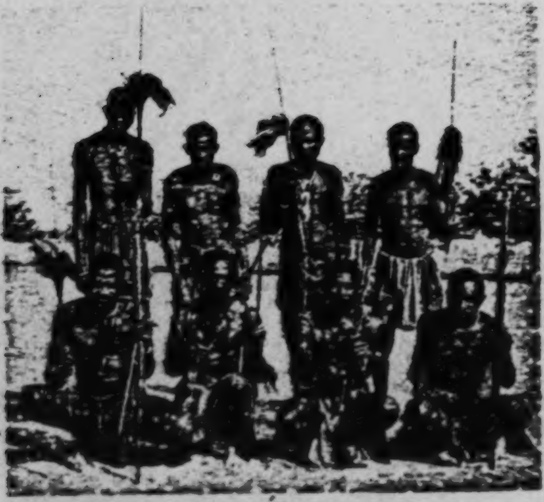
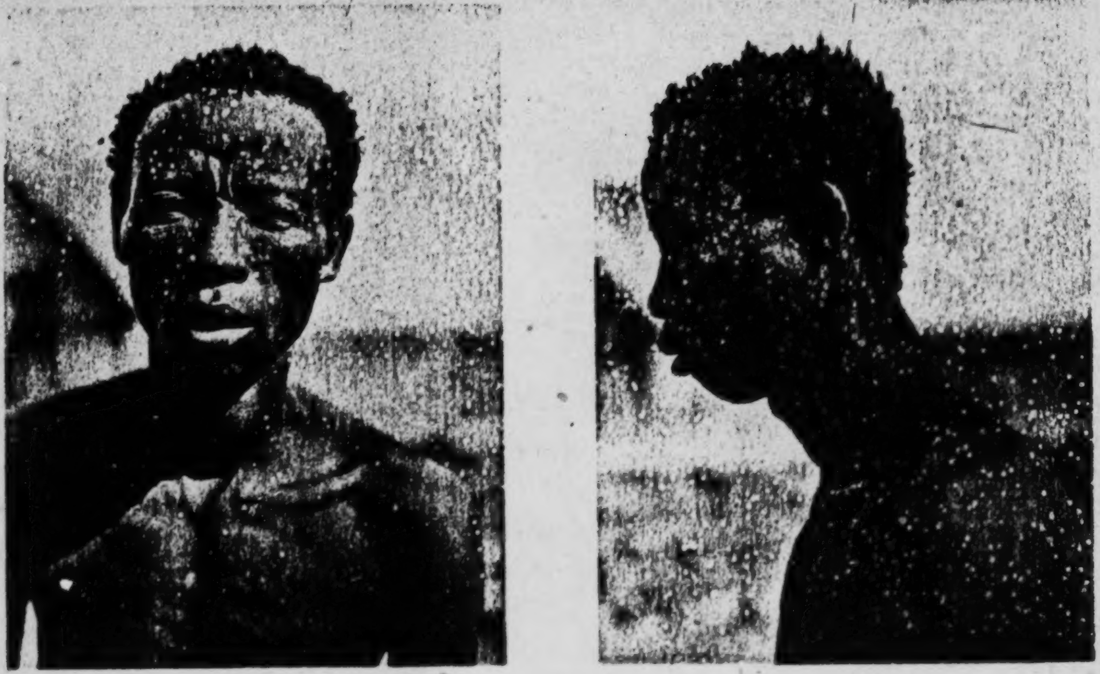


2

TRIBES OF SOUTH ANGOLA

Fig. 1. [illegible], right and left; Gambos women and children, center. Fig. 2. [illegible] men, with assegais, clubs, and bows, [illegible]

[p.422]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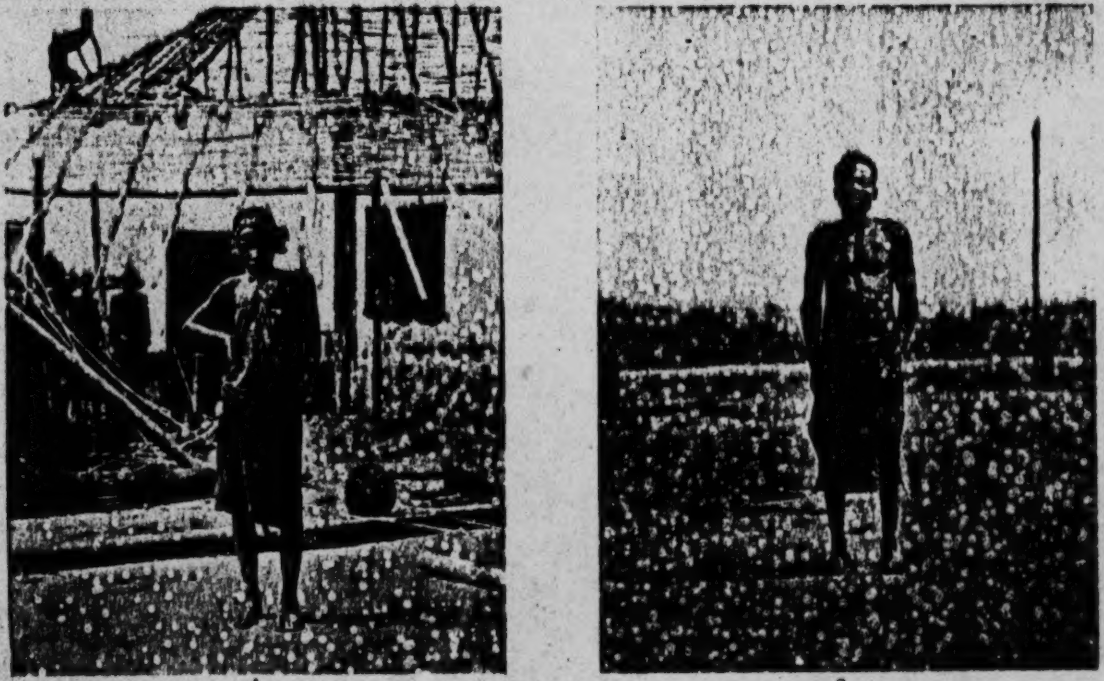
BUSHMAN, CASSANGA
Fig. 1. Front view. Fig. 2. Side view

[p.424]

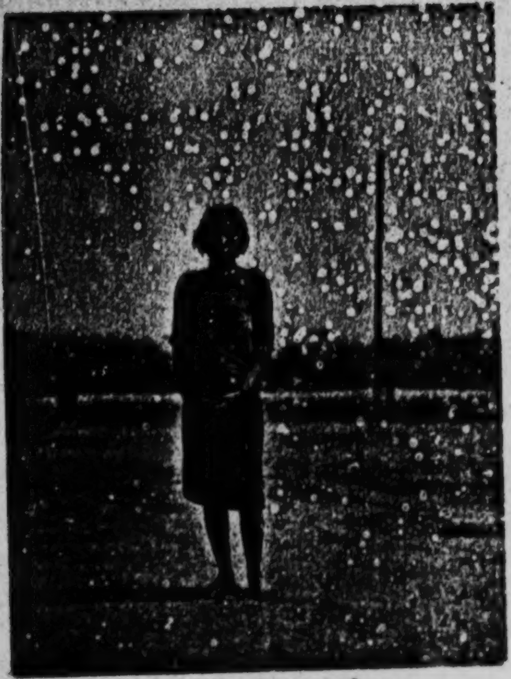


1 2

MUSSURONGO TYPES, MALANGE, NORTHWEST ANGOLA
Fig. 1. Girl. Fig. 2. Man

J. Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbunda FP13

[P.425]



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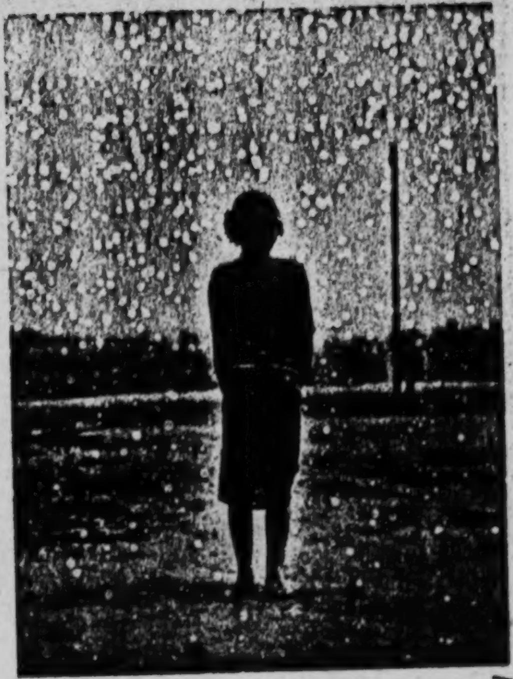

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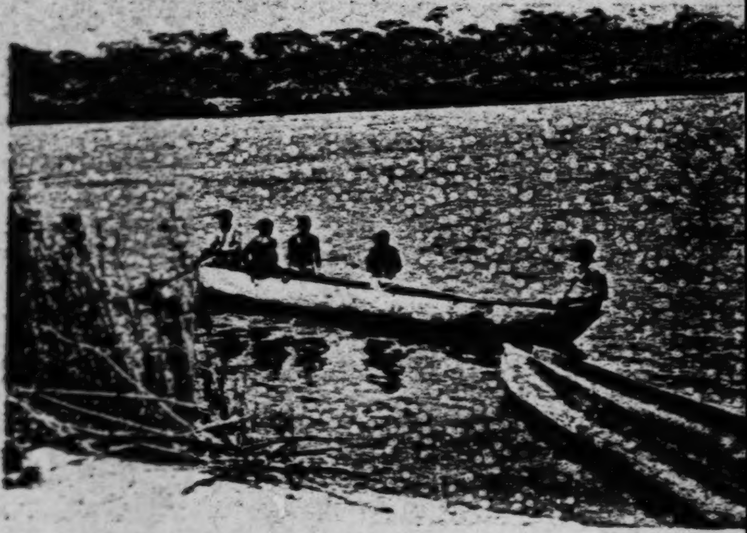
142

MUSSURONGO WOMAN, NEAR MALANGE, NORTHWEST ANGOLA
Fig. 1. Front view. Fig. 2. Back view



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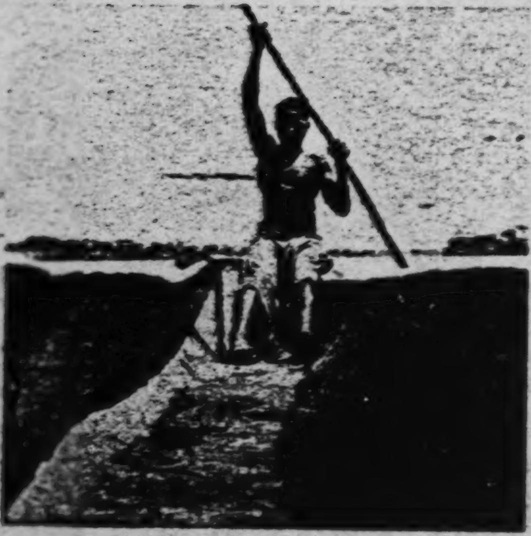


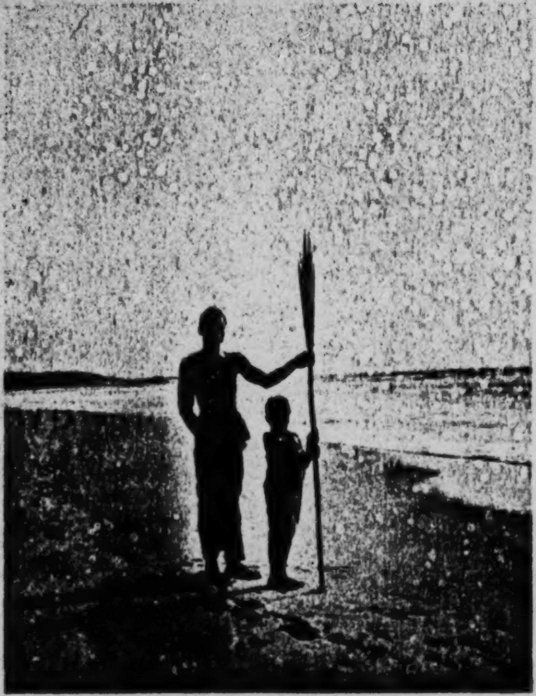
2

DUGOUT CANOES, RIVER KWANZA, NEAR MALANGE, NORTHWEST ANGOLA

Fig. 1. [illegible] Fig. 2. View of stern

[p. 426]

[p.427]



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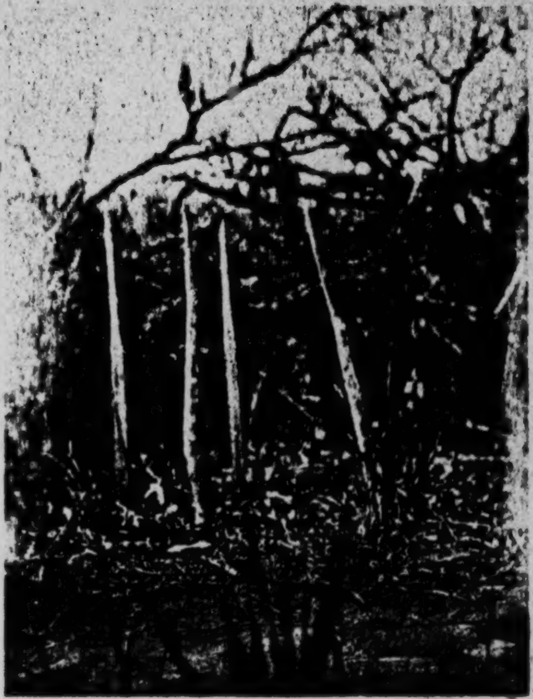

2

FISHING AND HUNTING

Fig. 1. Fishing spear, Ambrizette, northwest Angola. Fig. 2. Stakes for impaling antelope, Vasele, west-central Angola

226

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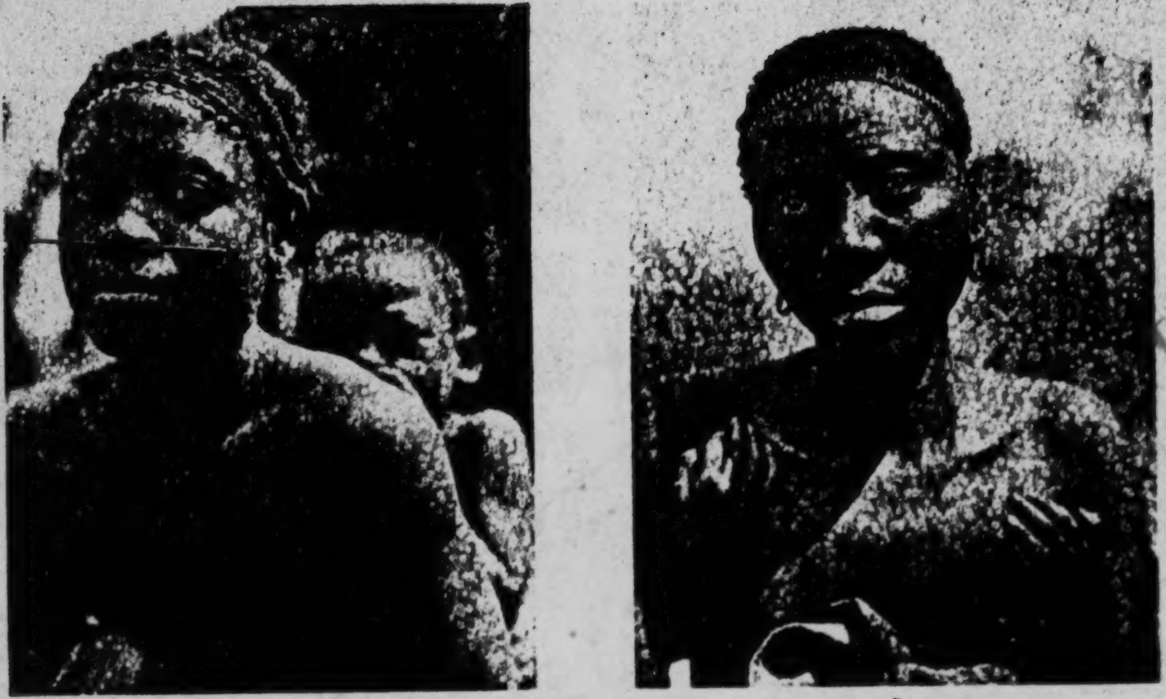
HUNTER'S TOMB AND VILLAGE OF VASELE

Fig. 1. Tomb, near Luimbale. Fig. 2. Village, near Vila Nova de Seles

[p.428]

[p.429]



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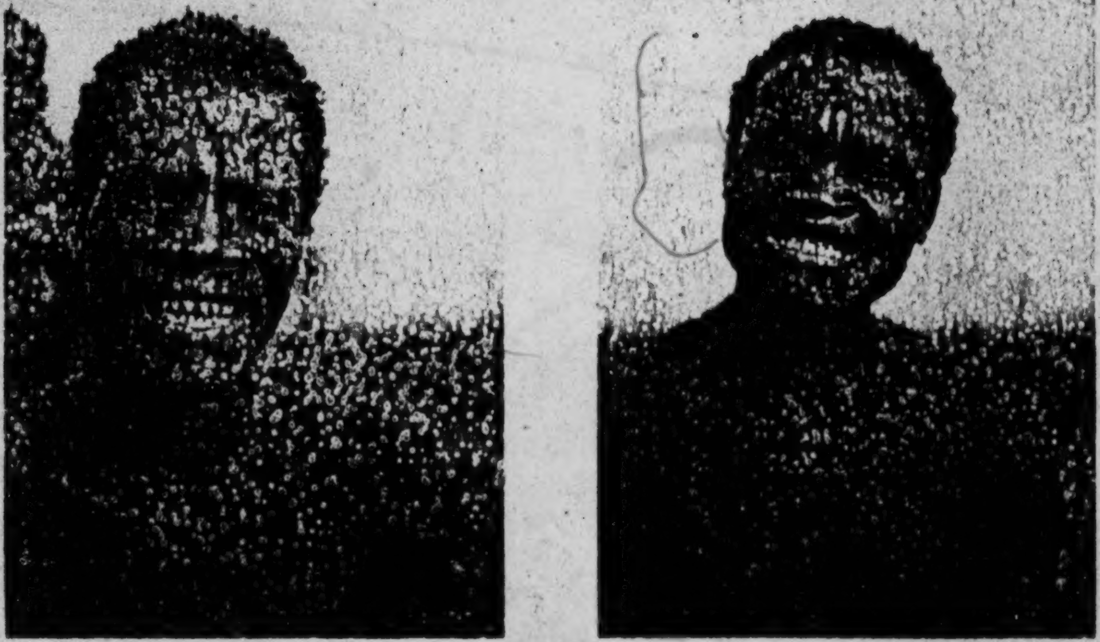
2

FEMALE TYPES OF VASELE, WEST-CENTRAL ANGOLA

Fig. 1. Wearing nose-pin and cowrie-shell head-band. Fig. 2. Wearing beaded head-band. Note scarification of forehead and cheeks

142
301
304

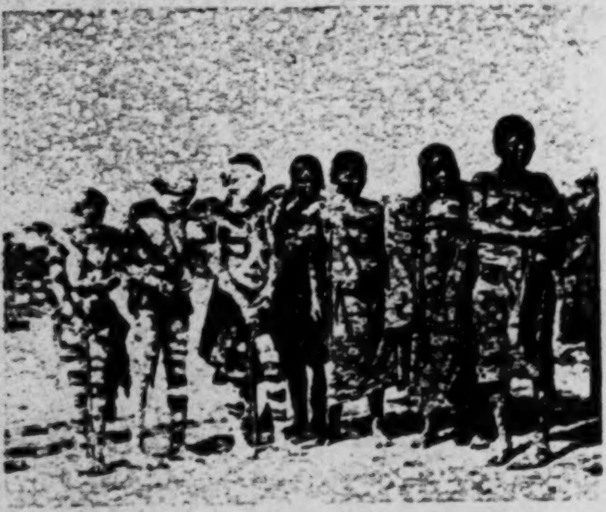
[R430]



1 2

MEN OF VASELE, WEST-CENTRAL ANGOLA

Fig. 1. Showing typical mutilation of teeth. Fig. 2. Displaying scarification on chest, said to cure pain



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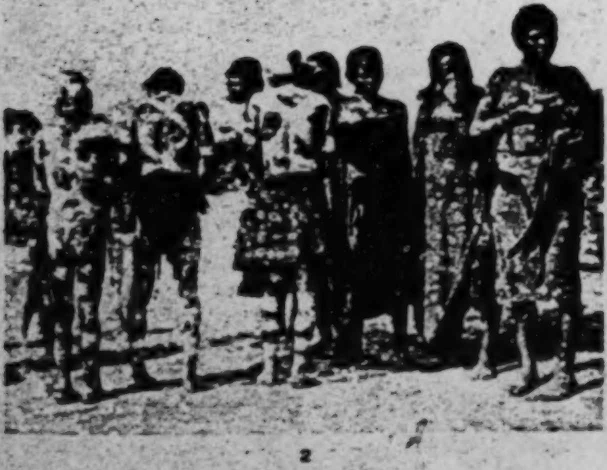

2

WOMEN IN CHARGE OF TRIBAL INITIATION OF GIRLS,
VANYEMBA, NGONGO, CENTRAL ANGOLA

Fig. 1. Front view. Fig. 2. Back view

[p.431]

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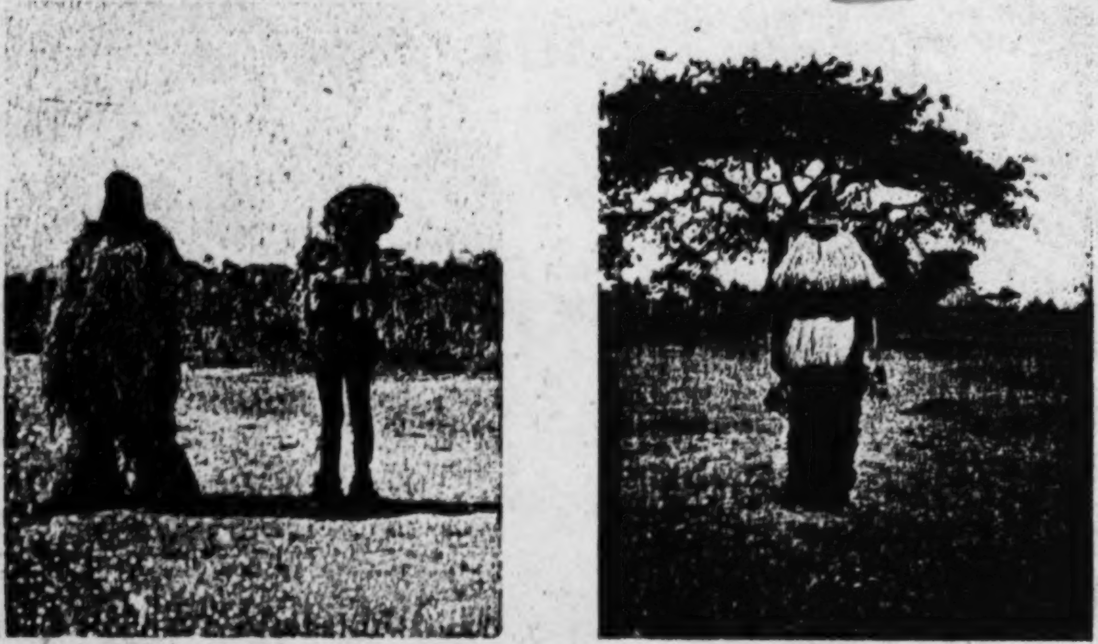
292

[p.432]



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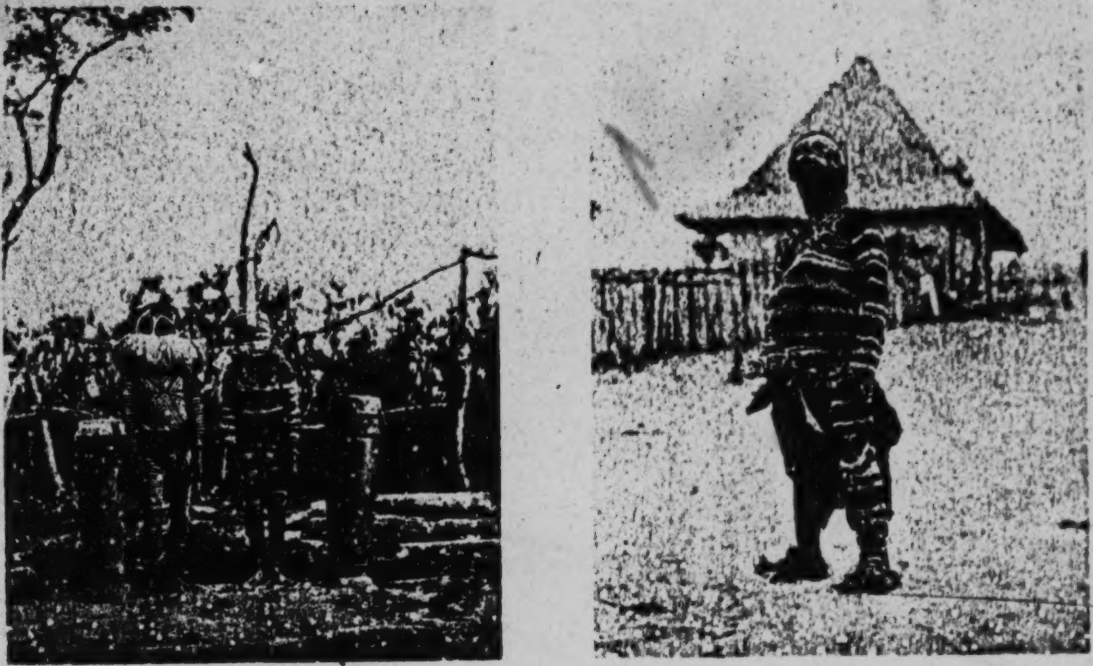
COSTUMES WORN IN TRIBAL INITIATION CEREMONIES FOR BOYS

Fig. 1. Costumes of Vangangula and Ocimbundu, Nganga. Fig. 2. Ceremonial dress of mixed tribes at Kaleko

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

[p.433]



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TRIBAL INITIATION OF BOYS, VACHOKUE, CANGAMBA

Fig. 1. Novices in enclosure. Fig. 2. Public appearance after initiation

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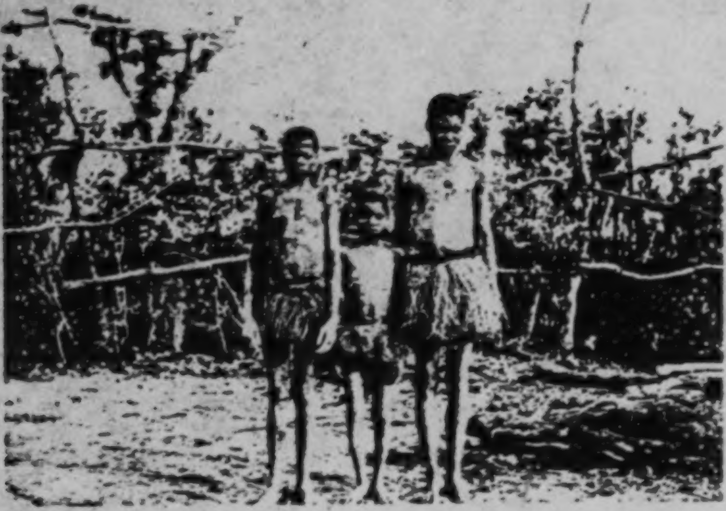

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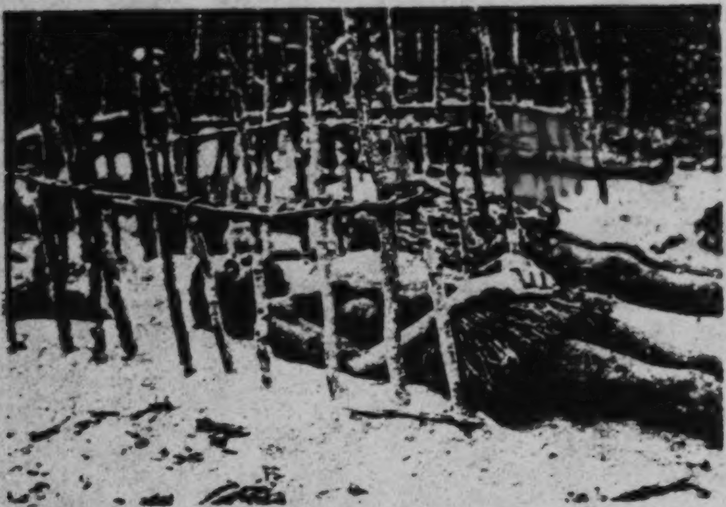


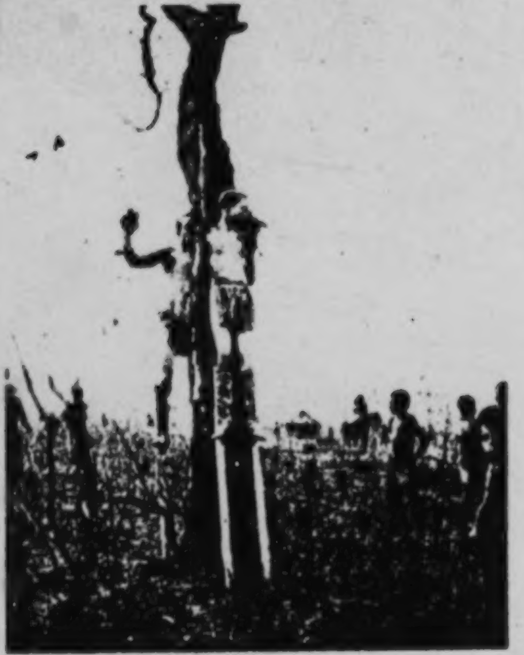
2

TRIBAL INITIATION OF BOYS, VACHOKUE, CANGAMBA

Fig. 1. Fiber costume worn by circumcised novices. Fig. 2. Cages in which boys lie after circumcision

[R434]

[P.143.5]



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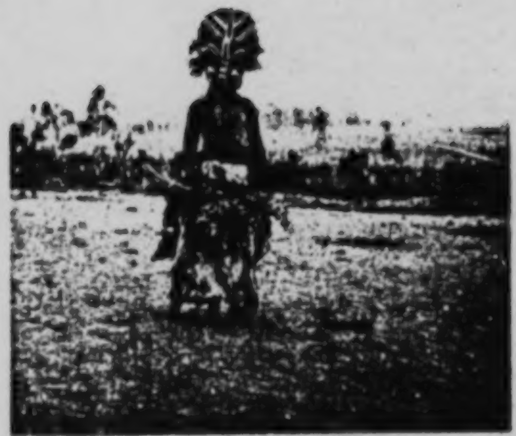

2

CONCLUDING CEREMONIES, TRIBAL INITIATION, CANGAMBA

Fig. 1. Stilt-walkers, Vachokue. Fig. 2. Medicine-man, Luchazi

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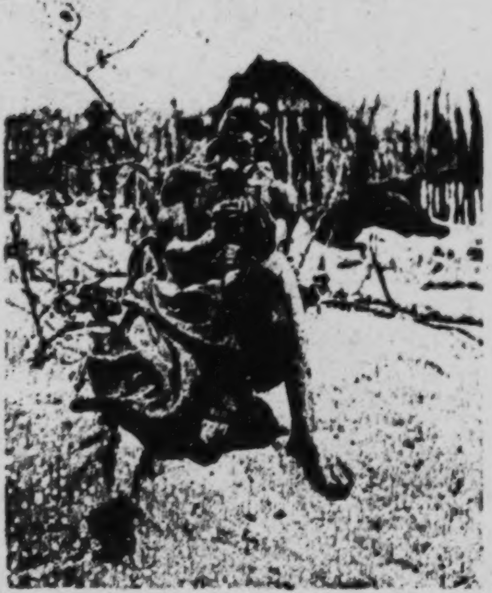
[P.436]



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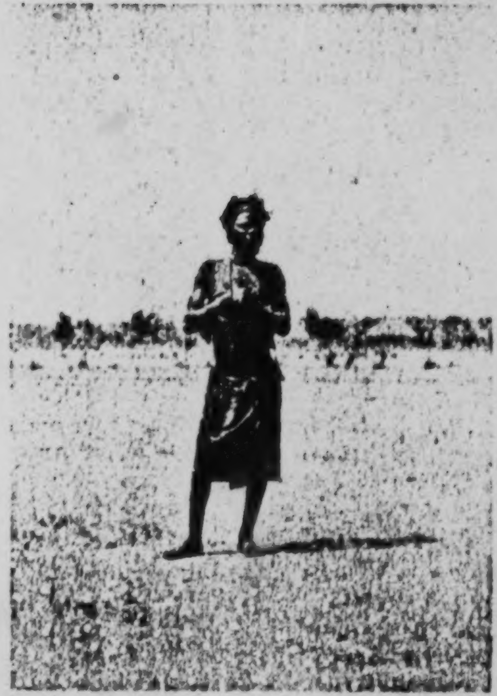

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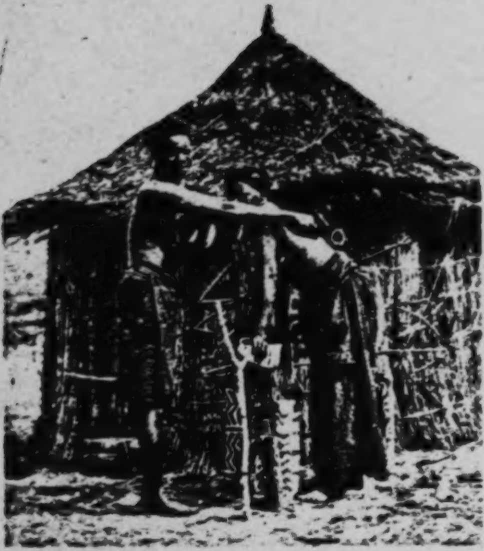
VACHOKUE, EAST ANGOLA

Fig. 1. Medicine-man, Cangamba, performing ceremony to make thief return to village. Fig. 2. Man, Mona Kuimbundu



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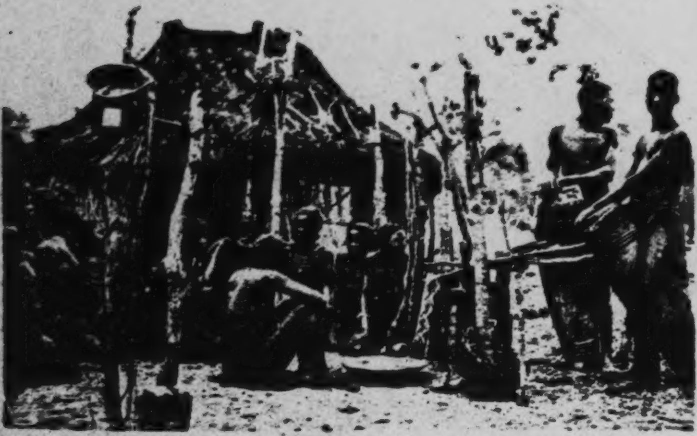

2

TREATING SICK WOMAN, VACHOKUE, CANGAMBA

Fig. 1. Medicine-man stroking patient's spine. Fig. 2. Preparing for ablution of face

[p. 437]

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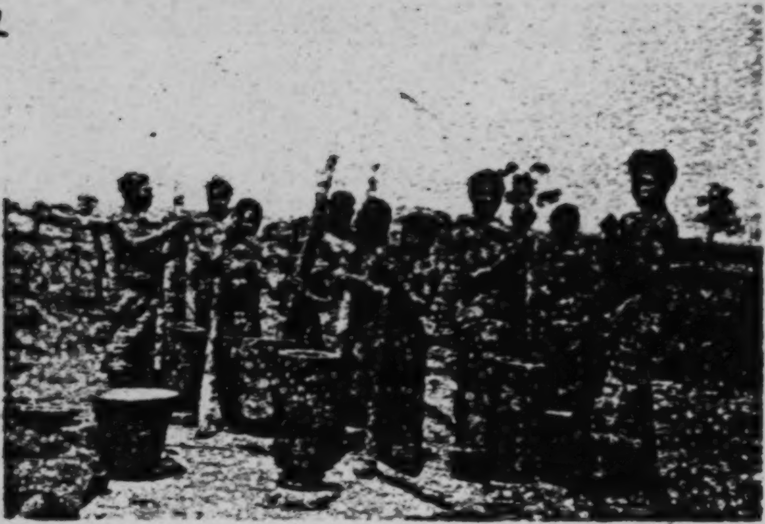

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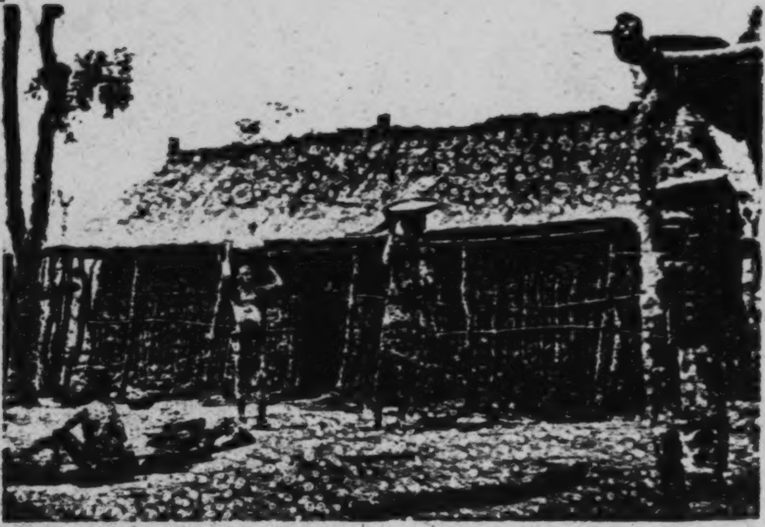

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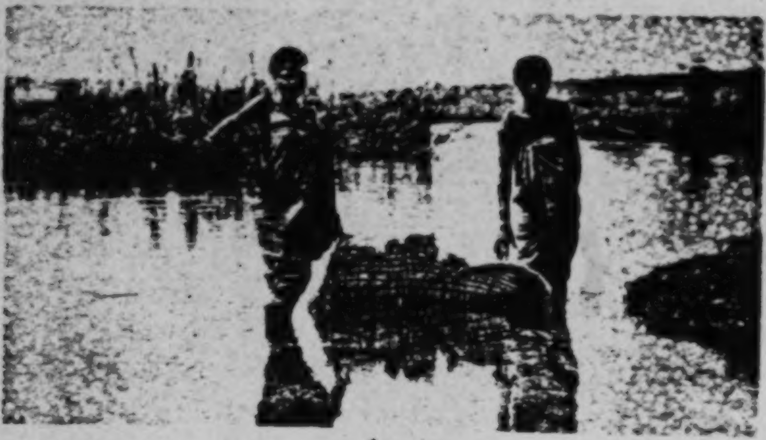
TYPES OF VACHOKUE, MONA KUIMBUNDU, NORTHEAST ANGOLA

Fig. 1. Women pounding maize. Fig. 2. Dwelling

[p.438]



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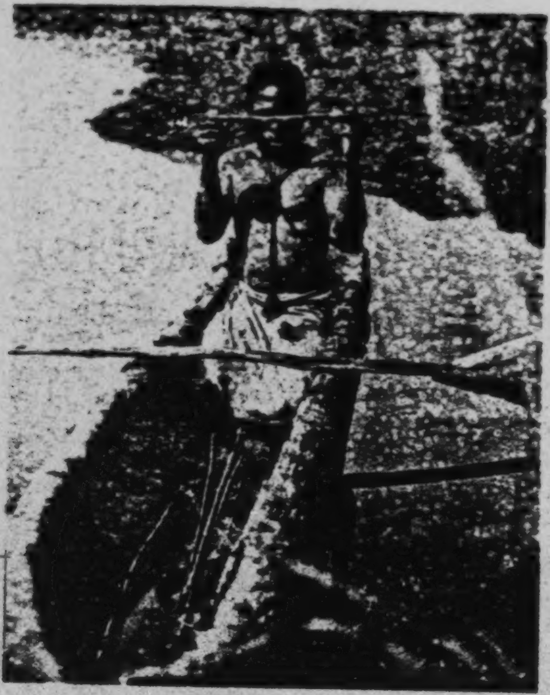

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VACHOKUE FISHING AT CANGAMBA

Fig. 1. Women dragging basket. Fig. 2. Man in bark canoe, holding net

[p.439]

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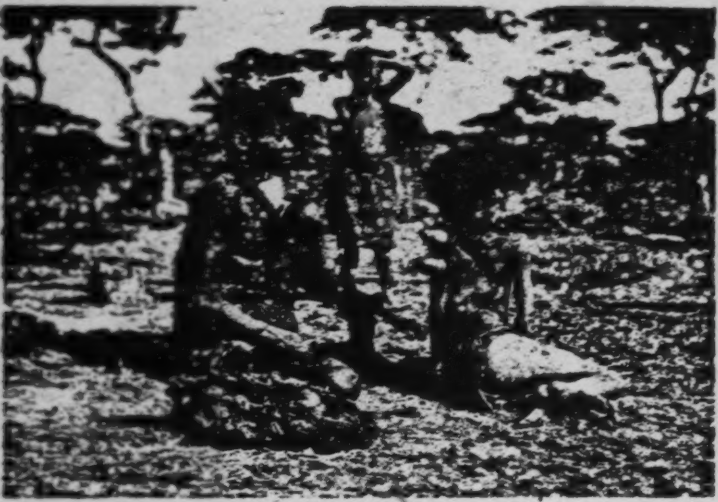

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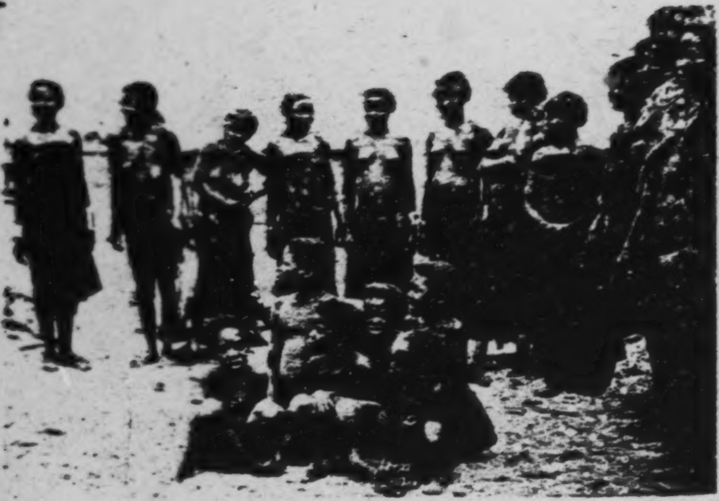


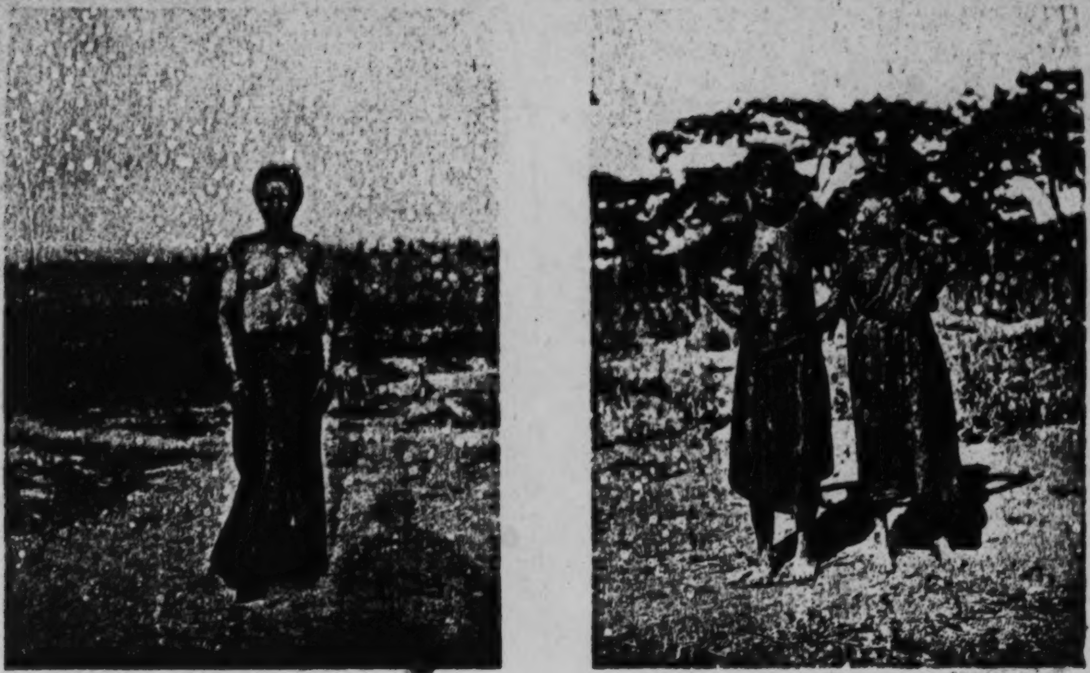
2

VACHOKUE, EAST ANGOLA

Fig. 1. Cupping operation, Ngongo, Ngalangi. Fig. 2. Group, Mona Kulumbundu

[p. 440]

[p. 441]



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VACHOKUE WOMEN, EAST ANGOLA

Fig. 1. Albino, Cangamba. Fig. 2. Women at Ngongo, Ngalangi

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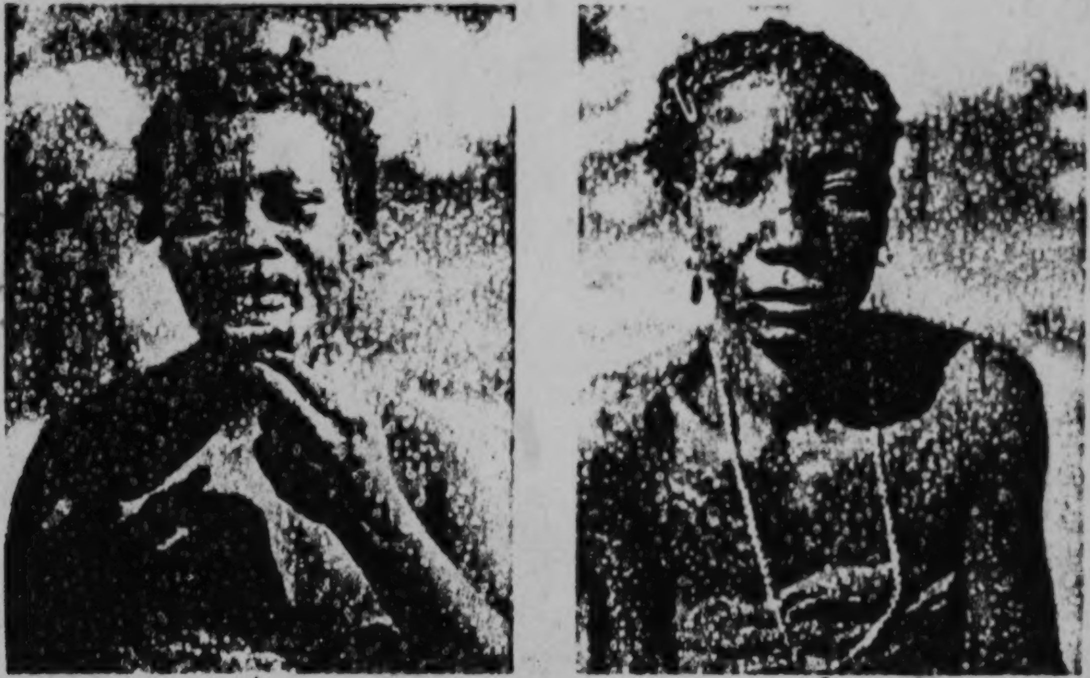
[P. 442]



VACHOKUE WOMEN, NGONGO, NGALANGI
Fig. 1. Showing mutilated teeth. Fig. 2. Showing scarification

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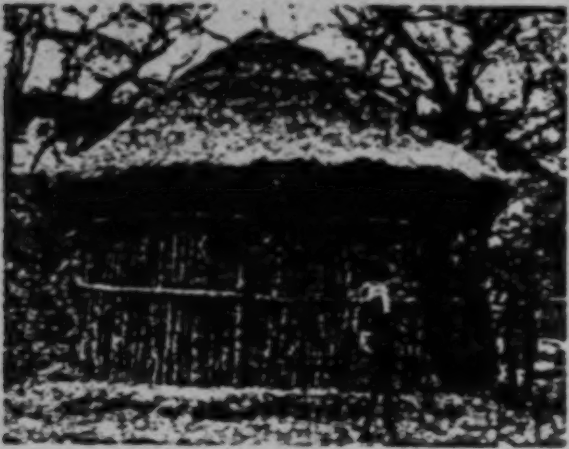

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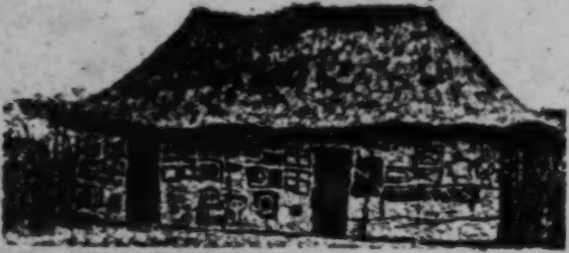

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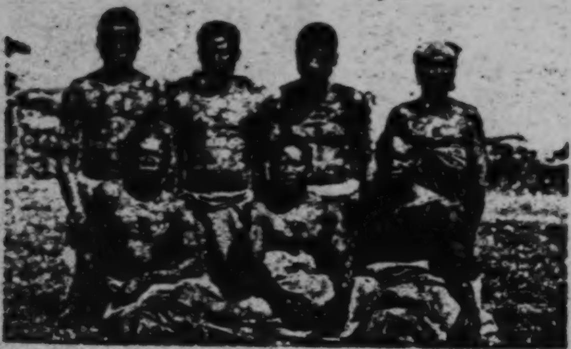


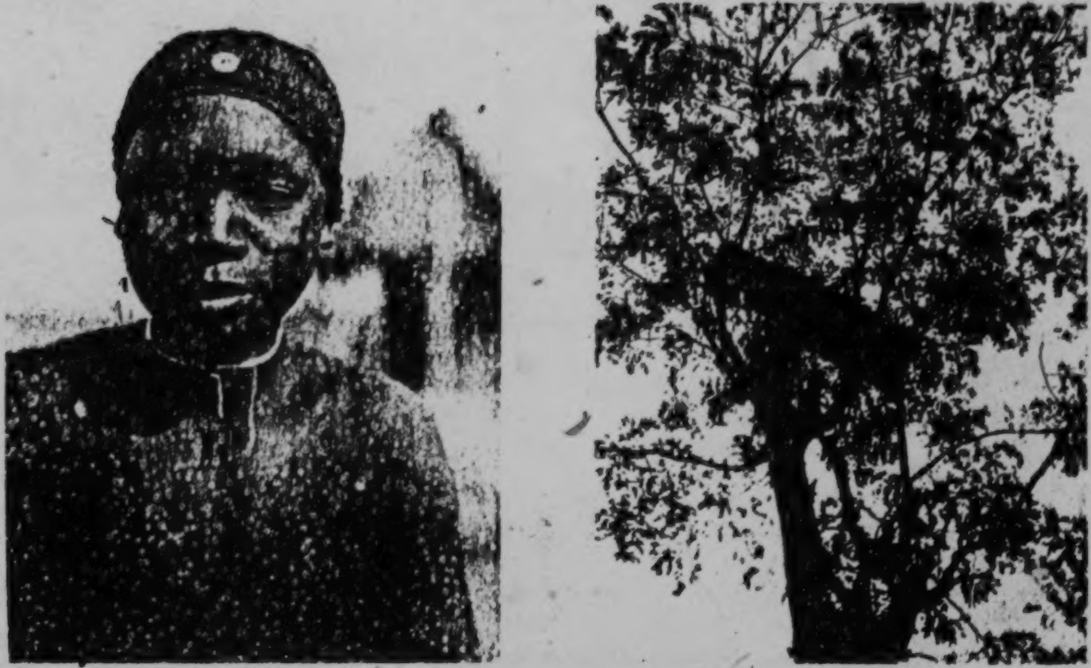
3

SCENES IN CENTRAL ANGOLA

Fig. 1. House where king communes with ancestral spirits, Ngalangi
Fig. 2. House with painted walls, near Bailundu
Fig. 3. Group showing mixture of tribes at Ngalangi

[p. 443]

[p.444]



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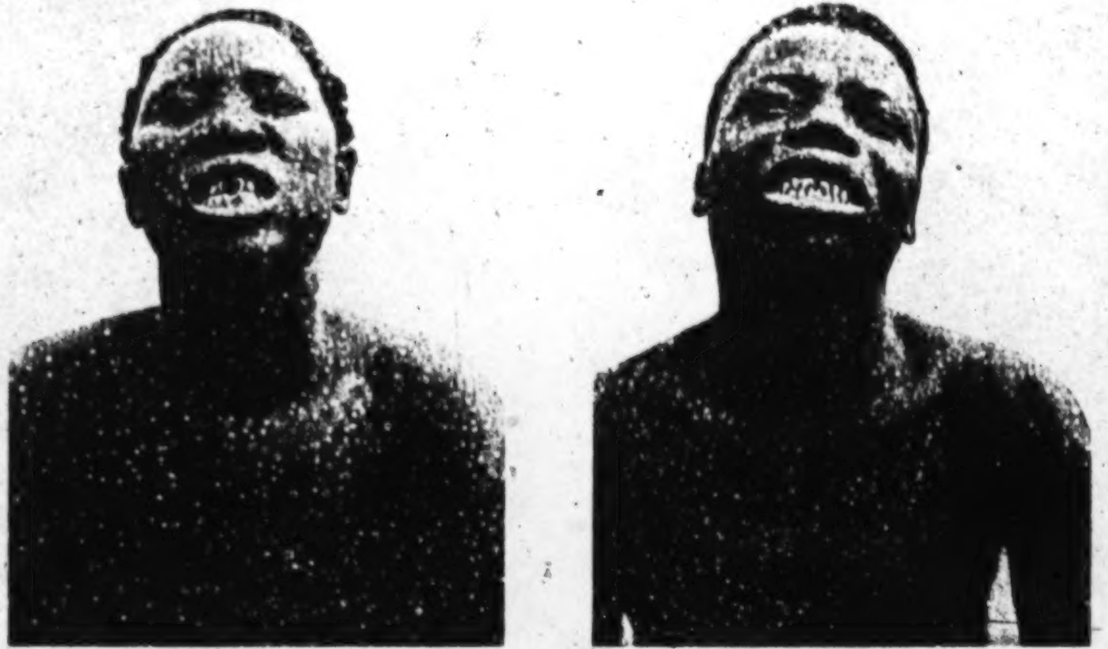
EAST-CENTRAL ANGOLA

Fig. 1. Woman of Vanuangella, Cassanga. Fig. 2. Beehive, Inandongo

[P. 445]



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TYPES OF BABUNDA, CANGAMBA, SHOWING MUTILATED TEETH

Fig. 1. Woman. Fig. 2. Man

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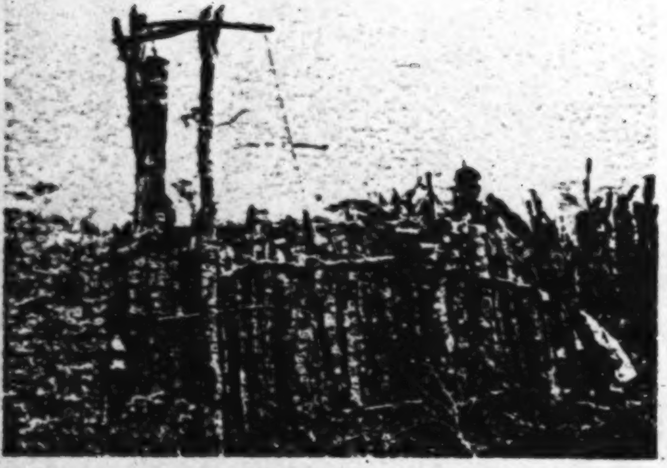

2

MAGIC AND HUNTING, CENTRAL ANGOLA

Fig. 1. Mound where childless women are covered with mud to give fertility, Vangangalla, Ngalangi

Fig. 2. Trap for leopards, Cangamba

[p.446]

116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 539

THE OCIMBANDA, OR WITCH-DOCTOR OF THE OVIMBUNDU OF PORTUGUESE SOUTHWEST AFRICA.

114 In July of last year the Anthropological Department of the Field Columbian Museum secured an ethnological collection from the Ovimbundu of the Portuguese African province of Angola. The collection was made by Rev. T. W. Woodside, a missionary for seven years among the Ovimbundu, and, on account of its completeness and the full data which accompanied the objects, is of unusual [121] importance and value. Perhaps of chief interest among the series of objects illustrating the various phases of native life in this region is the complete "medicine chest" of a witch-doctor. This I shall describe, making free use of the extensive notes furnished by Mr. Woodside, supplemented by several conversations during which the objects themselves were discussed, and much information furnished concerning the Ovimbundu in general. The collection under consideration was obtained from a single individual, and has seen long use.

101 The Ovimbundu are a southern division of an extensive group of people known as the Bundas, who, in turn, belong to the group of Bantu populations. They occupy the territory of the Bailundu and Bihe plateaus, from Bengualla to the Quanza River, a table-land 4000 to upwards of 6000 feet high, and in south latitude about twelve 142 degrees. The Ovimbundu are described by Mr. Woodside as a dark-skinned people, varying from coffee-brown to quite black, with thick curly hair. They are entirely uncivilized, but are a peaceable, 105 kindly people. Their food is chiefly vegetal, although they possess cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, and chickens. They practise polygamy, and the women prepare the food and do nearly all the field work. The men are famous as traders, and journey to the interior for rubber, wax, ivory, and slaves; the latter they secure by purchase from the country of the Lubas. The principal medium of exchange is a cheap cotton cloth which is obtained from white travellers.

791 Among the Ovimbundu, as in nearly all parts of Africa, the 759 witch-doctor is an important personage. He is feared by all classes, and often has more influence and power than the chief himself. Whenever anything is lost or stolen, they apply to the witch-doctor [761] to find out where the object is, or who is the thief. As no one is supposed to die a natural death, the doctor is called in to discover the witch who caused the death. To him they go for all kinds of charms to protect themselves against all evils, or to cast a spell on some one whom they wish to injure; to him they also go for help in

791 759 case of sickness. He is also a diviner, reading both the past and future. At all spirit feasts, at the installation of a new chief, in preparation for war, and on almost every occasion the witch-doctor plays a prominent part. He bears an influential position among his people, and his art is the source of a considerable income, for always before he begins operations the pay must be brought and laid down before him. Thus it is that he is loth to part with even a few of his charms, much less a full set.

The ocimbanda does not inherit his power, but must serve a long apprenticeship to some old witch-doctor, whom he pays liberally. He is then given a small basket with a few charms, to which he adds from time to time. His idols and charms are not made by him, but [778] are purchased one by one. All of these objects are considered powerful, *cikela* or sacred, and the common people are afraid to touch them; even the touch of a white man is sacrilegious. One of the distinguishing features of a witch-doctor's costume is a headdress, *ekufue*, made of long porcupine quills fastened together at one end, sewn to a cloth disk about two inches in diameter. Many of the quills are over a foot in length. This headdress is only worn when divining. He also occasionally wears about the loins a girdle, *uya*, consisting of a strip of antelope skin sewn together along the two edges, thus forming a pouch which contains medicines. Attached to the girdle are war charms and medicines, of which he eats from time to time. There are also several kinds of small skins in the collection, on which the doctor kneels when about to perform. [302] Two pigments should also be noticed. The first is a white, clayey substance, *ocikela*, with which the ocimbanda paints himself, and with which he also marks the person whom by his divining he has discovered to be innocent, the sign of acquittal being a mark across the forehead and down the arms. The other pigment is a red clay, *onongo*, with which he also marks his own body and employs as the sign of guilt.

787 415 Of the various objects of the ocimbanda's[1] outfit proper, the most important is the basket, *uhamba*, in which the outfit is kept. When it is said that so and so has a "uhamba," it means that he is a witch-doctor. The basket is thirteen inches high by nineteen in length, and eight inches in thickness. The ends are rounded, thus giving the basket, as seen from above, an elliptical form. The cover, three inches in height, fits closely down over the basket, after the manner of our telescope bag. The bottom of the basket is made separate, and is fastened by means of an interlacing of grass braid. The sides of the basket are simply one long strip of interlaced reed and bark fibre, the ends overlapping and being fastened together by the grass braid, which passes up continuously from the bottom to

[1] [i.e., diviner.-- Analyst]

the top of the basket which it circles, thus giving a decorative 787
effect as well as affording additional strength. The lid is built in a 415
similar manner.

Only second in importance is a small basket-shaped gourd, *ongombo*, used in divination. The basket is ten inches in diameter and three inches deep. Around the rim is bound two bands of grass fibre, thus affording strength, and, by means of the manner of binding these in place, a certain amount of decoration. The basket has evidently seen much use, for the bottom is cracked in several places and has been mended with cotton thread. On two sides near the rim are two cowry shells. The contents of this basket are extremely varied, all the objects being in the nature of charms. Among them may be enumerated several small images made of different kinds of wood, horn of a goat, ox hoof, piece of pig's foot, lion's tooth; skin from the nose of a hyena, to smell out crime; bone of a person, a supposed witch; chicken bones, and a chicken head with open mouth, which is supposed to represent a gossip; and dozens of other trinkets, each having its own significance in the eyes of the witch-doctor.

During the process of divination two images, *ovitakas*, represent- 787
ing male and female, are set up before the ocimbanda, that he may 778
cause them to be inhabited by spirits. These are not worshipped as idols, yet are venerated in a sense by the common people, especially by women and children. The images are carved out of hard wood, and stand a little over a foot in height. Each one is partially clothed in a cotton wrapper, and bears about the neck several strands of native beads. They possess unusual interest, as on the back of the head of each the manner of wearing the hair of each sex is carefully portrayed. Attached to the male by a string around the neck is a rosette of dull red and yellow feathers, one of which has been artificially notched. To enable the ocimbanda to call the spirits into these images, he uses a whistle, *omlinga*, consisting of the horn of a small antelope inserted into an ox-tail wrapped with beads arranged into broad bands of white, black, and red. Furthermore, when about to divine, the doctor eats a number of ants. He also has some medicines known collectively as *ovihemba*, which are kept in a skin, from which he takes and eats before and during divining. Of rattles, *ocisikilo*, shaken by the ocimbanda during the practice of his art, there are two, both bottle-shaped gourds containing cannalilly seeds.

When the ocimbanda goes to divine, he first carefully spreads his 787
skins one upon the other, and upon these he places his basket of charms. He puts white and red clay on his eyebrows, cheek bones, shoulders, and elbows; also stripes his body with these clays, and

787 puts on his necklace and headdress, which gives him a strange, wild appearance. Taking one of the gourd rattles, and giving the others to the parties interested, setting up the images, he is ready for operations. He begins by shaking the gourds and blowing the horn whistle, at the same time chanting in a minor strain, all the rest responding in chorus. In this way he works himself up into a sort of frenzy. He then takes the basket of charms, and, by throwing them slightly, claims to be able to read from them the past and future, and to declare the guilt or innocence of a person. In this way trivial matters, as well as the most weighty, even life and death, are decided. For instance, if, while determining whether an accused person is a witch or not, in his shaking and throwing of the charms the little horn with the wax and red seeds should stand upright, that would be taken as evidence of guilt; while if, on the contrary, the little image with the small cowry shell on the head should stand upright, that is evidence conclusive that the person is innocent. Not only is the question of guilt thus decided, but witch-doctors are thought to be able to predict coming events.

751 An important object in the outfit is a large horn of the roan antelope, containing a smaller antelope horn, medicines, oils, etc., prepared by the ocimbanda.[1] This is known as *ombinga*, or "loaded horn," and is considered efficacious in warding off from its possessor all harm, lightning, disease, witches, spirits, wild animals, etc. Carried upon journeys, it also insures a prosperous issue to the undertaking, and affords as well protection. Somewhat similar in
[789] construction, but used for an entirely different purpose, is the *ocifungo* or rain wand. This is the tail of an ox, into which are inserted two small horns with medicines and oils. By blowing the horns and waving the tail, the ocimbanda[1] is supposed to drive off rains at will.[1]

Of numerous small charms, *umbanda*, in the collection, two are of sufficient interest to merit notice. One consists of two four-inch-long bottle-shaped objects made of woven string, from the mouth of each of which projects a two-inch tuft of very tiny feathers. The two objects are joined at the top and bottom, and singly bear a decided resemblance to a Hopi *tiponi*, or religious society's palladium. They contain medicines and are worn from the neck. This is a special war charm, and affords protection against bullets and all harm in battle. The other charm is an ox's hoof into which is thrust a small antelope horn and medicines. In times of special
000 danger, it is put up somewhere in the village for protection. Still

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[1] Mr. Woodside also states that this same power is attributed by the Ovimbundu to white men; and when they are told that we do not possess this power, "they calmly look us in the eye and say, 'wa kemba' (you lie)."

[1] [i.e., diviner. Cf. pp. 183-186, cat. 116.--Analyst]

778 Still another form of fetish for protection are two small images also known as *ovitekas*. They, like the other *ovitekas* described above[1] are of wood, but are rudely carved from two round pieces of wood about sixteen inches long. No attempt has been made to represent the human form in any detail, only the face, neck, and arms being indicated. The face of both images has been besmeared with some reddish black pigment. These were placed where the path to the village branches off to the caravan road. A small hut before which they stood was built for them, about two feet square, and between two and three feet high, with a thatched grass roof. Within was a shelf on which from time to time was placed food, corn, and a small gourd of beer. This was done to appease certain spirits which were supposed to be angry with the village and were causing sickness.

695 278 For the so-called poison test three medicines are employed. The first and most common is known as the *ombambu*, a drug obtained from the country east of the Quanza River, and represented in the collection by a piece of bark. It has the property of a powerful spinal irritant, and it is said that a very small quantity will produce death. There is a current belief among the Ovimbundu that if a bird alights upon the *ombambu* tree it will fall down dead. The second drug, or *ombambu*, employed in the poison test is obtained from the Bihe country, and is represented by several roots. It is taken in the form of a decoction. The third test is known as *onsunga*. This is a mixture of powdered herbs, and is obtained from the country of the Ganguellas. With these three drugs should be mentioned a small gourd, *okopo*, used by the ocimbanda in mixing the medicines, and from which during the poison test the parties drink. The test medicines are stirred with the foot of a small antelope. Occasion for the administering of the poison may arise in various ways. Frequently one person will accuse another of being a witch. The accused may deny it, and appeal to the poison test to prove his innocency. They go to the chief, who calls an ocimbanda, who mixes up a concoction in a gourd, and both the accuser and accused drink. If the draughts make one sick and he vomits, he is acquitted; and if the other one becomes very sick and does not vomit, he is said to be the witch. This same test is often appealed to in other matters where one affirms and another denies. A man may drink by proxy, that is, he may have a friend drink the poison in his stead, or, more frequently, a slave drinks for his master.

791 757 Finally, it must be noticed that the ocimbandu is also a medicine-man. He undoubtedly possesses some really valuable remedies, but there is so much of the fetishistic cult bound up in the administering of the remedies that when they do help a person the credit of

[1] [Cf. p.185.-- Analyst]

791 the cure is given to the charms and incantations. Of the medicines 757 contained in the collection I shall only mention four: The first is a love medicine, *ekulo*, a powdered mixture of seeds. When a wife becomes jealous of the other wives of her husband, she complains to her mother, who advises her to cook a chicken and in the broth to place some of this medicine, which, when her husband eats thereof, will compel him forever to love her above all the other wives. The second remedy is an emetic, *asangu*. This is frequently used, as, for example, when in the poison test a person becomes very sick, and the guilt has become fully established, the doctor will administer an emetic to save life. In cases of difficult labor, the woman is given a small piece of the bark of the *oluvanga* to chew. For rheumatism, *ovikata*, a mixed powder called *omatoli*, is used.

George A. Dorsey.

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116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 689

OCCUPATIONAL RITUAL, BELIEF, AND CUSTOM AMONG THE OVIMBUNDU

By WILFRID DYSON HAMBLY

[114] 121 WHEN leader of the Frederick H. Rawson-Field Museum Expedition of 1929–30 one of my chief objects was the assembling of a representative collection of the arts and handicrafts of Angola, and particularly of the Ovimbundu who occupy the Benguela highlands.

[177] The Ovimbundu have been in contact with Europeans for three centuries at least, therefore I was interested to know to what extent daily avocations had become secularized. That a close connection has existed between the sacred and the profane in Negro tribes is well known, and the influence of spiritual beliefs and magical acts in every department of economic life, including agriculture, hunting, fishing, and handicrafts, has been established. But how durable is this dependence of economic life on magical acts and ancestral benediction? How soon does primitive economic life become commercialized on a European pattern?

Other observations of academic interest and practical value relate to division of labor between the sexes, specialization by age and natural aptitude; also the possibility of some callings being of an hereditary nature.

[101] My observations, which were made chiefly in the regions of Bailundu, Elende near Cuma, and Ngalangi, are conveniently classified under the headings of food supply, handicrafts, medicine-men, and education.

FOOD SUPPLY

824 825 At the foundation of economic life is nature lore, which among the male population of the Ovimbundu is so detailed and extensive that the knowledge has given rise to a large vocabulary. The highly specialized acquaintance with trees, plants, birds, mammals, and reptiles on the part of most of the men was a surprise to me. Such information was commonly shared by males, and was in no way peculiar to the professional hunter.

I was easily able to collect a list of fifty birds which are readily distinguished by boys (who shoot them with blunt wooden arrows), and all men seemed familiar with forty species of trees, whose timbers, barks, and fruits were distinguished and named. Boys were exceptionally well acquainted with small mammals; including several kinds of rats and mice, which are trapped, boiled, and eaten. For Field Museum I made a collection of snakes and lizards; a task which again showed the native power of observation and adequacy of vocabulary. Some reptiles, whose re-

824 semblance for a time caused confusion in my mind, were well known to be distinct; though occasionally a prolonged and serious argument would arise
825 among the old men respecting the correct Umbundu names for two similar snakes.

The cries of birds are interpreted in terms of human conversation: thus the female hornbill says to her mate, "I'm going; I'm going; I'm going to our village;" to which the male replies, "Don't go. The rain has come; let us plant." Another bird says, "Where will the guests stay? where? where? where?" This is an intimation that strangers will visit the village. All animals play a part in folk stories: human beings when introduced are usually of secondary importance.

Nature lore is, of course, fundamental to industries, since the artisans must know the best timbers for particular purposes. Thus certain woods yield the best charcoal for a blacksmith's forge; other woods are essential for house building because the timbers resist attacks of termites; again certain trees yield bark for making rope; while other woods are used for carving animals and household utensils.

[462] I am not sure of the extent to which women participate in nature lore; but certainly their knowledge cannot equal that of the men, since women are concerned chiefly with agriculture, domestic work, care of children, and collection of firewood. Yet women and little children are collectors. I have seem many of them together gathering caterpillars which are to be made into soup. Women know the plants that will yield dyes for basketry, and from women some of the bird calls were obtained. The conversation of men bears on their occupations and the nature lore fundamental to these; therefore women must learn, though perhaps only by unconscious absorption.

224 In connection with a study of food supply the occupation of hunting comes most closely to the general nature lore mentioned above. Here a distinction should be made between hunting as a general occupation for males, and hunting by a professional who gives his life to the work. The only occasion on which women and children assist hunters is during a communal hunt, when all the inhabitants of a village fire the dry grass and aid in the capture of game by shouting and driving the frightened animals.

A professional hunter is usually called ukongo, more rarely onyanga. The occupation is not hereditary. A boy has to serve two years with a professional hunter before his initiation. The principal guests at the initiation feast are professional hunters, who alone may dance, though a miscellaneous company is present. The boy who seeks initiation is required to keep quite still until he feels the "spirit on his head;" then he distributes meat to the people present. The meat used at the feast is that of antelope shot by

5: Hambly E-5 (1929-30)1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

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A

B

A. Rock tomb of a hunter near Ganda, west-central Angola. The entrance to the tomb is on the right. B. Tomb of a hunter near Luimbale, west-central Angola. Trophies of the chase are on the scaffold. (Photographs by courtesy of Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.)

[Facing p.158]

professional hunters, and the smearing of the novice's bow and arrows with 224
blood from the meat is an important point of ritual. The bow and arrows
are made by the master for his pupil; a practice strictly analogous to the [326]
making of tools for a young blacksmith by the master who has trained him.

In connection with the life and death of a hunter a certain amount of 177
ritual survives, and this despite long European contacts, game laws, and 224
the development of an economic system based primarily on extensive cul-
tivation of maize and beans. But though these circumstances might tend to [241]
discourage hunting and its attendant ritual, other facts have contributed to survival. An embargo on guns and powder has led to prolonged use of bows and arrows, with which all hunters are expert, though some, despite official prohibition, have muzzle loading guns. Bows are in general use, and their continuance has no doubt aided survival of ritual, since the rites themselves are closely associated with the bows.

The night before a professional hunter sets out is an occasion for re- 224
newal of implements of the chase, that is, renewal in a spiritual sense, by a ceremony designed to transfer power in a magical way from the disused weapons of deceased hunters to the weapons in use. Weapons of dead hunters are kept in a small hut to which a hunter repairs on the eve of departure. He rubs the old weapons (bows, clubs, and spears) with palm-oil; then pours over them a libation of beer. No medicine-man is present, so for the occasion a hunter functions as his own priest.

It is hazardous and perhaps unprofitable to attempt an analysis of the philosophy behind these ritual acts. Yet the weapons are symbols of the personality and prowess of dead hunters whose names they have received. Therefore the suggestion that the hunter is acquiring power from the dead is reasonable, and the idea harmonises with all that is known of ancestor worship among Bantu tribes.

The food and cooking pots of a hunter must never be associated with those of ordinary household use. If a hunter is following the tracks of an animal he may not point with his finger, since this action will drive the animal away. He may, however, point with the feathered end of an arrow. A dog must have his ears clipped in a peculiar way or he will not hear and obey. A hunter may not sleep with his wife the night before setting out in quest of game. Before leaving home a hunter washes his eyes with a concoction of herbs to give greater acuity of vision.

In any village the hut of a professional hunter can be readily distin- 224
guished by a number of poles erected near the entrance. On these supports 764
are placed the skulls of animals killed in the chase. A traveler cannot fail
to notice the tombs of hunters which consist of cairns
of stones enclosing a

5: Hambly E-5 (1929-30) 1934 FP 13 Mbundu FP13

533
534

A. Player of the drum (ochingufu). B. Official flute players to a chief at Bailundo. (Photographs by courtesy of Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.)

[Facing p. 159]

224 764 hollow chamber. I removed a thin slab of stone which formed an entrance to a tomb of this kind and observed within two skeletons lying supine. On the top of the cairns were skulls of animals killed by the hunter. I noted one instance of the burial of a hunter's dog under a cairn of stones.

825 774 Three birds are protected by a prohibition. Esuvi is a bird which has power to steal the souls of the dead, so making them die a second death. As usual, no direct etplanation was given concerning this second death, but an explanation came later, quite fortuitously. For instance, an old man said he was sick because esuvi had stolen the spirit of his grandfather. This statement is logical, since welfare depends on a beneficent interest of dead ancestors, and it is evident that dying a second death prevents a spirit from exercising a benign influence over the living. Other protected birds are one which supplies feathers from which the decorations of kings and medicine-men are made, and one whose night cry is a warning of death in a village.

226 In fishing, a division of labor is recognized: men use a rod and line, while women drag baskets against the stream or use poison in slow, shallow water. The night before poison is to be used for fishing, husband and wife must avoid intercourse, since intimacy of this kind would make the fish stay together at the bottom of the river. A man who has prepared his rod and line, by transfixing a grasshopper and attaching it to a thin piece of bark, [539] sings a song which is of the nature of a spell. He says:

"O fish come and take your good thing.
Do not send the little fish to spoil the good thing.
Better you come and take the good thing with all your strength."

439 [443] Up to half a century ago the Ovimbundu were renowned traders whose caravans penetrated deeply into the Congo region and even to the east side of Africa. It is natural, therefore, that some ritual should be connected with such an important enterprise. At the present day caravans may be seen, but those are local, and most of the carriers are found to be taking their maize, beans, and beeswax to traders' stores. I believe women did not accompany the transcontinental caravans of early days, but today women may be seen in line with the other carriers. Their loads are lighter, being on the average thirty pounds as compared with sixty pounds for a man. Children also carry small loads in the caravan.

439 787 [643] Ngonga, my chief informant, said that in former times no caravan leader would set out without having consulted the preserved head of a deceased king. Even at present the corpse of a king is suspended by the neck and twisted until the head is severed. The head is sewn in oxhide and preserved in a box. The ancient caravan custom consisted of taking the box

containing the head and attaching it to a pole by which it was supported 439
on the shoulders of two bearers. Then followed a series of questions from 787
the village chief (sekulu), and answers were supposed to be given through forward or backward swinging of the pole. A forward swing was affirmative, and a backward swing was negative. I have seen this procedure followed with a coffin supported as described, and the questions related to the cause of death.

The head of a king would be asked, "Do you want an ox for sacrifice? We will give you one." "Do you want a new skin for your head? We will give you one." Such was the ceremony for bringing spiritual aid to what was otherwise a commercial undertaking.

A wooden figure of a female decorated with black feathers was an indispensable part of the equipment of a medicine-man who accompanied a caravan. When in doubt with regard to the path he knelt at the parting of the ways and consulted the figure. Replies came in a falsetto voice attained by plugging his nostrils. Horns containing a mixture of fat, charcoal, and other substances were carried so that they might be planted near a camping ground to drive away thieves and leopards. These horns are still used and are obtainable.

At the present day a belated Ocimbundu, who fears the sun may set 789
before he reaches the next village, will take some earth from an ant hill. This earth he places in the fork of a tree saying, "O sun wait for me a little while."

Examination of the culture of the Ovimbundu, combined with observa- 101
tions on the Umbundu language and somatic traits, indicate that the Ovim- 241
bundu are a part of the Bantu peoples of southwest Africa. They have, however, taken advantage of the open Benguela highlands to develop their system of agriculture far beyond that which is usually carried on by Negroes in forest clearings.

In agricultural work a clear division of labor is observed. Men clear 241
timber and burn the bush, after which hoe cultivation is in the hands of 562
women, though men assist with the harvest. Unmarried girls help in the fields and each has a piece of ground whose products are the cultivator's personal property. This gives unmarried girls a measure of economic independence. Usually a girl spends the proceeds of her work in buying
trinkets and palm-oil for personal decoration. Under their system of poly- 595
gyny each wife has her own field, utensils, and a separate hut with its fire 562
and cooking arrangements. The husband visits each hut for four consecutive nights, though in some districts there is a seven night cycle. Men always take evening meals in the mens' council house (onjango) in the center
(to notice the tombs of hunters, which consist of cairns of stones enclosing a)[1]

[1] [Printer's error: This sentence refers to p. 159.-- Analyst]

595 of the village. The meals are brought there by those wives who are at the
562 time cohabiting with their husbands. But an exception is made in case of
menstruation, for a woman is not allowed to cook or handle food during
her period. At such times the preparation and transfer of food is carried out
by another wife, and of course the time comes when such a service can be
241 requited. I found no survival of agricultural rites such as offering first
fruits or other similar ceremony.

In some tribes of Sudanic and Bantu Negroes agricultural rites are important
in relation to sowing and harvest, since land is in the first place the
property of dead ancestors, but so far as my inquiries go such rites are not
now known to the Ovimbundu. Maize may be pounded only on rocks that
have been consecrated by the medicine-man: he kills a chicken and sprinkles
[462 the surface of the rock with its blood. Only women may pound corn, and a
838] youth who persisted in dressing as a woman and pounding on the rocks was
beaten by his relatives. This information gave a clue to homosexual practices,
but the information obtained was meager.

231 In connection with the care of domestic animals many tempting digressions
present themselves, but I am concerned only with beliefs, ritual, and
division of labor. Chickens are of ritual importance since they provide the least expensive sacrifice, and in connection with industries the piacular use of chickens will presently be mentioned. For sacrificial purposes a goat is preferred to a sheep since it makes more noise; but the reason for this is not clear, though making a surmise I would say that the noise better appeases ancestral spirits to whom most sacrifices are made. Pigs are kept, but I did not hear of them being used for sacrifice. The animals so far mentioned have little or no attention. Goats fend entirely for themselves; so also do sheep. Chickens receive maize from women and children, who also gather the eggs. Pigs receive maize and mush from cooking pots or that discarded in making beer, but they depend largely on foraging in refuse pits.

The castration of pigs and bulls is the work of a male specialist who receives a fee of four yards of cloth for operating on the latter animal, but only a small gift of tobacco or similar recognition for castrating a pig.

The Ovimbundu have acquired cattle of the long-horned Damara
breed, and in connection with the care of these some important points of
ritual and division of labor should be recorded. The herding of cattle is
[462] exclusively the work of males, and I am not aware that women have any
234 tasks connected with cattle. Only in recent times have some male owners of
cattle begun to milk the cows. This they do somewhat stealthily, deceiving
the cow from time to time by allowing the calf to suck for a few moments.
If asked why milk is not used, the owners say that calves deprived of suck-

ing become thin; but avoidance of milk is really one of those deeply rooted 234 food prejudices which even the people themselves could not explain if willing to do so.

The Vakuanyama of south Angola make butter by swinging two large calabashes on a pole, but though this practice is known to the Ovimbundu, they do not imitate the method. The flesh of cattle that have died from disease or accident is eaten, and uses are found for the hide, tail, and horns. 231 But cattle are not slaughtered except at a funeral feast, after which the horns are mounted on a pole over the grave, and perhaps the skulls are preserved near the site of burial.

Cattle serve as fines, sacrifices, and gifts, including a bride's dowry, but the social and religious importance is greater than the economic use. This is in accordance with what might be expected, since the pastoral activities of the Ovimbundu are but an adopted series of traits which can be found among numerous pastoral tribes of southwest, south, and east Africa. Wrapping the head of a king in oxhide which is ceremonially renewed has been mentioned.[1] In addition to this rite, the use of oxhide bracelets by mourners, and the use of an oxhide shroud for chiefs and kings, must be recorded. Use of ceremonial fire which is distributed from the chief's house when a new village is founded, and creation of new fire after epidemic sickness, are Umbundu traits which form part of the typical pastoral culture elsewhere.

Consideration of food supply has indicated the preservation of ritual and 182 belief, not intensively, but with sufficient force to show great tenacity of indigenous culture in the face of prolonged and disturbing intrusions.

HANDICRAFTS

Incomparably important is the craft of the blacksmith. The preservation 326 of ritual and belief was at once suggested by the workers' refusal to sell me any of the tools, especially the large hammer (onjundo), although the sum offered covered the value of the implements and the time lost in making new ones. After three months I acquired a large hammer from the wife of a blacksmith who had not worked at his trade for many years. She parted with the tool in the absence of her husband, but demanded a sum which would have purchased an ox. Other tools were made for me.

Information respecting the blacksmiths' ritual was given in the village of Njongolo in Elende, but I am informed that the beliefs are general, and they are certainly compatible with all that is known of blacksmiths' ritual among Bantu Negroes, Sudanic Negroes, and Hamiticized Negroes of east Africa. I found no mining of iron but saw a site where the ore was for-

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[1] [Cf. p.160, cat. 116. -- Analyst]

326 merly obtained. Blacksmiths now smelt scrap-iron from European sources.

[582] Among the Ovimbundu, blacksmiths are restricted in marriage only by those kinship laws arising from their classificatory system of relationships, and the operation of a system of cross-cousin marriage. The smiths are not an endogamous group, and the occupation is not hereditary.

But despite these differences, which are not quite in harmony with the general body of custom relating to Negro blacksmiths, the Ovimbundu preserve ritual which is part of a widely distributed attitude toward workers in iron.

When a boy begins his training he should be about eighteen years of age and physically robust. He is required to collect and soften fragments of iron in the charcoal fire, to work the bellows, and to beat iron on the anvil, but for a time he is not allowed to make implements, the chief of which are hoe blades and axe heads. At the end of two years the novice asks his master to examine him, and preparations are made for an inauguration ceremony should the youth have proved sufficiently skilled to become an independent blacksmith.

326 782 On the day of initiation the boy has to buy four chickens, two male and two female, one pup, and a goat. The master blacksmith has already made a complete set of tools for presentation to his pupil, but the big hammer (onjundo) is not quite completed until the day of initiation. While the final touches are being given to this object the novice stands still on a small stone anvil which is situated between the forge and the large anvil.

When the hammer is completed, and while it is still red hot, it is thrust into the belly of the pup provided by the novice. The goat and the four chickens are killed and some of their blood is sprinkled over the new tools which are gathered in a heap. The blacksmiths invite their friends to feast on the flesh of the sacrificed animals.

326 553 The boy remains standing on the anvil[1] until the master says, "You may speak and tell us what name you want." Perhaps the boy says, "I am Ndumbu;" then the people clap hands and trill with their fingers in their open mouths. My interpreter said, "The boy will work hard and people will pay him. He used to work hard but his master took the pay."

326 778 Near the large anvil may be seen one or more wooden figures which are still regarded as essential to the work of the blacksmith. I was informed that a blacksmith owes his skill to the aid of a spirit of some person he has killed, and that this spirit uses the wooden figure as a dwelling place. If this information is reliable the wooden figure is of the nature of a shrine, but I was not able to learn of any ceremony for inducing a spirit into the wooden figure. The impression left was that the spirit of the murdered person re-

[1] [i.e., on the day of initiation of apprentice blacksmith. -- Analyst]

sided permanently in the wooden figure. This ritual murder is now im- 326
possible, but the wooden figures are still used in the way described. 778

Women are never engaged in blacksmiths' work; neither are they em- [462]
ployed as wood carvers. Among men wood carving is a specialized occupa- 532
tion, and within the craft itself are men who deal solely with one branch
of the work. Thus in a village perhaps only one man is capable of making
a drum, while another carves life-like wooden figures of animals, and a
third specializes in the fabrication of household implements.

Among the Ovimbundu women are the only potters, but I found just 462
one exception in the case of a man who said that he learned the potter's 323
craft in eastern Angola among the Vachokue. No ritual is connected with
the making of pottery, but I observed that women always frequented one
pit for their clay and in doing so passed better clay which was more ac-
cessible. I learned that a clay pit has to be consecrated by a medicine-man [782]
who kills a chicken and sprinkles the blood in the pit. All women at some
time learn the arts of pottery making and basketry, but by the process of
selection the industries become concentrated in the hands of the most
skillful.

Only women make baskets; a craft in which they are skilled, especially 462
in the gathering of plants and the extraction of dyes of soft shades. Such 285
dyes have considerable endurance even though exposed to bright sunlight.
Imported dyes are now competing with indigenous products, but the latter
are still preferred in most localities. One might expect that women who are
skilled in basket making would be expert weavers of mats, but this is not
so. Mat making is in the hands of men who are skilled specialists, and within
the mat making industry are at least three principal divisions of the craft,
one for each type of mat.

Men spin cotton for mending clothes, but I have not seen women so 283
engaged. I did not see any looms in use in Angola, but they survived up to 462
a few years ago, and in the youth of my interpreter, who was about thirty 286
years of age, looms worked by men were plentiful.

House building shows a division of labor according to age and sex. Men 462
are responsible for cutting the poles, digging the trench in which these up- 331
rights are set, and binding the cross-pieces with bark. Men are likewise
responsible for plastering the walls and laying the thatch. Women carry
water to the clay pit and transport the puddled clay to the men who are
plastering the walls. Children, some of them so young that they have to
be rescued from a swampy grave, delight in puddling the clay with their
feet. The rectangular pit is always as near the house as possible in order
to minimize the labor of transport. I suggested that some of the tasks should

462 be reversed and asked whether men could not carry the water. I was told that such a man would be laughed at and called a "he-woman." Yet 331 division of labor does not imply sex inferiority, and ridicule would arise from incongruity.

MEDICINE-MEN

759 791 The training of a medicine-man (ocimbanda) and a medicine-woman (chambula) involves few formalities, but this class of work requires that a novice shall have "spirit in the head." When visited by a sick boy the medicine-man shakes his divination basket and if a certain combination of objects appears, he says, "Your father was ocimbanda and his spirit wants you." The boy who is thus adopted has to accompany the medicine-man, his master, carrying apparatus and standing near to play a small friction drum while the master is shaking his divination basket.

Specialization among medicine-men is carried to great degree of refinement, especially among those practitioners who profess therapeutic knowledge. I employed three medicine-men to collect plants, of which they appeared to have an expert knowledge. Umbundu names were given and the curative properties of each plant were explained with enthusiasm and evident conviction. The men were undoubtedly sincere in their own beliefs. A specialist who can cure blood in the urine, and another who is said to treat dizziness successfully, are greatly respected. The rainmaker is ocimbanda opulia, "the medicine-man of the rain," who dances while flourishing a cow-tail switch, and blowing a shrill whistle intermittently.

Ocimbanda is of course distinguished from onganga, since the former is concerned with socially beneficent tasks such as those mentioned, while [754] the latter may cause sickness, impotence, and sterility. In earlier days the task of finding sorcerers (onganga) by use of the poison ordeal was that of an ocimbanda. Medicine-women are called in to take care of difficult cases of childbirth, and I have seen a medicine-woman painting the face of a pregnant woman, who thereafter observed certain taboos.

Space will not permit enumeration of the contents of a divination basket and the significance attached to each item; neither can I give details of ceremonies for curing the sick or bringing a thief back to the village, but the foregoing notes suffice to show that the craft is specialized and still important. A medicine-man ceremonially washes a king or chief on rare occasions. He makes new fire by twirling; though flint and steel, also matches, are known. When a new village is founded a medicine-man stirs [782] the blood of sacrificed animals with the claws of a chicken; then he sprinkles this blood on each new house.

At Caconda I obtained the basket of a medicine-man which contained 759
a human tibia, a hoe for digging in graves, and a round stone for pounding 791
the bone before mixing it with fat and charcoal. Medicine-men still make
potions for internal use, and these are usually carried in small horns suspended
round the neck, or the paste may be contained in the carapace of
a tortoise. In every way the medicine-man is still functioning, and his
tasks are fundamental to the social and religious life of the Ovimbundu.

At an early age children specialize in their play which has a bearing 868
on the business of life. Boys make wooden-tipped arrows, play at hunting,
and shoot at tubers which are rolled along the ground. Girls take clay from
the potters to fabricate their own small cooking pots, and young girls attempt
the coiling of basketry.

Men are the musicians, and among these a high degree of specialization 533
is observed. In a large village there are likely to be only a few competent
drummers, and only a few men who play the small iron-keyed instrument
called ocisanji. Osaka is a ritual game played only by men, and only when
a village headman or a king is dying. The ball (ombunje) is made by sewing 535
lizard skin over a hard spherical fruit about six centimeters in diameter. A 524
man continues to dance with this little ball clenched in his outstretched 755
hand, while another dancer hits the muscles of his arm to make him release
the ball. This game is thought to give strength to the sick man. There is
a transfer of the endurance of the dancers to the invalid.

Preliminary observation in some villages occupied by Ovimbundu is 177
disappointing in its suggestion of Europeanization. The foreign culture is,
however, a thin veneer, and further research shows a strong persistence of
indigenous custom and belief quite near to centers of Portuguese influence.

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116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

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THE OVIMBUNDU UNDER TWO SOVEREIGNTIES

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THE OVIMBUNDU UNDER TWO SOVEREIGNTIES

A STUDY OF SOCIAL CONTROL AND SOCIAL CHANGE AMONG A PEOPLE OF ANGOLA

ADRIAN C. EDWARDS

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To Dr. Gladwyn Childs I owe both my introduction to the Umbundu people through his book, and his personal hospitality and interest. Other Protestant missionaries who helped

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The people of Epalanga and its neighbourhood were most patient and polite to me. I must mention by name my servant, Pedro Epalanga Chimbalanya.

NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY

The orthography for Umbundu words used here is that adopted in the *Dicionário Etimológico Bundo-Português* of Padre Albino Alves. Generally speaking, I have used this for names of villages and of individuals (apart from Christian names). Towns, European settlements, and chiefdoms have been spelt according to the accepted Portuguese orthography. Dr. Childs has given all place names of Umbundu origin in his Umbundu orthography. Hence, my Cassongue is his Kasongi.

INTRODUCTION

The Ovimbundu[1] of central Angola appear under various 101
names[2] in narratives by nineteenth and early twentieth century travellers in West Central Africa. In the present century three 121
anthropological studies have been written about them by Childs,[3] Hambly,[4] and Hastings,[5] as well as two shorter studies by Bastos[6] and Santos Brandao,[7] and a large number of articles.[8] Despite the large amount of documentation available there existed a considerable number of gaps, especially as [114]
regards the political system and the kinship system.[9] In proposing to work among the Ovimbundu, I hoped to be able to fill in these gaps, and in particular to provide a study of what appeared to be a double-descent kinship system. I also hoped to study the reactions of an African society to Portuguese rule.

I arrived at Nova Lisboa in roughly the centre of Umbundu 114
country in October 1955. Here, as in Lisbon, I was told that it 121
would be very difficult to find an area where the traditional 114
social life of the Ovimbundu as described in the literature

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[1] A plural from the singular Otjimbundu. The adjective and the name of the language is Umbundu. The Ovimbundu people are entirely distinct from the Kimbundu people of northern Angola and the two languages are not mutually intelligible. However, the confusion between the two has gone so far that both Europeans and Africans speak of the Ovimbundu people and language as Kimbundu and of the true Kimbundu as Kamundongo.

[2] Mambari, Nano, Ovimbali, and so on.

[3] G. M. Childs, *Umbundu Kinship and Character*, Oxford, 1949.

[4] W. D. Hambly, *The Ovimbundu of Angola*, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 1934.

[5] *Ovimbundu Customs and Practices* (unpublished thesis) 1933, D. A. Hastings.

[6] Traços Geraes sobre a Etnografia do Districto de Benguella in *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, 1908, pp. 5–15, 44–56, 81–99, 133–40, 169–76, 197–207.

[7] Articles in *Mensário Administrativo* (Luanda) March–April, July–August 1950, and Sept.–Oct., Nov.–Dec. 1952.

[8] See Bibliography.

[9] For an examination of the ethnographic material as it then was, see Merran McCulloch, *The Ovimbundu of Angola*, Ethnographic Survey of Africa. International African Institute, London, 1952.

[p. xiv is blank—Analyst]

114 121 184 [162] could be observed. Eventually I decided to work in the Bimbe area, in the extreme north-western corner of Umbundu country. The census[10] indicated that Bimbe had a smaller white population than any comparable area of Umbundu country, and people who knew it considered that it was one of the areas most likely to retain a relatively conservative social life.

114 121 184 101 In Bimbe I settled in the village of Epalanga in the chiefdom of Gumba. The advantage of Gumba lay in the conservatism for which its people were noted in other chiefdoms; its disadvantage lay in its proximity to the northern boundary of Umbundu speech and culture, which led me to collect some items of ethnographic information not typical of Umbundu country.[11] On the whole, I am satisfied that the people of Gumba were in the past as in the present Ovimbundu in both speech and way of life.[12]

121 Many of my discoveries were at first negative ones. I could not find any evidence that there was a double system of kinship groups actually in existence; the villages were not composed of agnatic kin; the chief seemed lacking in power. Nor was it easy to obtain detailed information about the past even from old 181 men. There is little interest nowadays in history, nor are the old social institutions regarded, even by those who once participated in them, as being necessarily better than those of the present day. The reason for this attitude seems to lie in Umbundu social psychology with its readiness to accept European authority and 121 values. Interesting as the motivations behind this attitude are, this 'cultural amnesia' caused me much disappointment. I found it much easier to get texts on the caravan trade, and on ceremonial practices and proverbs, than on the political and kinship systems. The inadequacies of the information I received on the political system may be explained by the fact that Gumba is on the fringe of the area tributary to the old kingdom of

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[10] Of 1950.

[602] [11] The payment of fines by a man to his dead wife's kin had been formerly practised in Gumba, and still is further north. It does not seem to have been known in living memory elsewhere in Umbundu country.

[12] The northern limit of Umbundu speech is now somewhere to the north of the administrative post of Cela. As there has not been substantial migration from the south, it is reasonable to assume that it is many years since the Gumba-Cela boundary was also the language boundary.

6: Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962

FP13 Mbundu FP13

Bailundo.[13] On the kinship system, however, I was even more disappointed. The information which I was given on the matrilineal groups formerly existing was much less than that provided by Hastings,[14] or by Childs,[15] and I have therefore not been able to obtain the detail for which I had hoped on the double-descent system. 121

Like all anthropologists I had a certain number of difficulties 121 in making contact with the people, and to these were added the 123 problems of finding underlying consistencies in a changing society. The Ovimbundu are not interested in genealogies and did not see why I was. My first attempts to take village censuses were regarded with great suspicion, and more than once people refused to give their names. Kinship terms and norms seemed (102) to be and were very confused. Various matters, such as surviving pagan rituals, were concealed from me. My personal relations with the people were very happy, however, and almost everybody who came to know me was prepared to answer my questions at length.

My two great problems in the field were to obtain information 121 on the old social structure (which I already knew in outline 128 from the written material), and to see how the present-day society worked. The material in this thesis will be laid out in the following way. The first part will give an outline of Umbundu social structure as it was in the period 1874–1911,[16] that is, the era of the rubber trade. The second part will give a series of chapters on present day Umbundu society, which will provide the information necessary for an understanding of the mechanisms of social control. In the third part a detailed discussion of social control is made, beginning with an examination of a number of disputes. It is shown how the network of kinship and marriage ties in a neighbourhood provide local continuity and stability, while the wider units in which the Ovimbundu now participate are of European origin and control.

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[13] Cassongue and Cela were tributary to Bailundo but were not incorporated [131] into the actual kingdom (Childs, p. 168). Cassongue people say that they are not Va-Mbailundu.

[14] Hastings, Chapter VI.

[15] Hastings gives more information than Childs on the matrilineal kin group.

[16] The period of the rubber trade. Childs, pp. 206–13.

CHAPTER I

THE OLD SOCIETY

1. *History*

The Ovimbundu, who live on the Benguela Highland[1] of central Angola, have been in contact with Europeans since their emergence as a people in the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries. Dr. Childs has provided an excellent account of their history,[2] based on the collection of traditional narratives and a study of the published sources in English, German, and Portuguese. 175 131 177

The Ovimbundu arose from a fusion of two stocks, one that of the 'Jagas', a conquering race who invaded the Benguela Highland in the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries, and the indigenous occupants of the area who were culturally and linguistically related to the peoples who now live in south-west Angola.[3] The Jagas were described in some detail by the English sailor Andrew Battell[4] who was their prisoner for some time at the beginning of the seventeenth century. He tells us that they were warlike cannibals who recruited their numbers by taking adolescents from the peoples they conquered.[5] This society did not reproduce itself normally by descent since all children born were put to death.[6] He locates them geographically in the Amboim–Cela–Quibala area[7] to the north of the present Umbundu territory. Cavazzi writing in the later seventeenth

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[1] In Portuguese, Planalto de Benguela.

[2] Childs, pp. 164–213.

[3] Ibid. p. 190.

[4] Ravenstein (Ed.). *The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell*. Hakluyt Society, London 1901.

[5] Ravenstein, p. 33.

[6] Ibid. p. 32.

[7] Ibid. pp. 84, 85; Childs, p. 88.

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175 century gives a broadly similar account,[8] among other information giving us the titles of some of the Umbundu ministers, thus Mani-Curio resembles Mwekalia, and Tendala Tjandala.[9] In the same period the Jagas appear in what is now southern Umbundu country.[10] According to Baumann[11] and Estermann[12] they raided and conquered some of the south-western people of the Nyaneka-Humbi group. At the end of the eighteenth century the Jagas and the Ovimbundu still formed distinctive [101] groups, and in the nineteenth century the word Jaga was still used to refer to the Umbundu rulers.[13]

Ethnologists have shown much interest in the question of the origin and subsequent travels of the Jagas.[14] Battell tells us that in a Jaga camp of several thousand persons there would be only twelve or fourteen persons who were of original Jaga stock, the rest recruited *en marche*.[15] There is some evidence to show that the core of some at least of the Jaga hordes were Lunda from the kingdom of Mwata Yamvo. Thus the Imbangala people of Cassange[16] claim to have originated from the migrants from the Northern Lunda kingdom. Both Battell at the beginning of the seventeenth century and Pinheiro de Lacerda at the end of the eighteenth tell us that the Jaga called themselves Imbangala.[17] The Hungarian explorer L. Magyar collected in the 000

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[8] J. B. Labat, *Relation historique de l'Ethiopie occidentale*. Paris 1732. (Translated from the Italian original of Cavazzi.) For the Jagas see Vol. II, pp. 88–303. On infanticide see pp. 114–15, which states that all children born inside a camp and male children born outside a camp were put to death. Presumably female children born outside a camp were spared. Cadornega states that a woman was forbidden under pain of death to give birth in a camp. Is this simply a purification taboo which Battell mistook for a rule of general infanticide? Battell seems fairly reliable, and it is possible that there had been a change of custom between Battell's contacts in about 1600, when the Jagas were simply nomadic raiders, and Cadornega's contacts of about 1670–80, when they were ruling settled states. There is some evidence for such a change in Cavazzi-Labat, who dates it around 1648.

[9] Childs, p. 187.

[10] Ibid. p. 195.

[11] H. Baumann, *Paideuma*, April 1956, pp. 118–51.

[12] C. Estermann, *Etnografia do Sudoeste de Angola* Vol. II (Lisbon 1957), pp. 26–29.

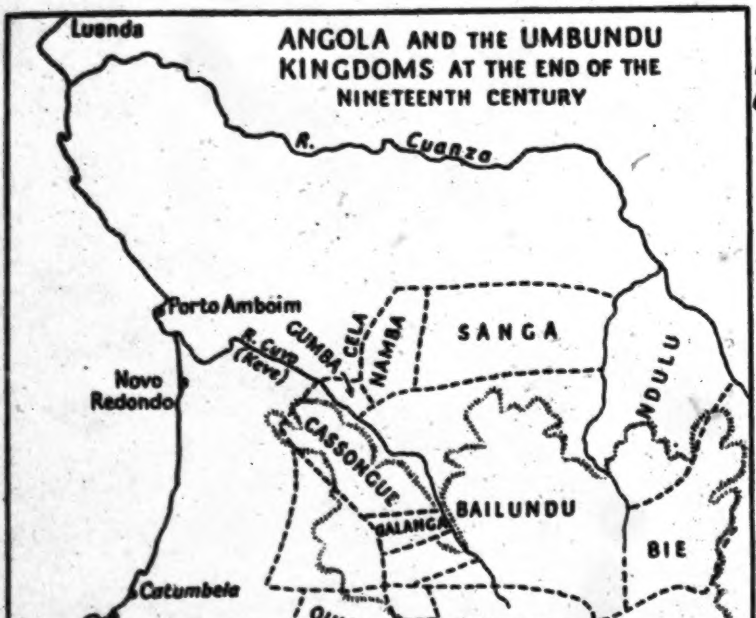
[13] Childs, p. 188 and sources cited there.

[14] Ravenstein, Introduction; Childs, pp. 181–90.

[15] Ravenstein, p. 33.

[16] F. Travassos Valdez. *Six Years of a Traveller's Life in Western Africa*, London, 1861. Vol. II, Chapter V.

[17] Ravenstein, p. 84; P. M. de Lacerda in *Annaes Maritimos e Coloniaes* 5a serie, p. 486 ff.


ANGOLA AND THE UMBUNDU KINGDOMS AT THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
Luanda
R. Cuanza
Porto Amboim
R. Cuvo (Keve)
Novo Redondo
GUMBA
CELA
NAMBA
SANGA
NDULU
CASSONGUE
BAILUNDU
GALANGA
BIE
Catumbela
Benguela
QUIACA
HUAMBO
NGANGELA
GALANGUE
CACONDA
NYANEKA-HUMBI PEOPLES
R. Cubango
1500 m. (4920 ft.) contour
Administrative boundaries
0 Miles 100

102
131
631

Adapted from the map facing page 167 in Childs' *Umbundu Kinship and Character.*

173 The Hungarian explorer L. Magyar collected in the middle of the nineteenth century, in the eastern Umbundu kingdom of Bie, an historical legend which linked Bie origins to the kingdom of Mwata Yamvo.[18] Childs has suggested[19] that this legend was in fact not of Umbundu origin since later investigators from Serpa Pinto[20] (1878) to Childs himself (1938) have found that Bie traditions emphasized the local origins of the dynasty. This may of course be a case of the African tendency to manipulate historical narratives to accord with social relationships. It may be suggested that the Lunda traditions, which the core of the Jaga hordes carried with them, became diluted by the recruitment from the conquered peoples, and that the link between the Umbundu royal houses and the Northern Lunda were forgotten because the kings of the Ovimbundu felt no need, unlike the weak Luena and Ndembu chiefs,[21] to prop up their position by stressing their links with the mighty Mwata Yamvo.

175 By the end of the eighteenth century the Umbundu kingdoms
177 that were to survive until the end of Umbundu independence
were already well established.[22] In 1769 the first Portuguese fort
in the Benguela Highland, that at Caconda, was established,
and a few years later a king of Bie was to owe his throne to
Portuguese intervention.[23] Trade in slaves had begun with the
175 Jagas; but other items such as beeswax and ivory were bought
177 by the bare-footed Kimbundu traders who came from the
439 Portuguese settlements on the Cuanza (founded between 1582
and 1671); and by 1782 there existed small colonies of Portuguese traders in Bie and Caconda.[24]

Portuguese political influence was weak, and the kings con-

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[18] L. Magyar, *Reisen in Sud-Afrika*, Pest and Leipzig, 1859, pp. 266–269.

[19] Childs, p. 173.

[20] A. Serpa Pinto, *How I Crossed Africa*, London, 1881. Vol. I, pp. 156–60.

[21] For Luena and Ndembu chiefs, see C. M. N. White, 'Clan, chieftainship, and slavery in Luvale political organization' (*Africa*, January 1957), and V. W. Turner, *Schism and Continuity in an African Society*, Manchester, 1957. For African attitudes to the recording of the past see J. A. Barnes, 'History in a Changing Society'. *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal* 1951, No. 11, Ian Cunnison, *History on the Luapula*, Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. 21, and L. Bohannan, 'A Genealogical Charter', *Africa*, October 1952. Mr. White informs me that the Luena regard the Bie kingdom as being of Northern Lunda origin.

[22] Childs, pp. 167–8.

[23] Ibid., pp. 174, 195.

[24] Ibid., p. 198.

tinued to engage in warfare. However, trade became increas- 175
ingly important as the Ovimbundu realized the advantage of 177
their position in between the coastal towns of Benguela and 439
Catumbela, and the tribes of the interior. By the middle of the
nineteenth century Ovimbundu were travelling throughout the
area bounded by the Congo River, the Great Lakes and the
Kalahari, and even transcontinental journeys were made. The
Ovimbundu carried with them cloths, guns, and rum which they
exchanged for ivory, slaves, and wax, to which must be added
corn and palm-oil, these latter, however, obtained not from the
far interior but from inside or near Umbundu land. The safety
of the Umbundu caravans was preserved by the negotiation of
treaties with the local rulers, and by agreements (not always
satisfactorily kept) between the different Umbundu kingdoms.[25]

From about 1874 rubber became important in Umbundu
trade, and it is in the period from then until 1911,[26] when the
caravan trade collapsed, that the Ovimbundu knew a prosperity
which they have hardly recovered today.[27] It is in this period 175
too that there occurred both the loss of Umbundu independence 648
and the establishment of the missions. In 1890 Ndunduma, the
king of Bie, was defeated and deposed, and in 1896 Numa, the
king of Bailundo attacked, disastrously, the fort which his
predecessors had allowed to be established near the capital. In
1902–3 a widespread revolt, known as the Bailundo war, broke
out against the Portuguese, the traders being killed, and the
forts besieged. The reasons for this revolt, whose leader Mutu-ya-Kevela
was a minister of the Bailundo court, seem to have
been injustices on the part of the white population, and possibly
a fall in rubber prices. After 1903 the remaining parts of
Umbundu country were brought under effective European rule,

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[25] Magyar, pp. 292–9; Childs, pp. 203–5.

[26] Childs following A. Bastos, *Monografia de Catumbella* (*Bol. Soc. Geog. Lisboa*, 1910, pp. 74–81, 105–9, 141–5, 180–5, 225–8, 251–5, 279–85) divides the rubber trade into three periods: the rise of the trade 1874–86, the boom 1886–1900, and the decline 1900–11.

[27] I have heard it said by old men who had taken part in the caravan journeys, and by a local mulatto trader that the Ovimbundu of that period had more clothes than they have now. For Angolan economics after 1911 see Henrique Galvão and Carlos Selvagem, *Império Ultramarino Português*, Vol. III, pp. 124–39, Lisbon, 1950, and Clement Egerton, *Angola in Perspective*, London, 1957, pp. 106–15.

175 and the European population greatly increased.[28] In some areas
648 at this time a confused situation arose, in which 'robber
barons', white and black, tyrannized over chiefs and villagers
[567] and engaged in the still vigorous slave trade, which now had
acquired a few disguises on the coast.[29]

In 1911 the rubber trade ended, and about the same time
slavery and the slave trade were effectively suppressed.[30] From
this time onwards, too, civil administration began to be effective
[496] and the Benguela Railway became the most important link
between the coast and the interior.[31] The trade disappeared,
powers of the chiefs declined. The missions, both Catholic and
[292] Protestant, which had relatively little influence during the
rubber trade period, gained more and more converts.[32]

101 2. *Ethnography*

Between the Ovimbundu and the sea lie the Hanya, the
Nganda, and the Tjisanji tribes of whom little is known except
that the Hanya and Nganda seem to be culturally related to the
Ovimbundu.[33] To the south are the Nyaneka-Humbi group,
cattle-keeping peoples who are culturally and linguistically
related to the Ovimbundu, but who did not participate in the
[177] trade.[34] To the east lie the Ngangela[35], the Luimbi, and the

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[28] Childs, pp. 210–11.

[29] For an account of Umbundu country at this time see H. W. Nevison, *A Modern Slavery*, New York, 1906. In Gumba I was told that Mutu-ya-Kevela the leader of the 1902–3 revolt had raided villages for slaves but that Samakaka whom Childs (p. 22) describes as a robber baron was spoken of favourably.

[30] Slavery had been legally suppressed from 1878. The slaves were called by other names but no effective change was made till 1910. See A. Bastos, *Monografia de Catumbella* in *Bol. Soc. Geog. Lisboa*, 1910 (pp. 74–81, 105–9, 141–55, 180–5, 225–8, 251–5, 279–5).

[31] Childs, p. 228.

[32] Ibid., pp. 220–23. Personal information.

[33] Ibid., p. 8.

[34] On these peoples see Estermann, *Etnografia do Sudoeste de Angola*, Vol. II.

[35] A tribe using this word as the root of the tribal name is to be found to the south-east of Umbundu country in the area round Vila Artur de Paiva. Padre A. Van Horrik, formerly of the Missão Católica de Cubango, tells me that the map contained in M. McCulloch, *The Southern Lunda and Related Peoples*, (London, 1951) should show the Ngangela as occupying much of the area actually assigned to the Mbwela and the south-eastern Ovimbundu. Mbwela does not seem to be the name any tribe uses for itself (Private information, Estermann and Van Horrik).

Chokwe.[36] These people are culturally and linguistically different from the Ovimbundu, whom, however, they have influenced, especially in the fields of ritual; the initiation rituals typical of these people have spread into southern and eastern Umbundu territory.[37] The Ngangela call the Ovimbundu 'Ovimbali', a name used in Angola for Africans who live with or imitate whites.[38] I have heard an Otjimbundu use it for the Kimbundu of northern Angola. The south-western peoples call the Ovimbundu 'Va-Nano—they of the north',[39] but also regard the Ovimbundu as being 'civilized'. Very little is known about the peoples to the north of the Ovimbundu, who are also different in language and culture and who are said to have more rituals than the Ovimbundu. These are known collectively by the Ovimbundu as Olongoya, a term with a rather offensive meaning. Historically they are important for the Ovimbundu since it was here that Andrew Battell knew the Jaga hordes, and Umbundu tradition links a number of the chiefly lines to these northern peoples. The Umbundu language seems to be gaining ground in this area.[40] 101 177

All the neighbouring peoples seem to be matrilineal, as regards descent, inheritance, and succession, with the exception of the Hanya and the Nganda, who have (Dr. Childs suggests) a double-descent kinship system, as traditionally the Ovimbundu had. All seem, as far as is known, to have had chiefs,[41] though there were no kingdoms to equal the power of Bie and Bailundo in the nineteenth century. Culturally the Ovimbundu seem to have been ready to take over traits from neighbouring tribes, and the Portuguese, and this particularly in the sphere of ritual.[42] 171 177

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[36] For the Luimbi, see C. W. Scott. 'A Note on the Luimbi of Central Angola', *Africa*, October 1955. For the Chokwe see M. McCulloch, op. cit.

[37] Childs, pp. 115–16.

[38] A trader said that Otjimbali means a domesticated black. Estermann is preparing a study of a Mbali group of southern Angola descended from Kimbundu slaves.

[39] The Nyaneka-Humbi tribes use it for the southern Ovimbundu, the southern Ovimbundu use it for the northern Ovimbundu.

[40] Childs, pp. 186–7; Baumann, op. cit.

[41] Baumann, op. cit. For the installation of chiefs in the Amboim area, see Antonio de Silva Maia, 'Ritos e Ceremonias para a Entronização' in *Mensário Administrativo*, July–August 1953.

[42] Childs, p. 220.

[1874-1911]

THE OVIMBUNDU UNDER TWO SOVEREIGNTIES

178 The great distinguishing mark of the Ovimbundu was their participation in the caravan trade. Some of the neighbouring people also engaged in trading journeys (e.g. the Chokwe) but in central Angola the dominant traders were the Ovimbundu by reason of their control of the routes to Benguela and Catumbela, a control which as Livingstone's narrative shows they tried for a while to turn into a monopoly.[43] With this must be linked 177 the greater readiness of the Ovimbundu to adopt European ways, marked by the general adoption of cloths for wear by at latest the mid-nineteenth century.[44]

3. *Economics and Social Structure*

101 This section will describe the economic life and social structure which marked the period of the rubber trade (1874–1911). 436 A genuine currency existed in the form of cloth, and fortunes 439 could be made in it. Serpa Pinto tells us of one Otjimbundu who made £3,500 by trading in the interior and that he had met many men who 'turned over capital of a thousand to twelve hundred pounds sterling',[45] presumably in trade goods since Portuguese currency did not circulate among the Ovim- 361 bundu. At the capitals of the kingdoms genuine towns grew up. Magyar in the middle of the nineteenth century estimated that [162] 5,000 people lived at Bailundo[46] and the British explorer Cameron who had crossed Africa from Zanzibar says of Ekovongo, the capital of Bie, 'the town of Kagnombe, the largest I came across during my whole journey, being more than three miles in circumference. On arrival I was met by the 644 Kagnombe's secretary, chamberlain, and captain of the guard who wore red waistcoats as a sign of their dignity. The secretary was more ornamental than useful, being unable to write, but a subordinate, a black man and native of Dondo, was better educated and conducted the trade of Kagnombe with the coast'.[47]

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[43] Ibid., p. 205.

[44] Ibid., p. 206, referring to Magyar as evidence.

[45] Serpa Pinto, pp. 161–2.

[46] Magyar, p. 391.

[47] V. L. Cameron, *Across Africa*, London, 1877. Vol. II, pp. 206–7.

[1874-1911]

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The trade was conducted in caravans composed of up to several thousand people,[48] under the leadership of *entrepeneurs* called *olofumbelo* (of which the singular is *ofumbelo*). Of such were the individuals whom Serpa Pinto describes as earning wealth equivalent to a thousand pounds or more. Their role was to get together the caravans, to negotiate with the local political authorities, and to provide ritual leadership. The exact relationship between the *ofumbelo* and the ordinary members of the caravan is difficult to see. European travellers found that porters were content with low wages since they had opportunities for private trade, but apparently the caravan organizers had better opportunities for getting rich than had ordinary Ovimbundu. My informants stated that a man organized a caravan to gain wealth. A man who was in a position of prosperity would be known as an *ohuase* (rich man), would stay at home and be expected to assist his relatives.[49] 437 472 444 [556]

Different ages and both sexes participated in the trade. Childs says that boys from the age of nine upwards travelled on the caravans, and this is confirmed by Serpa Pinto.[50] Tucker, and my informants however, give the age when caravan travel began as being fifteen or over.[51] Unmarried girls travelled too, but simply acted as helpers to some male relative. The caravan organizers (*olofumbelo*) were old men, I was told, and travelled in the rear while in front of the caravan marched a young man (called the *kasongo*) who carried a flag.[52]

Dr. Childs states that between 1874 and 1886 rubber was gathered from the forests of the interior and took eight months (four months each way presumably) for the Ovimbundu to obtain. From 1886, however, 'red rubber' was obtained from the sandy lands beyond the Cuanza, a journey which only took three months altogether. Hence, Childs states, the trading 439 444

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[48] A Bastos, *Monographia de Catumbella*, in *Bol. Soc. Geog. Lisboa* 1910 (p. 151) states that caravans of several thousand were used in the 1870s but that by the time of writing (1908–9, nearly the end of the trade) people came in small parties. My informants who would remember this period spoke of the large size of the caravans.

[49] My informants.

[50] Serpa Pinto, p. 164.

[51] J. T. Tucker in *Africa* (Notes and News), April 1956.

[52] Informants.

[1874-1911]

439 434 journeys diminished in distance as they increased in profitability.[43]

My informants, however, gave a somewhat different picture. Long trading journeys were still being undertaken in the last decade of the trade (1901–11). Some men whom I met had travelled to the kingdom of the Mwata Yamvo and beyond to Luba country; one man had made a journey into what is now the Congo Republic which took a year to go and a year to return; another had visited Barotseland. It should be said that these seem to have been unusually long journeys; journeys totalling six to eight months were common.[44]

182 829 [776] [258] The significance of the trade in social life is reflected in the mystical explanations of success in business found in Umbundu religion. Prosperity might be explained either by the favour of spirits such as Kandundu and Otjipukó, who received at their shrines libations of wine, or by malevolent sorcery involving the sacrifice of relatives in exchange for wealth.[45] The existence of these two explanations probably reflects the existence of some rich men who satisfied the expectations of their relatives and others who did not.

567 178 Apart from the rubber trade, the older slave trade continued until its vigorous suppression in the period 1910–12, and indeed seems, as regards the Ovimbundu, to have become intensified in the period after 1890. The slaves went to S. Tome and Principe, or to coastal plantations. Up to that time the Ovimbundu had sold few of their own people, with the exception of criminals or people who had become generally unpopular with their kin. The collapse of the old political system played into the hands of adventurers who unscrupulously exploited the Umbundu custom of debt slavery or conducted raids for this purpose.[46]

434 439 It was then the 'trade' which was the common factor in the life of all Ovimbundu, and which was so to speak the factor,

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[43] Childs, p. 208.

[44] Informants.

[45] Although some old men still have shrines to the luck-giving spirits it is not possible to see how their cult functioned in the social structure then existing. It is, however, notable that success could be interpreted mystically in two ways by benevolent spirits or by sorcery.

[46] Childs, p. 213. I was told that Cuemba had been raided from Bailundo.

[1874-1911]

rather than any political alliance or opposition, which related the Ovimbundu as a whole to the Portuguese and the other tribes. Informants who remember 'the time of the rubber' talk about it with much more interest and much more detail than about any other aspect of the past, and it is far easier to make an ordered picture out of the narratives of the caravan journeys than to fill in the gaps in the descriptions of the political and kinship systems provided by Childs and Hastings.[27] 635* 633 [248] [81]

Politically the Ovimbundu were divided, as has been said, into several kingdoms. Bailundo, the largest of the kingdoms was divided, according to Childs into about 200 sub-chiefdoms. As it had about half a million inhabitants this would give an average population of about 2,500. While the kingdoms seem to have been more or less stable in number and boundaries from the end of the eighteenth century, the number of sub-chiefdoms seems to have increased. Thus an official Portuguese estimate made in 1799 gives Bailundo as having only 82 sub-chiefdoms, and Galangue, where Childs counted 112 sub-chiefdoms, as having 78. The sub-chiefdom paid tribute to the king, sent men for his armies, and recognized his court as the supreme arbitrator. Some sub-chiefdoms were held by ministers or relatives of the king.[28] 631 [162]

It is, however, not easy on the sparse detail available to decide how much autonomy the sub-chiefdoms really had. Gumba, the area where I worked, was a sub-chiefdom of the Bailundo kingdom, albeit on the north-western frontier, neighbouring Casongue and Cela, where the people did not call themselves Va-Mbailundu, though their rulers acknowledged the suzerainty of the king of Bailundo. Old men told me of raids from Bailundo for slaves, but I cannot say if this was the result of the period of disorder mentioned, or whether sub-chiefdoms on the border of a kingdom gave only nominal submission and received only nominal protection. In the area where I worked, 631 634

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[27] This is not intended as a personal reflection on Dr. Childs and the late Dr. Hastings, both of whom deserve the highest praise for their work and for their obvious devotion to the Ovimbundu. Hastings devoted far more space to the magico-religious field than to the kinship system. Likewise Childs's description of kinship is much shorter, much less detailed, and much less satisfactory than his account of childhood and adolescence, or the really outstanding historical chapters. [114]

[28] Magyar, pp. 283-90; Childs, pp. 23-24.

[1874-1911]

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634 at least, the effective unit of law and self-defence was formerly the sub-chiefdom.[illegible]

634 643 In both sub-chiefdom and kingdom the chief (a term used here for both king and sub-chief) passed through a cycle of rites to become truly chief and was surrounded, assisted, and [645] checked by titled ministers.[illegible] The future chief was selected from persons of chiefly stock. My informants stated that a new chief might be related either patrilineally or matrilineally to former chiefs; all other sources state that the chiefdom can only be held by somebody *patrilineally* of chiefly blood, with the exception of Santos Brandão writing on the Huambo kingdom.[illegible] The selection was the responsibility of the Mwekalia, whose role was to represent the people *vis-à-vis* the king, an opposition which is expressed in the Umbundu saying 'the chief is a guest, the Mwekalia is a man of the country'. When asked to explain this saying, the Ovimbundu point out that many chiefs come from outside the chiefdom, and also that 'If the chief does something wrong, we can send him away'.[illegible]

In such a constitutional deposition of the chief which nineteenth century observers describe as taking place fairly frequently,[illegible] the main responsibility fell on the Mwekalia. The cycle of royal rites consisted of the ceremonial entry of the chief into his capital and his taking of a new name, the rebuilding of certain shrines, a large-scale hunt, the building of an archway intended as a magical defence to the capital, and finally an act

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[illegible] Informants.

[illegible] For the king and his ministers see especially Hastings, pp. 69-71 (based on Bailundo), and for other details of the royal court see Serpa Pinto, p. 187 (based on Bié).

[illegible] For references to patrilineal succession see Serpa Pinto, p. 159, Capello and Ivens, *From Benguella to the Territory of Yacca* (London, 1882), p. 81, Hastings, p. 42, Childs, p. 22. Santos Brandão (*Mensário Administrativo*, July-August, 1950) gives a list of the kings of Huambo where there had been two successive royal lines, and this shows several cases of succession by sisters' sons. (The Umbundu text he gives makes this quite clear.)

[illegible] The underlying idea is not so much that the chiefly stock is of immigrant descent but rather that the people of one chiefdom call somebody from outside to rule over them, who can be sent away if he misbehaves. Of course people living within a chiefdom are not excluded, but this point about the chief being a stranger is very strongly emphasized.

[illegible] Childs, pp. 22-23 and references given there.

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of ritual cannibalism (*oku lia okunge*) after which he could not be deposed.[64]

645 Hastings in describing the principal ministers of the Bailundo court states that the Mwekalia and the Galamboli or Ngambole (whose function was to remember traditions) were representative of the indigenous pre-Jaga stock, the Kesongo who was the war leader was a slave from another tribe, and the Otjinduli was of immigrant stock, and points out that these represent the three sources from which the Ovimbundu sprang.[65]

634 At the sub-chiefdom level some of the titles found in the kingdoms would be found combined, and the chief's court, where cases were judged, was composed both of titled ministers living at the chief's village and of the village headmen (some of whom were also title-holders). The sub-chief represented his people to the outer world, led them in communal ritual and judged, with his councillors,[66] their disputes. Hastings describes 634 a case thus: 'When all the members of the court are seated in a 696 circle, with an empty space in the centre, the plaintiff's counsel then relates the case, after which the lawyer for the defendant does likewise for his side. The chief in turn makes general comments. Lusenje, the official, whose duty it is to keep order at court and to announce the speakers, then calls on the accuser to come forward and make his statement.'[67]

631 While the sub-chiefdom was the largest unit in which law and order reigned undisputed, there existed alliances and cross-cutting relationships providing a contact outside its area. There was the *tjiado* alliance which existed between two sub-chiefdoms which were separated by a third. Gumba sub-chiefdom was thus allied to Ndjandja from which it was separated by Chicunda, and messengers from Gumba and Ndjandja travelled together to Bailundo once a year to carry tribute. Apparently a sub-chiefdom had only one *tjiado* partner. The relationship was one 631 of funeral friendship; *sakaatjiado* (*tjiado* partners) undertook 764 the burial of those who died without kinsfolk and also ordinary

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[64] This is based on information from Gumba. See also Magyar, pp. 270-271; Hastings, pp. 42-45; Childs p. 21.

[65] Hastings, p. 60.

[66] Informants.

[67] Hastings, pp. 140-43.

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631/564 funerals (though these burials could be undertaken by the cross-cousins of the deceased). When *vakwatjiseke* came to their partner-chiefdom for a funeral they had the right to steal small live-stock, such as chickens, or pigeons, but not cattle, goats, or pigs. An *ukwatjiseke* could sleep with the wives of his *vakwatjiseke* partners without being sued for damages.[68] [837]

631 [602] The ties of kinship and affinity crossed the boundaries of the sub-chiefdoms and even of the kingdoms.[69] The members [463] [574] of the three spirit-protected professions, blacksmithing, divining, and hunting recognized obligations of hospitality to co-professionals from other parts of the country.[70] Again the caravans were so large that they must have involved people [437] from many sub-chiefdoms, which presupposes a wide range of contacts.

182 It may be said that the picture given here is contradictory and inadequate. How can the existence of large kingdoms be reconciled to the extreme insecurity described by old men? How do the wealthy caravan organizers fit into the political system? What sort of politics were there in the kingdoms? It is not easy to answer these questions owing to the lack of evidence, and, probably, because the kingdoms were already in decline during the latter part of the rubber trade period. Indeed, the impression that accounts of the Ovimbundu in the nineteenth century give is that of adventure, battle, commerce, migration —a vigorous rather than a stable society.[71]

61 114 The kinship system is perhaps the field of Umbundu society which has aroused most interest among anthropologists. Childs and Hastings have written much that is interesting on the old double-descent grouping but as, with the kinship system, the form has been described rather than the functioning and it is

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[68] Informants. The account in Childs, pp. 114–15 differs considerably. For this institution elsewhere in Angola see Estermann, 'Clans et alliances de clans', *Anthropos*, 1952.

[69] Childs, p. 34.

[70] Informants.

[71] Magyar describes the king and his courtiers as being extremely despotic towards the villagers, and states that their despotism depended on their having a standing military force called 'Sons of the Elephant' (pp. 278–80). Later accounts do not mention this, and Childs notes (p. 209) that at the height of the rubber trade it was more difficult for the kings to recruit armies for their wars.

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not now possible for field work to supply the gaps in the written material.[72] 61 114

The traditional kinship system had neither clans nor segmenting lineages. 614 The patrilineal group (*olase*) was localized in a 613 village, the group head being at the same time a village headman. 621 Patrilineal ties do not seem to have been recognized between villages.[73] This social independence of the agnatically united village was reflected in the surrounding palisade, in the [360] close clustering of the houses (nowadays much more spread out) and in the village institutions of the dancing-floor and the men's house (*ondjango*). 575 It was here that all the men and boys, from seven or eight up, ate. 284 Hastings writes, 'Each woman, after preparing the meal, takes or sends the portion which is for the male members of her family. This food is common property. As soon as enough has arrived some responsible member among the men will have it divided among the boys. For days a man may never taste of the food which is prepared by his wife.'[74] The men's house was also a club, and a court-room, where minor cases were decided. 613 It was through this localized body of patrikin that an individual claimed land and residence rights and through it that he participated in the political system.[75]

The matrilineal group (the *olaina*) was composed of the descendants of a common great-great-grandmother.[76] According to Childs, it had a head who might also at times be a village headman,[77] and it was presumably the matrilineal group head who settled the disputes over property which Hambly says

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[72] For an attempt at reconstructing Umbundu kinship on the basis of Childs's book see J. A. Barnes's review of *Umbundu Kinship and Character* in *Man*, 1950, pp. 126–128. It may be mentioned that the terms 'the side of the bow' and 'the side of the basket' are used simply to mean 'patrilateral kin' and 'matrilateral kin' (Dr. Childs, private information, and my own inquiries).

[73] A rather ambiguous phrase in Childs p. 43 ('The *olase* consists of a large number of local village groups'), which might be interpreted as meaning that villages were patrilineally grouped into clans, seems really to mean simply that the village is the *olase* unit.

[74] Hastings, p. 77.

[75] Ibid., p. 18. Childs, pp. 43–44.

[76] Hastings, p. 85, states that the matrilineal group consists of the descendants of a common great-great-great-grandmother (that is, five generations), and on p. 91 says that it consists of a group 'linked by a common great-great-grandmother'.

[77] Childs, p. 44.

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613 could be resolved in the matrilineal group.[78] Hastings, who gives the most detailed account of the matrilineal groups, which he calls sibs, tells us, 'There can be no exaction of fines or taking of slaves between the members of a sib group—the group members are supposed to pay each other's debts, and one who has wealth and refuses so to communicate may be secretly poisoned by the others. It is within the group of matrilineal sibs that most compacts, whether social or economic, are formed and operate. The same is true even of malevolent plots and anti- [75] social practices, such as killing by witchcraft.'[79]

102 613 437 Clearly, the matrilineal groups in which the rich had to pool their wealth with poorer kinsfolk and in which trading arrangements[80] were made indicate the adaptation of the kinship system to the needs of the trade. It may be suggested that one of the functions of the double descent system was to separate the fields of village and chiefdom relations, established through patrilineal ties, from the field of commerce, credit, and the inheritance of wealth gained by trade. Thus the conflicts in which a man would be involved in one set of relations would not involve his other set of ties, and this distribution of stresses must have limited the strains set up by disputes. The distinction between the local group and the commercial group would also prevent heavy losses from trade striking a whole village simultaneously.[81] The credit institutions demanded by a trading [49] system in which debt was frequently incurred were fitted into the kinship system, and associated with a device for levelling those who had become prosperous in the trade.

613 [175] Unhappily the disintegration of the traditional social structure, and the accompanying loss of knowledge of it, prevented me from adding to, or even corroborating entirely, the written material on the form of the matrilineal groups.[82] It is not at all evident how the groups maintained integration, or how new

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[78] Hambly, p. 200.

[79] Ibid., p. 92.

[80] Dr. Childs suggested to me that the core of the caravans might be composed of kin. However, the caravans were so large that they clearly could not be organized on a kinship basis. See also Serpa Pinto, p. 165.

[81] This point was suggested to me by Dr. Mary Douglas.

[82] I did not obtain any information on the size of the matrilineal group, the existence of heads of the groups, and the degree to which it was a congregation.

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groups emerged. The information on the cult of the matrilineal spirits which might have thrown some light on matrilineal conflicts and integration, is confused. Both Hastings and Mrs. Tucker state that the matrilineal spirits are always malevolent, but this is not confirmed by my informants,[43] and it may be that they were referring to the traditional belief that sorcery was only practised between members of a matrilineal group. Although, as has been stated, a man looked to his matrilineal kin for economic aid, he might travel with his father (who had first claim on his services), or with his mother's brother or some other kinsman; indeed while his father was still alive he might travel and trade on his own account.[44] The matrilineal group (in this area at least) was not a unit from which trading teams were formed, but rather a means for providing financial assistance when needed for those engaged in trading. It is of course possible that in some areas of Umbundu country the matrilineal kin groups were significant in the organization of trading caravans. 613 [254] 613 (437)

Another institution whose form can be described but whose function cannot be properly known is that of preferential marriage with certain categories of kin. Childs states that the categories were cross-cousins (both patrilateral and matrilateral), the sister's daughter, and the father's sister, and indicates that the cross-cousin marriages were not generally with first-cousins. My informants generally denied that it had been permitted to marry a father's sister, but confirmed his other statements. They added that an indemnification was paid by the bridegroom to the bride's family 'to cut the blood',[45] and that the kinship terms were replaced by affinal. This suggests that these marriages may have been intended to restore distant kinship ties by turning them into affinal ties and so renewing them for the next generation, but how this would operate cannot even be guessed. 582 [583] [601]

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[43] Hastings, p. 87; L. S. Tucker, 'The Divining Basket of the Ovimbundu', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1940, pp. 171–201.

[44] Informants.

[45] This was paid down to 1949 or so in the area where I was. It was about 20 escudos, much less than bridewealth. It was formerly referred to by the Umbundu term for 'fine' (ocitola), as was the payment made on the death of a non-kinswoman wife.

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593 It was then the father who normally exercised authority over
591 a boy, and on the father's death a child or youth would join the household of a father's brother. Yet the right of a sister's son to
604 the inheritance of the movable property and to grants from his mother's brother was counterbalanced by the latter's right to sell his uterine nephew into slavery, a fate from which the father could save his son by ransoming him, in which case the mother's brother would no longer have this right.[96] In this society, the mother's brother—sister's son relationship was fundamentally an economic one, in which the sister's son received assistance in the trade and inherited his uncle's gains in this trade, but could himself be transformed into a source of capital.

182 I now summarize the evidence on Umbundu social control and its relation with the trading economy. It is clear that the Ovimbundu belonged to the number of those African societies
[643] with pyramidal[97] political systems and formal codes and courts of law, even though there exists uncertainty as to the relative power of the kingdoms and the sub-chiefdoms. Social control
182 also operated through the kinship system, authority at the
613 village level being in the hands of the head of the patrilineal group backed by the public opinion expressed in the men's house, and the dispersed matrilineal groups having sanctions in the right of sale of a sister's son and in the accusations of sorcery brought against those who failed to use wealth to aid
182 their relatives. For the caravan trade to have attained the
571 importance it did there must also have existed something of a *pax Umbundica* stimulated by the existence of such ties as that between *[illegible]* partners and the 'international' hospitality shown to diviners, hunters, and smiths. *Evidence of this pax Umbundica* is provided by the organization of caravans, and by the establishment of marriage ties between persons in different kingdoms, and between different royal houses.[98]
[721] However, warfare was not unknown between the different

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[96] Childs, p. 49, and my informants.

[97] See Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, Introduction to *African Political Systems*.

[98] Hastings (p. [illegible]) notes a marriage between the daughter of a king of Bié and Ekwikwi, king of Bailundo (1876-93). Childs (p. [illegible]) notes that [illegible], king of [illegible], was a sister's son of a king of Bailundo.

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kingdoms of the Ovimbundu, though more frequently perhaps 631 it was made against the non-Umbundu peoples.[illegible] 721

The question of the influence of the trade provides interesting 171 opportunities for comparison. The Ovimbundu were the 178 southernmost of the peoples who in the nineteenth century 439 participated in the trade between the Europeans of the West African coast and the peoples of the interior.[illegible] In some ways the Ovimbundu seem to have been less influenced by it than were some of the peoples further north. The Ovimbundu did not develop genuine patterns of urban life as in Dahomey or Benin.[illegible]

Three explanations can be offered for the relative failure of 178 associational groups and urban society to develop. Umbundu 112 crafts were much inferior to those found along the coast of the 439 Gulf of Guinea; there was no indigenous weaving industry, for [286] instance, and the goods which the caravans carried to the interior were all of European or American origin, cloths, guns, and rum.[illegible] For these goods the Ovimbundu were dependent on the Portuguese settled at the coast or in the Highland and this meant that the Ovimbundu were far from economic autonomy. Again the trade had a relatively short time span—the real boom period lasted only from 1886 to 1900, and earlier on in the 1840's when the beeswax, ivory, and slave trade was flourishing, the Ovimbundu had plenty of time for warfare.

It would, however, be a grave mistake to think that trade 177 had only a marginal influence on Umbundu society. It has been 112 suggested that the form of the double-descent system owes its origin to the necessity to isolate economic relations from other social fields. In the sphere of ritual, there are some remarkable copies of European practices—for instance the holding of a [769] feast in honour of the ancestors at Christmas-time.[illegible] Many ritual concepts are related to the explanation of business

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[illegible] For information on Umbundu warfare see Magyar, pp. 277-80 and Serpa Pinto, pp. 177-9.

[illegible] See Balandier, *Sociologie Actuelle de l'Afrique Noire*, Paris, 1955, for a discussion of social change in other areas which had experienced a trade of a similar sort.

[illegible] For Dahomey see M. J. Herskovits, *Dahomey*, New York, 1938. For Benin see R. Bradbury, *The Benin Kingdom* (Ethnographic Survey of Africa), London, 1957.

[illegible] Childs, p. 206.

[illegible] Informants.

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177 success. More generally, it may be suggested that the conditions
182 of the trade in which wealth was dependent on contact with Europeans created not only the Umbundu esteem for 'shrewd behaviour' (*oku lunguka*) and their willingness for social change, but their marked docility and submissiveness towards Europeans.[84]

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[84] See O. Mannoni, *Prospero and Caliban*, London, 1956, for an ingenious discussion of a similar set of attitudes.

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CHAPTER II

THE CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

In modern Angola, an Overseas Province of Portugal,[1] the Ovimbundu form the most numerous of the African peoples, with their million and a half of population,[2] and have also the reputation of being industrious—especially the Ovimbundu of Bailundo.[3] Their homeland, the Benguela Highland, has also been of importance in the modern economic development of Angola. M 101 [61]

On the narrow strip of coastal plain stand three cities[4]—Lobito, Catumbela, and Benguela. Both Benguela and Catumbela knew the rubber trade; Lobito was founded in the early part of this century as the coastal terminal of the Benguela Railway which runs through Umbundu country and beyond the Congo frontier and thence to Elisabethville. The Benguela Railway is the economic backbone of the Highland. On it are the cities of Nova Lisboa and Silva Porto and a string of smaller trading towns. Traders from the Bimbe area drove regularly down to Vila Nova, one such trading town on the line, a distance of a hundred and thirty miles or so to sell maize, and buy trade goods and African villagers knew that along the railway maize sold for better prices and clothes were much cheaper. A 361 496 A 438

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[1] This term was used for nearly a hundred years up to 1933 when the term Colony was adopted. In 1951 'colony' was dropped in favour of the old term.

[2] Estimate made in 1955 by Mr. Theodore Tucker then of the Missão Evangelica do Dondi.

[3] Galvão and Selvagem, op. cit., pp. 364-5.

[4] A city receives its title through official recognition. The 1950 census gives Nova Lisboa as having a higher 'civilized' population (7,980 of whom 4,738 were white) than any city except Luanda. The total population has been estimated at 80,000 (Egerton, p. 199). Estimates given me in 1955-6 suggested that Nova Lisboa has some 8,000 'civilized' persons and 20,000-30,000 natives. Lobito has fewer civilized persons but may have a larger native population of perhaps 30,000. A [62]

M 496 463 Most of the employees of the Benguela Railway are Ovimbundu and many of the old pupils of the Catholic seminaries and of the Protestant secondary school[8] have found employment on it as clerks and telegraphists. The railway has also become a means M [267] of Umbundu migration carrying Ovimbundu to work in the coastal cities and plantations, and on the other side carrying their speech with it to the interior.

A 433 Angola is economically a land of primary production, and its cities and towns are founded on trade. There is little industry, although Lobito is noted for its cement works and saw mill, and drinks, both alcoholic and soft, paper and pottery are all manufactured in Angola.[9] On the coastal plain there are sugar plantations and there are a number of other plantations especially on the western fringe of the Highland, but the main crop of the Highland is maize, grown by the Ovimbundu and sold by the traders to the official boards which have store-houses on A 438 the railway line. The traders have generally tended to scatter themselves over the countryside though now the Government is insisting on new traders settling in recognized hamlets. The A 361 towns are small and frankly rather dismal places, serving as the administrative and postal centres for the neighbourhood, with a parish church, a school, two or three hotels, perhaps a club, and occasional cinema shows and a number of stores with a rather wider range of goods than those in the bush. They are significant from the point of view of communications, linking the traders in the bush to the cities and the railway.

A 49 A network of roads covers the Benguela Highland with the result that all villages are at most only a few miles from a track which is usable by motor vehicles. A truck seen on one of these roads will most likely belong to a trader, though it might belong to an official on one of his rare local trips, to a missionary, or to a labour recruiter. There are now a number of bus services in the Highland. As these serve only a certain number of roads, villagers who want to make a journey of any distance must walk or thumb a lift from a trader (who will charge) or a missionary (who will not charge) or ride on one of the still infrequent bicycles, his own, or a borrowed one.

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[8] At Dondi, with Dr. Childs as headmaster.

[9] Egerton, op. cit., pp. 131–2. Galvão and Selvagem, op. cit., pp. 334–8.

THE CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

Men can go out to work in three ways. By going to look for work in a city or on a plantation, by being recruited in his village by a travelling labour recruiter (*angariador*), or by being recruited through the post for military service or for contract labour (a period of a year's non-voluntary work). 464

Men who are away at work may keep in touch with their kin by letters. These are sent to the nearest Catholic or Protestant mission station according to the religious sympathies of the sender and his kin and are sent from there to the villages. 205

Angola forms an Overseas Province of Portugal, and is therefore subject to the Overseas Ministry in Lisbon. The Overseas Provinces of Portugal are officially declared to be integral parts of Portugal, which is regarded as a nation existing in Europe, Africa, and Asia. The expression 'Here also is Portugal' is often heard in Angola. 648

The inhabitants of Angola are in legal status divided into 'civilized' persons, whether white, mulatto, or black, with Portuguese citizenship, and Portuguese 'natives' or 'uncivilized' persons,[7] this latter category including some 3,000 'uncivilized' mulattoes. The 1950 census gave Angola a total population of 4,145,266 of whom 135,355 were 'civilized'. This category was composed of 78,826 whites, 26,335 mulattoes, and 30,089 Africans, plus a balance of 105 presumably Goans. 641 162

The 'natives' are, unlike the 'civilized', subject to the Labour Code. There is no Native Legal Code, nor does Portuguese law apply to 'natives'. Administrative officers may apply Portuguese law, or native custom as known to them, or their own judgement. 641

The administration is headed by the Governor-General who resides at Luanda. The province of Angola is divided into districts each headed by a district governor. Both the governors-general and the district governors have usually distinguished themselves in the Services or in a legal career. Members of the administrative service are not usually promoted to these posts, although they may attain such positions as that of Secretary of Native Affairs. 631

The districts are in turn sub-divided into *concelhos* (a term

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[7] By a law of 1961 Portuguese citizenship has been made universal.

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A 631 which I leave in Portuguese since there is no convenient English equivalent) ruled by an *administrador*, and the *concelho* in turn divides into *postos* (posts) each in the charge of a *chefe de posto*. There is no specific limit either of population or of geographical extension for these units,. and in actual fact very great disparities exist, despite the frequent revision of boundaries.[8]

M 797 Ovimdundu are found within four of the Catholic dioceses of Angola, though the diocese of Nova Lisboa is largely Umbundu as regards its African population. The Catholic missions to the Ovimbundu have been largely in the hands of the Congregação do Espirito Santo, and it is in this part of Angola that their work has been most intensive.[9] An effort has been made to build up a local clergy, and by 1956 there were some thirty-two priests of Umbundu origin. A 797 There is an official distinction between the Missions, which work among the 'native' population, and the Parishes, which are responsible for the 'civilised' population, that is all Portuguese citizens, whether white, of mixed race, or African; however, in practice natives come to parish churches, and 'civilized' persons come to Mission Churches.

M 797 Most of the Protestant missionary work[10] among the Ovimbundu has been achieved by a joint effort of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Congregationalists) and the United Church of Canada, though the Swiss Mission and the Plymouth Brethren should also be mentioned. The headquarters of the American–Canadian mission at Dondi includes a seminary for pastors, a boys' secondary school, a girls' boarding-school, the printing press, a hospital, and a leper settlement.

The American–Canadian mission has for various reasons been confined to the Ovimbundu though catechists from its stations have settled among neighbouring peoples; hence the Native Church it has founded is the only all-Umbundu social grouping that exists. Ovimbundu Protestants do, however, meet other Angolan Protestants through such occasions as the Congress of Evangelical Youth, held at Malange in 1955. M 797

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[8] Galvão and Selvagem, pp. 235–40.

[9] For the origins of the Catholic missions among the Ovimbundu see Luis Keiling *Quarenta Anos de Africa*, Braga 1934.

[10] For the history of the Protestant missions see J. R. Tucker, *Drums in the Darkness*, Toronto and New York 1927, and *Currie of Chissamba*, Toronto 1945. Childs, pp. 220–1.

While the Catholic missions are not tied to the Ovimbundu in the same way as the Protestants the number of their adherents falls sharply when the Umbundu boundary is reached. Responsiveness to missionary activity is a mark of the Ovimbundu today just as was participation in the caravan trade. M 781 Indeed, the main common possession of the Ovimbundu, the Umbundu language, is, as a literary vehicle and object of study, almost a missionary monopoly. 184 Both missions produce a monthly magazine in Umbundu and Portuguese, and several books of a religious or educational nature have been published with Umbundu on one side and Portuguese on the other as legally required. The dictionaries and grammars are almost all of missionary authorship.

Acceptance of Christianity has also significance for Umbundu self-consciousness. The majority of Ovimbundu have come under missionary influence in varying degrees, and conversion to Christianity makes Ovimbundu feel closer to Europeans and superior to other African peoples. M 186 I have heard African priests claim that the Ovimbundu are the best people in Angola, largely on this ground, and at Lobito and Luanda tensions have been felt in the Protestant community between Ovimbundu and members of other tribes.[11]

The Ovimbundu live under economic, political, and religious systems introduced and controlled by Europeans. Yet trader, official, and missionary are all dependent on the Ovimbundu. M 177 648 The 'civilized' and the native live in symbiosis, and the two basic problems of this study are the nature of this symbiosis, and its relation to the social system of the native population themselves. M 121 To see this symbiosis in perspective it is necessary to describe what occupations and statuses Africans can hold.

The strict segregation of black and white found in South Africa is alien to Portuguese traditions. A 563 There is a lack of almost all forms of public segregation between white and non-white.[12]

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[11] Personal information.

[12] In the racial discrimination that does exist the mulattoes generally count as whites. It is said to be difficult for a full African to obtain accommodation in a Luanda hotel, but the situation for mulattoes is quite different.

563 [641] Added to this, the existence of the mulattoes[13] and *assimilados* (Africans possessing Portuguese citizenship) prevent social status from being identified with race. An analogy exists, however, with the social structures of the West Indies and Latin 563 565 America with their 'colour-class'[14] systems in which there exists both a class system based on economic and cultural criteria, and a hierarchic arrangement of ethnic groups, the two systems coinciding broadly but by no means totally.

463 The occupational structures (that is, the division of the population into different occupations) found in different parts of Angola vary considerably, from Luanda, now nearly four centuries old, with its old mulatto families, and the body of cultured Africans who form the Liga Nacional Africana,[15] to some parts of southern Angola where something of a frontier atmosphere still survives among the traders, scattered among the very conservative pastoral tribes. In the Benguela Highland the native population provides the cultivators and unskilled labourers. At some points in Angola, notably at Cela, the [166] government has attempted to establish colonies of Portuguese peasants who will not employ native labour. Apart from this all agricultural work in Angola is done by natives, either for themselves or for 'civilized' employers.

There are a considerable number of African craftsmen, some *assimilados*,[16] others not, in such lines as brick-laying, carpentry, smithing, tailoring, and so on. Some Africans with secondary schooling have become clerks, dispensers, interpreters, and telegraphists. Of late years, a few of the most advanced pupils of the Dondi school have chosen medicine as a career. Licences to conduct a trader's store are confined to the civilized population but even so very few *assimilados* seem to become traders.

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[13] The word mulatto is considered offensive in Angola. The correct term is mestiço. The white population rose in the decade 1940–50 far more rapidly than the mulatto or 'civilized' African.

[14] See F. Henriques, *Family and Colour in Jamaica*, London 1953. S. Tax (ed.). *Heritage of Conquest*, Glencoe, Illinois 1952.

[575] [15] The Liga Nacional Africana is an association of *assimilados*. There are other such groupings which act as benevolent societies and engage in cultural and social activities. For an interesting account of contemporary Luanda see Gilberto Freyre, *Aventura e Rotina*, Lisbon, 1953, pp. 324–41.

[641] [16] The decision whether or not to recognize somebody as fulfilling the qualifications for the status of *assimilado* is very much dependent on the responsible officials.

While there are both African and white truck-drivers, this tends to be a speciality of the mulattoes. Business and professional men are usually white, though there are occasional Cape Verdians and Goan professional men, and in old-established cities like Luanda and Benguela there are mulattoes of high social status. There are no African *chefes de posto* in the Highland, though I have heard of an African holding an important position in the Treasury at Luanda.[17] The most significant section of those Ovimbundu who have received education are the Catholic priests, and the Protestant pastors because of their number, their social role, and their existence as groups. A 463 M 797

There are, as I have said, some 32 African priests, and from 60 to 70 or so pastors. In the Catholic Church the most significant distinction is that between priest and layman, as can be seen by the courteous, even respectful manner Europeans adopt towards African priests; among the Protestants the significant distinction is rather that between the American and Canadian missionaries and the Ovimbundu members of the native church including the pastors. A 797 M [792]

While the white priests are members of a religious order and the African priests are not, both have similar duties and share a common life. The white and African priests eat together, pass their period of recreation together, and may alternate such duties as saying Mass, and hearing confessions. Both European and African clergy rely for their keep on the superior of the Mission. Three African priests have become superiors of missions.[18]

With the Protestants there is a division of functions, the missionaries providing supervisory and specialized services, such as agricultural advice, education, and medical work, and the Native Church being responsible for village work. Financially, this division involves missionary salaries being paid by the mission boards, and those of the pastors and the village school teachers by the Ovimbundu Protestants. Socially there is less contact between missionaries and pastors than between black and white priests. Many pastors live away from the missions at pastorate centres. The missionaries eat and pass their spare time with their families, and among themselves talk English, A [198]

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[17] Private information.

[18] Personal observations.

Angola FP1

A 797 198 switching to Umbundu or Portuguese for addressing an African, whereas Portuguese is the language used at the Catholic missions even between non-Portuguese.

A M 797 The African Catholic priests then have approximate equality and identity of status with their white confreres within the hierarchic framework of the diocese of Nova Lisboa; the Ovimbundu pastors lack this equality and identity but instead possess greater independence and opportunities for leadership within the Umbundu Native Church, which functions as a partly autonomous body.[19] The difference in functions of the priests and pastors is related to the ultimate aims of missionary action; for the Catholic missions the establishment of a local clergy is part of the complete incorporation of Ovimbundu into the universal Church; for the Protestants the establishment of a local clergy is part of the building up of a totally independent local church.

M 121 A M 797 563 I attempt later in this work to show what roles the missions play in social life among the Ovimbundu and in the relations between the 'civilized' and native population. Here it should be noted that it is the missions rather than commerce or the Government which have opened status-giving positions to the Ovimbundu. The clergy have higher statuses in the total Angolan society than do any other of the *assimilados*. They combine this high status *vis-à-vis* the Europeans with leadership in groupings which include the ordinary villagers, unlike the various welfare societies in which the *assimilados* associate.

000 So much then for the general pattern of cities, communications, and trains, of administration, missionaries, and traders. M 101 175 I now turn to the particular features of the neighbourhood where I lived. Bimbe is said to derive from the name of a princess (Mbimbi) who ruled as a vassal of the king of Bailundo.[20] Here at the beginning of this century Samakaka, a

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[19] The missions provide supervision and specialist services including agricultural instruction, community development, education, and health. Village work and actual pastoral activity is the responsibility of the Native Church. For an account of such specialist services see M. F. Cushmann, *Missionary Doctor in Africa*, New York, 1944 and A. Strangeways in *African Women* (June 1936).

M [562] [20] Information obtained locally from 'civilised' people. Princesses were very rare among the Ovimbundu, though Childs notes that Sambos (Sambu) had a woman ruler early in its history (p. 178).

'robber-baron', established himself[21] and in 1904 there was a 101
minor rising against the Portuguese[22] (not to be confused with 175
the very extensive Bailundo war of 1902–3). In 1908 the government post was founded for Bimbe, and in 1928 the Catholic Mission was established at the point where the Bailundo Mission had the furthest flung catechetical school in that direction. In 1927 the first trader had settled at Chicunda.[23]
The areas under the mission and the post do not coincide, but 101
it may be said that Bimbe is the territory bounded on the west by the River Cuvo or Keve and on the east by the main road from Bailundo to Gabela. The southern boundary of the post ran roughly on a line between the post and the Ponte Salazar (which bridges the Cuvo (or Keve) and takes the road into Cassongue), and the northern boundary is formed by a parallel line drawn from the road some way to the south of Cela to the river. In 1956 the post of Bimbe was divided; much of the western part including the Mission was placed under a new post Luvemba.

Chicunda is twenty kilometres beyond the mission, and seven 101
kilometres beyond Chicunda a turning from the main track 361
brings one to the village of Epalanga. Keeping on the track, a further bifurcation, say two and a half kilometres on, gives a track to the left which leads to a small leper colony, and a track leading straight on and sharply upwards to the village of the chief of Gumba.

This village lies at the summit of a sharp ridge which rises up from the ordinary level and then drops abruptly to a neighbourhood inaccessible to motor transport, which forms the [635]
greater part of the Gumba chiefdom. The boundary on the other side is a river across which lies Cela.

Such is the lay-out of the area studied. It is up in the north- 101
western corner of the Umbundu country, indeed down by the Mission, people said that the people of Gumba were not Ovimbundu really but 'Olongoya', as the peoples to the north are termed. Many of the people in Gumba had come from 800

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[21] Childs, p. 22.

[22] Information obtained locally. I did not see official records.

[23] Information obtained locally.

167 Many of the people in Gumba had come from

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Cela, and Cela influences are notable in several ways.[24] In Cassongue Umbundu has relatively recently ousted other 133 speech.[25] Geographically Bimbe generally is rather lower than most of the Highland. Although the railway line and the growth 167 of maize have been influential here, an alternative pull for 361 labour migration is provided by the coffee plantation of Amboim and Seles, and by the coastal towns of Novo Redondo and Porto Amboim.[26] In the days of the caravan trade Novo Redondo was an important trading centre, more important perhaps than Benguela for the people of this area.

464 Work is sought by Ovimbundu in lands far from their home. [167] There are Ovimbundu at Brazzaville; others have settled permanently in the Congo Republic, or work in Rhodesia; the Johannesburg mines have employed many, and some have gone as far as Natal.[27] In Epalanga, the village where I lived, there were two men who had been to Johannesburg—nor was this very exceptional and I am told that among the people south of the railway it is quite common.

182 The world picture of the Ovimbundu is vague, except as regards Angola and the neighbouring countries. The existence of Europe (Putu) composed of different nations Portuguese, French, and English is known, and I was several times asked if there were black people in England. Little or nothing is known of the other continents. The island of S. Tomé in the Atlantic is known, since up to recently Angolan labourers went there, and some convicts are still sent to it. Several people from the [464] neighbourhood had lived in Luanda or worked on coffee plantations in northern Angola. The Belgian Congo was known as Bula Matadi, though people seem little aware of Rhodesia, and Mozambique (Portuguese East Africa) is confused with the southern Angolan port of Moçamedes. The railway lines and [464] the cities along it are of course well known, and some of the people I knew had travelled to Kwanyama country in the far south of Angola to buy cattle. Johannesburg (Zhwaini) and its

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[24] Notably in the arm ornaments and hair styles favoured by some women. Cela diviners are often consulted.

[25] Childs (p. 179) suggests that the change came about in the nineteenth century.

[26] For this area of Angola see Egerton, pp. 186–8. Galvão and Selvagem, pp. 376–80, 457–8.

[27] Personal information. Also Childs, p. 215.

missions are widely known to people. Although Ovimbundu Protestants are often referred to as 'America' a word used both as an adjective and a plural noun, they (that is, of course villagers, not educated men such as the pastors or teachers) have no clear idea of the existence of, still less any identification with, the United States. 182

Like the other parts of Umbundu country Bimbe has experienced much missionary activity. The Catholic Mission of Bimbe has had a great deal of influence, the catechists teaching catechism and leading daily prayers in the villages, which the priests visit once or twice a year, and at such feasts as Christmas and Easter great crowds attend the Church services. 797

The Protestants depend on the pastoral centres of Henge and Luvemba, which are regularly visited by a missionary from Bailundo. Both here and throughout the Highland Catholics are more numerous than Protestants, but in some sub-chiefdoms Protestants are in the majority, notably in Kapali and round Henge. I have already mentioned the differences between Catholic and Protestant missionary organization. At the local level a number of differences can be noticed, in such matters as the neater, more planned appearance of the Protestant villages which have far more rudimentary[**] (pre-primary) schools than the Catholics. These schools are entirely financed by the Protestant villagers; among the Catholics while there is a desire for more schooling there is a lack of the drive that the Protestants show. A *chefe de posto* said that Protestants spoke Portuguese better than Catholics; and the Protestants are more 'Europeanizing' in their outlook.

The *chefes de posto* visit each sub-chiefdom only once a year. 648 As the relations between the *chefes* and the people are usually concerned with the gathering of fines and taxes, the recruitment of labour, and the arrest and punishment of offenders, it is not surprising that the people regard the *chefe* with fear and mistrust. Yet there is a genuine acceptance of Portuguese rule. Thus villagers sing the Portuguese National Anthem at parties, the Portuguese flag is a meaningful symbol, and there is a belief

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[**] Rudimentary education is a course intended for natives at a pre-primary level. It includes teaching of Portuguese, and also some instruction in agriculture and hygiene.

648 that the Government is benevolent even if its agents are not, and men say that they like the Europeans. There are other opposed currents of feeling, though; thus a cook to a European family said to me, 'The Portuguese do not wish us to learn' and a villager declared, 'The Portuguese say to the English that the Ovimbundu have tails.'[22] The great mass of the Ovimbundu 186 seemed to be without political consciousness, or desire for independence; there is little nostalgia for the days of the caravans, and it is widely felt that the present is better than the past, since there is more contact with Europeans.

366 Traders in the neighbourhood were relatively few, compared to other parts of Umbundu country. At Chicunda there were three trading stores and people who did not like them went across the river to Cassongue. Traders try to prevent natives 433 who live in their neighbourhood from dealing at other stores where they can get better prices; but this is not always effective. Some Ovimbundu realize that variations of price levels are related to such factors as proximity to the railway line. The traders are criticized for paying their servants low wages as compared with those paid in the coastal cities. Although there 609 is a great deal of mutual suspicion between the traders and the Ovimbundu which is expressed in the arguing and haggling that takes place in the stores, there is none of the fear so noticeable in the people's attitudes to the *chefes*. Many traders have a smattering of Umbundu, and have a certain affection for the 437 local people. Economically, the role of the traders is to receive the maize and other products grown locally for transport to the railway line, and to distribute trade goods to the villages. Their presence is also important in preventing the rise of any other system of trading by markets or pedlars.

439 The principal goods sold are blankets, cloths, and clothing of all sorts, including fancy items such as sun-glasses. There are also a good many bottles of wine, and also oil-lamps and kerosene tins, and electric torches. For literates or would-be literates, there are pens, pencils, writing-papers and slates. Such goods as bicycles, gramophones, and sewing-machines are generally

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[22] I.e. The Portuguese say the Ovimbundu are savages and keep them from contact with other Europeans. The Bailundo area had not (up to September 1961) been affected by the revolt. However, a marked change in this attitude of submissiveness seems to have taken place.

bought in the towns, and men returning from South Africa are 439 said to bring all sorts of goods including typewriters. The traders do not lend money though they sometimes give credit. [452] The living standards of the traders are often low, some being unable to buy a truck, and having therefore to come to terms with someone who has one. I have even heard of traders having to eat the staple Umbundu mush (*pirão* in Portuguese).

While the traders play an extremely important role in the 448 local economy they do not establish any permanent face-to-face relationship with the natives outside their household and store, because they are not interested in them and have no reason to be. This does not apply in the same way to African *assimilados*,¹ 515 actual or self-styled, of whom there were a few in the neighbourhood, who lived more or less in Portuguese style. Of these one in particular, Justino, made a hobby of settling disputes, and will therefore re-appear later on. Their main source of revenue was coffee-growing, and they would occasionally have [245] local labour working for them. As they tend to identify themselves with the 'civilized' population, their attitude to the natives is not unlike that of the traders, but culturally and linguistically they are linked to the Ovimbundu villagers, and if of local origin will have kinship links too.

This group is significant because it is in the total social structure of Angola a link between the 'civilized' and 'non-civilized' communities. Both the *assimilados* and those pseudo-*assimilados* who have persuaded the natives that they are *assimilados*, identify themselves with the whites but are also linked much more closely with the natives than any other group. As the division into 'civilized' and 'non-civilized' is legally sanctioned on the grounds of culture not race, a group which participates to some degree in the cultures of both sections must be of great significance in the study of the means by which [178] the whole society is integrated. In the neighbourhood where I worked this group of Europeanized Africans were few in num- [162] bers,** both absolutely and in relation to other parts of Angola.

** I only know of one genuine assimilado in the neighbourhood though there were others who claimed to be such. Galvão and Selvagem (p. 408) remark of the Cazengo concelho of northern Angola, 'The great number of civilized negroes, some planters incorporated in the European economic system, hastened the disintegration and confusion of the tribal institutions.'

¹ [assimilados are Africans possessing Portuguese citizenship -- Analyst]

565 Their higher social status limits their contacts with the villagers
without giving them positions of direct control. Hence they are
not leaders in the native social system. They are significant for
565 the culture of village Ovimbundu since they are one of the
177 channels for the communication of European culture traits, and
their very existence indicates the possibility of becoming 'equal
with the white man'"[illegible]

797 More significant than the *assimilados* as a means of linking the
177 Ovimbundu with the whites, of the transmitting of cultural
values, and of the creation of new statuses and groupings at
village level, are the missions.

128 In the following chapters, the composition and degree of
solidarity of the sub-chiefdom, and village, the network of
kinship ties, the choice of marriage partners, and the means of
social control will be discussed in their operation among the
Ovimbundu who are inescapably tied to Portuguese rule, to
world markets, and to the spiritual authority of the missions.

[illegible] I have the impression that in the cities there is some feeling that the status of assimilado does not give real equality but simply exemption from such burdens as road work.

CHAPTER III

CHIEFS AND HEADMEN IN GUMBA

1. *The History of Gumba*

The historical perspective of Ovimbundu is short. Few, even 814 elders, know of any landmark earlier than the Mutu-ya-Kevela rising of 1902–3, nor even for those who had participated in it did the time of the rubber trade form a Golden Age by which the present is judged. The period about which most was remembered was the reign of Mbati.[1]

Mbati had ruled over both Gumba and Chicunda, a union 173 which had existed only during his lifetime, and which would 634 have given him on present-day population figures 7,500–9,000 [961] subjects.[2] He had managed to keep in his own hands the relations between his people and the government post. Policemen arriving at his capital to recruit labourers were entertained while Mbati's ministers got together the men required. Although an upholder of the traditional rites associated with [177] chieftancy he had been on good terms with the missionaries and allowed a Catholic catechist to settle in his village. One of his sons became a Protestant schoolteacher near the railway line, another entered the Catholic seminary but left and became a policeman in Cela. Many of the numerous progeny provided by his seventeen wives are still living in Gumba.

Mbati's downfall came through his practising the traditional [216] annual ritual cannibalism (*oku lia ekonge*). About 1934–5 he [848] was banished for this to another part of Umbundu country.

[text continues on p. 37]

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[1] L. Magyar marks a place called Gumba on his map (opposite to page 1) but puts it to the south of the capital of Bailundo. As he does not seem to have personal knowledge of this area, this does not rule out identification, especially as the Cuvo begins to the south of Bailundo.

[2] For the basis of this estimate see section 2 of this chapter.

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361
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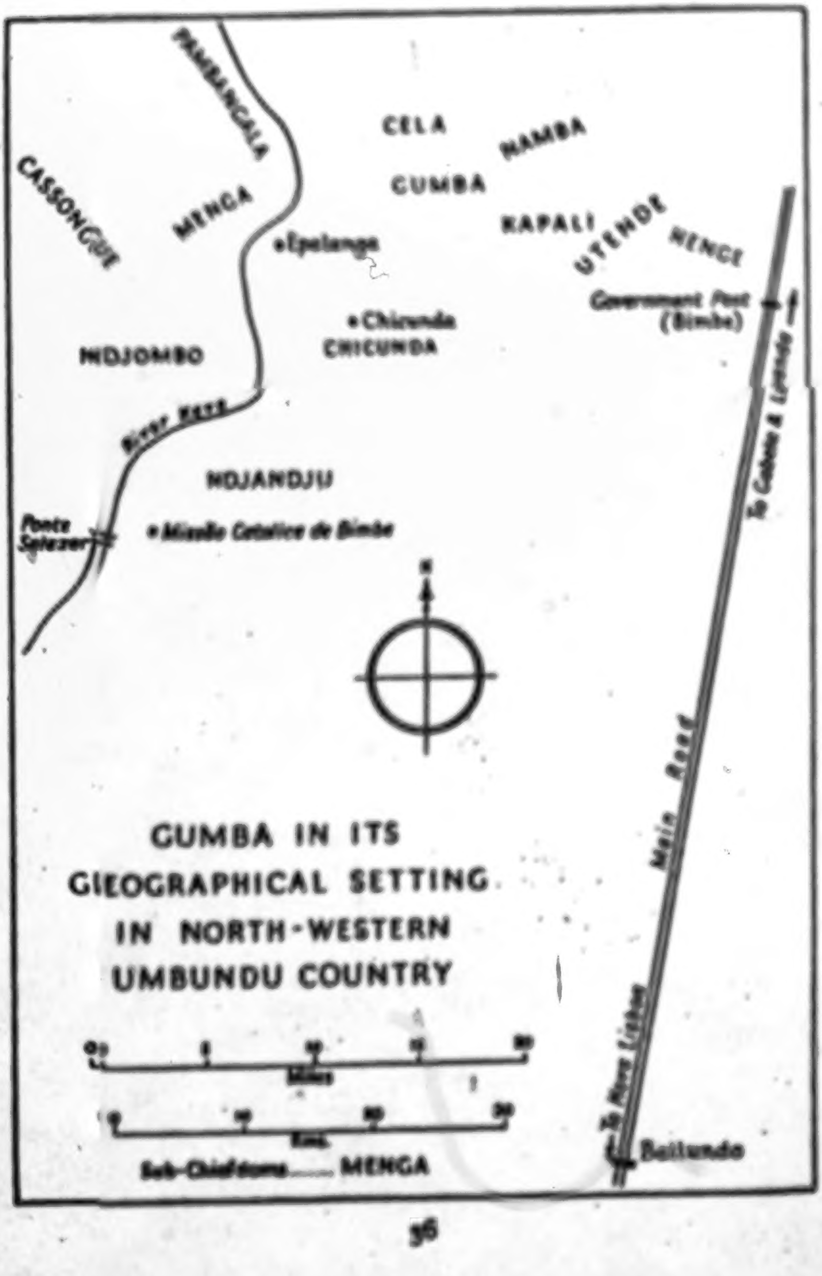
PAMBANGALA
CELA
HAMBA
GUMBA
CASSONGUE
MENGA
KAPALI
UTENDE
HENGE
• Epalanga
Government Post
(Bimbe)
• Chicunda
CHICUNDA
NDJOMBO
River Keve
NDJANDJU
Ponte Salazar
• Missão Catolica de Bimbe
N
To Gabela & Luanda
Main Road
To Nova Lisboa
Bailundo
0 5 10 15 20
Miles
0 10 20 30
Kms.
Sub-Chiefdoms...... MENGA

GUMBA IN ITS GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING IN NORTH-WESTERN UMBUNDU COUNTRY

Some ten years later he was allowed to return to Gumba but died on the way back. 173 634

His successor was Simbwyikoka, who was a mother's brother's son of Mbati, that is in Umbundu terminology a 'son'. Umbundu rules of succession allow anybody to succeed to a chiefdom who is paternally or maternally related to a previous chief, whether or not this relationship is genealogically traceable.[3]

Simbwyikoka was apparently nominated to act as regent during Mbati's absence, and as he did not complete the full cycle of chiefly rites he did not have quite the same prestige among the people as a chief in his own right who 'had finished', that is, had gone through all the rites. It was he who was the last ruler of Gumba to send the annual tribute in the form of a [231] sack of fish to Bailundo, since it was a little after the time of his accession that Kandimba[4] (or Njahulu), the last of the Bailundo royal house to have any real authority over the kingdom, died.

Simbwyikoka had lived at the hamlet of Kamballa in Gumba. When he took up office he did not settle at Mbati's village of Katembo, but established, or rather re-established, as a previous chief had ruled there, his capital[5] on the top of the narrow ridge which cuts off the greater part of Gumba from access by road. It was not possible for many people to settle on this site. Accordingly Simbwyikoka encouraged people to settle at the foot of the ridge, swelling the population of an already existing village. This was called Mwekalia from the headman, who held the office of Mwekalia[6] another ministerial title associated with the chiefly court. 173 634 166

In 1938 Simbwyikoka was deposed by the *chefe* for shielding [248] his dependents from the operation of 'contract labour' (administrative recruitment of non-voluntary labour). About 1944

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[3] My informants. This means that within (and outside) any sub-chiefdom there are a number of potential heirs who in no way receive any special status or form any kind of corporate group from this fact.

[4] Reigned at Bailundo 1911–33. Childs, p. [illegible]

[5] In Umbundu Ombala, often transcribed in Portuguese as Embala.

[6] For the role of Mwekalia see Hastings, p. 58. His statement that the office is [114] matrilineally inherited was not confirmed by my informants. It seems that it can be inherited either patrilineally or matrilineally. The man who was known as Mwekalia and had been headman of the village of that name did not function as such at the chief's court during my stay. A kinsman of his, Ngumbe, acted as Mwekalia at the court of [illegible].

173 Simbwyikoka founded a new village known by his name. In
634 1951 one of his sons, Sasungu, founded a new village Sasungu
646 whose population originated with a group of people from his
father's village. Simbwyikoka maintained contact with Kamballa, where another son, Felisi, lived and herded Simbwyikoka's cattle.

The new chief was Kakope, a son of Tjiweka who had been
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chief of Gumba at the time of the Muta-ya-Kevela rising. He
634 held office for only two years, being deposed by the *chefe* since
[648] ill-health made monthly visits to the post difficult for him. He
was succeeded by Kafelo, who came to Gumba from Cassongue across the river. Kafelo was a cross-cousin of Mbati and paternal kinsman of Kakope. Having gone through the cycle of chiefly rites, and undertaken Mbati's funeral he was regarded as being fully chief, in a way that Simbwyikoka was not.

The Epalanga[7] of a chief is a minister chosen from among the chief's kin. Kafelo had nominated to this post Sapapula, a matrilateral 'brother' of his and an inhabitant of Menga. Sapapula moved into Gumba and founded the village of
[266] Epalanga in 1945–6, where he was joined by various kinsmen.
I have heard the foundation of Epalanga ascribed to another man, Mwehombo, who will be mentioned again, and should therefore be introduced. Mwehombo had been minister at the court of Mbati, his mother's brother. After Mbati's death Mwehombo had stayed at Katembo till 1941, when he settled in Menga with his kinsman Sapapula. Mwehombo crossed over to Gumba in 1944.[8]

173 In 1954 Kafelo was deposed by the *chefe*, as Kafelo had been
634 drunk in his presence. Kutenga Lusase, who had in 1945
646 founded the village of Kamupa, saw his chance and told the
chefe that he had been chosen chief according to custom. The people of Gumba did not complain about this to the post, as they were afraid of the consequences. Kutenga Lusase claimed to be related to Mbati and Simbwyikoka and was a matrilateral 'grandson' of Tjiweka. He was not related to Kafelo whose link to Tjiweka was a patrilateral one.

Kutenga Lusase was in his turn deposed by the *chefe* in 1956

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[7] Hastings, p. 33.

[8] Information from his 'brother', Lusanga.

for lack of effectiveness following a series of quarrels. His 173
successor was Tjilombo a government headman and the leading 634
personality of the village of Tjisangu. Such, then, is the recent 648
history of Gumba.

2. *Chiefs, Government Headmen, and Traditional Headmen*

I have outlined the succession of chiefs in Gumba, and the 634
villages with which they were associated. I have noted that 622
nowadays there are government headmen as well as the traditional headmen. I wish now to indicate what authority the chiefs and the two sorts of headmen have and how this is related to the villages.

The sub-chiefdom is a recognized administrative unit. The 634
census, and the annual check on the census, are taken on a sub- 648
chiefdom basis, as are the collection of taxes and the recruitment of workers for contract labour, road work, and jobs to be done at the post. The sub-chief and the government headmen have to visit the post once a month. The *chefe de posto* (head of post = District Officer) will normally only visit each sub-chiefdom once a year for the check on the census. He may send orders for the recruitment of labourers or the arrest of an offender by one of the policemen who live at the post. His principal contact with the people comes in the adjudicating of disputes which the people are quite ready to carry to the post—the Bimbe *chefe*, whose area included Gumba, told me that hearing cases was his main occupation. Very few *chefes* have anything more than a smattering of the Umbundu language, and they have only the vaguest knowledge of the culture and social usages—for instance they may be aware of the classificatory extension of kinship terms and the association of leopardskins with chieftancy. The *chefes* are moved about fairly frequently and their names and personalitie sare not known to the people. As the people associate the post with demands for taxes, fines, and labour services, and are only likely to visit the post when recruited as non-voluntary labourers or to have their photographs taken for identity cards, it is not surprising that fear is the predominant emotion they feel towards the *chefe*.

The staff of the post consists of the interpreter, an African

634 648 with primary and possibly some secondary education, the clerks who have primary schooling, and the policemen, who are often illiterate. The police are locally recruited and are provided with their keep, from the farm attached to the post, and with uniforms. They are usually—by no means always—illiterate. The interpreter, clerks, and police tend to identify themselves with the *chefe* as against the people; however, a policeman may be influenced in his relations with the villagers by gifts and friendship.

634 161 The size of population of sub-chiefdoms varies. The 1950 census gave the total 'non-civilized' population of the Bailundo *concelho* as being 246,045, and the number of sub-chiefdoms as 82,[9] that is, an average of 3,000 individuals per sub-chiefdom. The *chefe* of Bimbe told me in August 1956 that Gumba had 800 taxpayers, and Chicunda had 700. Putting the proportion of taxpayers as 1 to 6 (on the basis of Epalanga proportions) this gives 4,800 as the population figure for Gumba and 4,200 as the figure for Chicunda. Even if the proportion of 1 to 5 be taken as the proportion between taxpayers and total population this gives us 4,000 as the figure for Gumba and 3,500 as the figure for Chicunda. I do not know what the local density of population is; in the Bailundo *concelho* as a whole it is 16–17 individuals per square kilometre.[10]

634 648 622 The chief and government headmen are the main channel of conveying demands and orders from the post to the villagers. They receive in return the remission of their taxes. Their dependence on the post is not, however, sufficient to give them a position of marked superiority in their locality for the following reasons. They are unable to control all relations between the post and the people; anybody who has a dispute on hand may take it direct to the post. In village life their 634 622 [792] influence can always be counterbalanced by that of the catechists and 'elders of the school' whose contact with the missions is much closer than that of the chiefs and government headmen with the post. They also lack economic resources; the exemption from taxes (which the Catholic catechists share)

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[9] See Gálvão and Selvagem, pp. 564-5. For Angolan population density see Egerton, pp. 56-57.

[10] My own estimate from figures given by Galvão and Selvagem.

does not give them any claim to financial assistance from the 634
people, or control over natural resources, such as land rights. 622
The only prerogative of this sort that the chief has is the right to the leg of an antelope killed in a hunt or a bull killed in a commemoration rite—and this is of symbolic rather than economic importance.

Nor, finally, does the post give the chiefs prestige and 648
support.[11] Five successive chiefs of Gumba had been deposed 636
by the post, and it is not uncommon for chiefs and government 622
headmen to be beaten or otherwise punished (for instance by being made to work for a fortnight at the post) for their shortcomings. They have in fact just sufficient power to carry out the commands of the *chefe* and to do nothing more. They are not disliked by the local people for doing what the *chefe* tells them to do, but any attempt at dictatorial behaviour on their part will stir up opposition which may lead to their downfall.

The relations between white *chefe* and black chief vary 648
according to individuals and neighbourhoods. Sometimes the 634
chefe will allow the chief to be chosen according to tradition; at other times he will impose a candidate of his own. A *chefe* may hear any cases that are brought to the post, or he may delegate the power of hearing minor cases to the chiefs. Some *chefes* will regard the chiefs with hostility as being enemies of their own people; others will abstain under any circumstances from beating a chief, as they feel their power should be supported. Here I describe the situation as it was in Gumba and in Bimbe generally.

A visit to a chief's village in Gumba or elsewhere will give an 634
opportunity of meeting those residents who hold the ministerial 178
titles, of gazing under overshadowing trees at the enclosure in 769
which are kept the skulls of former chiefs, and perhaps of seeing the chief and some of his cronies dance to a drum in commemoration of one of his predecessors. Ministers, skulls, dances, and drum are symbols of chiefly nostalgia rather than of political power. The ceremonies have little interest for the people in general, and many of them have been abandoned by the chief. Lusase's first wife had not, as custom demanded,

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[11] For criticism of this policy by two Portuguese with administrative experience see Galvão and Selvagem, p. 213.

634 178 769 become *inakulu* (queen) because she feared the unpleasant haunting by the spirits of former queens which is traditionally experienced by the holder of this office.[18] On one occasion [775] Lusase himself offered to let me into the *akokoto* (the enclosure where the skulls of dead chiefs were kept) for the payment of five or ten escudos (1s. 3d. or 2s. 6d.) although the entry of anybody except the chief and possibly certain of his courtiers appears traditionally to have been forbidden under the penalty of death sent by the spirits. Even the surviving rites are confined to the chief's village; the first-fruits ceremony in which the [796] whole chiefdom was involved disappeared a number of years ago. The association general in Umbundu country between 634 771 the chiefs and paganism does not provide an added ritual sanction to the chief's power, but rather links him with what is felt to be a dying past, essentially unimportant, at the present day.

692 The chief may also have some of his time occupied with hearing cases. A good many minor disputes are solved by local adjudication, but there seems to be no specific division between cases that ought to come to the chief and those which can be arbitrated by somebody else. Elders from outside a chiefdom may be invited to adjudicate on a particular case. The old formality of legal procedure has largely disappeared, probably because all disputes at a local level can be carried to the post—hence any ruling by chief or elders is essentially dependent on its acceptance by the disputants.

754 Accusations of sorcery are rather different from other cases since the post does not believe them, although such an accusation is not in itself punishable. Sometimes suspected sorcerers are accused at the post of 'poisoning'.[19] Lusase told me that convicted sorcerers were fined a chicken, a goat and a pig. Gregorio, the chief of Menga, at first said, when I asked about this, that it was not possible to know who was a sorcerer. When, rather to his surprise, I mentioned the traditional basket test, he agreed and explained that people convicted by this test were sent as labourers to the post to satisfy whatever demand was being made for workers.

[18] Informants. See also Hastings, p. 49.

[19] Childs, p. 58.

CHIEFS AND HEADMEN IN GUMBA

The tasks of recruiting contract labourers and road-workers 626
and of getting fines and taxes paid, and such other duties as the 466
arranging of compulsory purchase of tickets for the travelling
cinema (showing patriotic films) are carried out through a long [208]
process of argument, attempted evasion, and pressure, between
the chief, the government headmen, and the locally influential
people, traditional headmen, catechists, and anyone else who
can get himself listened to. Persons actually picked for contract
labour or road work may make quite a fuss about it, but as
such numbers are recruited it is ultimately accepted resignedly.
It is not really practicable for a chief to discriminate in favour
of his kinsman owing to the heavy demands for labour and the [834]
likelihood of such discrimination being reported at the post, as
happened to Simbwyikoka. Demands for labour may fall
heavily on some households. Thus one Epalanga household
consisted of a man, his daughter by an earlier marriage, his [592]
wife and her baby daughter. The man had been taken for
contract labour, his wife had been called to road work, and the
adolescent daughter was carrying sisal[14] to the post. A kinsman
of the household head attempted to arrange for some watch to
be kept over the gardens lest animals should get in.

There were four government headmen in Gumba during my 622
stay. Theoretically they are village headmen. The villages in
which official records group Ovimbundu do not conform to the 166
actual villages in which Ovimbundu live. Anybody moving
from one village to another has to pay a fee; as the Ovimbundu
move about quite frequently and no attempt is made to enforce
this rule locally, the result is this discrepancy between paper and
real villages.

The government headman's duties are those already described 622
for the chief. As with the chief, there is only sufficient 148
backing from the post for him to carry out the orders he receives; 634
he does not receive power to enable him to exercise
political leadership and judicial authority at the local level,
nor is he a representative of the post in the villages. His interests
and values are linked to those of his neighbours rather than to
the post. It is through the chief and the government headmen

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[14] Some villages are obliged to grow sisal and take it to the post without payment. [248]

622 that the administration gets labour and money from the villagers, 648 and largely though not exclusively through them that the 634 villagers keep in touch with the post which politically integrates them into Angola and legally provides sanctions which they do not possess. The government headmen do not supervise on behalf of the post the daily life of their fellow-villagers. The government laws—such as the prohibition of beer- and rum-brewing and grass-burning (for hunts)—which if enforced would bring about a certain number of changes in Umbundu social life, are not enforced for many reasons—the administration makes no real attempt to suppress these uses as opposed to [681] levying annual fines[15] per head, the government headmen go in for these customs themselves, and they lack the power to achieve this enforcement. Were the government to introduce policies involving some reorganization of the social life they would need a stronger form of local authority. Under the present circumstances, however, the powers and status of the chief and government headmen are quite consistent with the demands made on them by the post.

622 There were four government headmen in Gumba in 1955–6, Guilherme, Lupassa, Tjilombo (who became chief after the deposition of Lusase), and Walivanga. Guilherme was in 1955 living in Epalanga. Some people thought he should live in Kamupa which had been founded by his mother's brother Lusase—however, when he left Epalanga in 1956 he settled near the Protestant village of Kalungwengwe. His change of residence had been the result of violent quarrels with Paulo and [578] other Epalanga people. Lupassa lived in Katembo, and was a sister's son of Kaluywa, who was the traditional headman. I do not think Lupassa was the dominating personality in Katembo. Tjilombo was on the other hand the leading personality in Tjisangu, many of its people being related to him. Walivanga was similarly linked by kin or affinal ties to the majority of the people of Belem.

The foregoing paragraph raises the question of the relationship of the government headman to the traditional headmen. A man who is both a government headman and a traditional headman is in a fairly strong position in his village; when the government headman is not the same person as the traditional headman he may become involved in quarrels unless he is careful to accept the position of the traditional headman; and both government headman and traditional headman may find it wise to be on good terms with the catechist and the elder of the school. 622

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[15] Each fine is about 10–20 escudos (2/6d.–5/-).

It is fairly simple to define the obligations of the government headman. Discussing the position of the traditional headman vague words such as 'influence' and 'prestige' must be used to describe a vague position. Indeed a purely synchronic picture would be inadequate, since the present position of the traditional headmen and the contemporary village organization must be understood against a historical background.

3. *Headmen and Their Villages*

In the time of the rubber trade the village headman was both the leader of a body of agnatic kinsmen and the representative of his village in the wider political system, the village headmen sitting with the chief to judge cases. Both Childs and Hambly emphasize the importance of the judicial role of the village headmen. Childs states that the village headman was also a ritual leader, being responsible for 'regular village worship including agricultural festivals'.[16] I have found no evidence of such ceremonies on a village basis. The only ritual which, according to my older informants, the village headman should perform for his people is communing with his ancestor spirits in the spirit hut during a village hunt, and this information was not confirmed by all my older informants. It may be added that I found no evidence of any installation rite for a new headman.

It may be assumed that a good deal of the old village structure survived till the middle or end of the 1930's. Dr. Childs in his description of the village of Ngendo (Cassongue) as it was in 1935–6 indicated that agnatic kinship was the main principle of village recruitment, and that this was typical of other Umbundu villages.[17] In Gumba it was still possible at this time 178 621

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[16] Childs, p. 46.

[17] Ibid., pp. 25–37.

178 621 for individuals to build up large villages—thus Simbwyikoka encouraged people to settle at Mwekalia to make it a large village. It may also be suggested that the power of the village 622 headmen was to some extent linked with the power of the chief, since the headmen were associated politically with the chief, and would from this, tend to gain authority in their dealings with their fellow villagers. The village headmen also lacked any real competition from other types of leadership. Mbati had kept relations with the post in his own hands, and there were therefore no government headmen. The first catechist had [797] arrived in Mbati's village in 1928, but cannot have met with much lasting success as there are few baptized Christians over thirty-five in Gumba.

622 554 Other factors at the time strengthening the position of the village headmen were the low rate of labour migration[18] and the fact that practically every man over forty at the time of Simbwyikoka's accession had participated in the rubber trade. This meant that many of the best known caravan leaders were still in full vigour, and enjoyed a prestige based on the first-hand knowledge of the middle-aged and older men.

178 Between this period of the middle thirties and the beginning of my own fieldwork twenty years had passed and many changes had taken place. The status of the chief had sharply (634) declined and he was now assisted by the four government headmen. Every village except the chief's village had a Catholic or Protestant catechist, and there had been a marked trend [797] towards learning catechism in preparation for baptism, which had begun about 1946. Hence the catechetical school was usually attended by the majority of under twenty-five's in the village.

621 Agnatic kinship had ceased to be the principle of village membership. Nor can it be said that headmen build up villages by getting people to settle at a particular spot. It is not always easy even to find the headman, village population is not very stable, and a man can settle with any category of kin.

622 124 To discover the traditional headman required careful phrasing of questions. When I visited a village and asked for the *osekulu yimbo* (the traditional phrase for the village headman) I

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[18] Ibid., p. 214.

might be told that he lived elsewhere. This would turn out to 622
be a reference to the government headman. A request for the 124
osekulu (literally elder father, hence elder or headman) might
also bring me in contact with the 'elder of the school', the
representative of the local Christians. I therefore began to ask for
'the old one' (*ukulu*), or to inquire 'Who built first?' or 'Who
settles disputes?', when I wanted to find out who was the
traditional headman.

Even these questions did not necessarily get a clear answer.
Thus the village of Kamupa had been founded by Lusase, its 622
government headman was Guilherme, and, as neither of these
was living near, minor disputes were referred to two old men
who lived in the village. Apart from the government headmen,
there are also traditional headmen recognized by the post,
who did not have the privileges and the duties of the former. It
may happen in a particular village that the man recognized as
traditional headman by the post is not the same person as the
real traditional headman recognized by the village. This was
the case in Epalanga, where Sapapula was unquestionably the
headman recognized by the villagers but the duties of dealing
with policemen fell to Luanga. In the local discussions as to
the recruitment of road-workers, and so on, Sapapula had much
more influence than Luanga.

The position of the traditional headman nowadays lacks
clearly defined powers, or symbolic value. A village is frequently
known by its founder's name. The headman is the only
person who can speak of 'my village' as opposed to 'our
village'.[19] The firing of the long grass in the dry season which 224
marks the beginning of the great communal hunts is theoretically 622
begun by the village headman, though this is not always
adhered to in practice. The headman does not take any active
part in leading the hunt, nor are the people who go on a communal
hunt necessarily confined to the inhabitants of one
village. He has 'to show land' to new-comers to the village. 622
This reflects a moral responsibility to his people rather than
control of land tenure, since there is always spare land away [311]
from the villages which anybody can cultivate. He also has the
responsibility of hearing minor disputes. He receives from the

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[19] Ibid., pp. 36–37.

622 villagers a certain, not very marked, respect, which may be increased by such factors as kinship ties between him and them, and his personal qualities.

621 Nor is the village itself clearly defined as a social unit. It does not possess any corporate rights over fishing and hunting sites, or control access to firewood gathering. A man may hold land in two villages. It is rarely that a village acts or is treated as a unit. The two main occasions on which the village is thus 'represented' are at marriages and in the context of the catechetical school. The party which goes from the bridegroom's
[628] village to the bride's represents her village, to the other village; at the wedding feast food is given out on large basket plates, one for each village represented among the guests.

The role of the catechetical school as representative of the
797 village as a whole will be discussed in another chapter; here it should be noted that the ceremonial reception of visiting missionaries by the 'school people' of the village has been evidently copied to some extent from the welcome given to the bridegroom's party, and this has in turn copied certain features from the welcoming of missionaries—notably the use of speeches in Portuguese.

361 The hamlets[20] and isolated households do not indicate a modernizing 'individualistic' trend away from village life, since 'conservative' and 'progressive' people are to be found
621 in both units of residence. The Ovimbundu, whether educated or illiterate, when talking about themselves (particularly in
829 comparison with the Kimbundu of Northern Angola) emphasize that they are a village-dwelling people, and for them the real values of village life seem to be the sociability and mutual help that a man living among his kin can enjoy. By settling in a village one indicates where the pull of kinship ties is strongest rather than any particular allegiance to the village headman.

[20] I use this term for a settlement with less than four households.

CHAPTER IV

THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF VILLAGES

1. *The Village Epalanga*

In this chapter the internal social relations of the village and the relevance to them of the headman will be examined. 621

Epalanga, which has been mentioned as associated with Sapapula, the Epalanga of the former chief Kafelo, was a village of 148 inhabitants living in 36 households. Its houses stretched from near the River Keve (or Cuvo) to near the track leading to Chicunda, a distance of between half and two-thirds of a mile. Its layout is of the untidy scattered sort typical of most Umbundu villages, indeed its size leads it to be more scattered and spread out than is usual. Houses are surrounded by their own gardens in which maize and other crops are grown, and there are a number of stretches of bush in between homesteads. 361

Four main sources of origin (as regards kinship ties not as regards localities) for Epalanga may be noted. The largest 'kinship core'[1] was composed of Sapapula and his kin numbering 16 households. The second largest was that of the kin of Mwehombo (who was a matrilateral 'brother'[2] of Sapapula) and Mbati the former chief of Gumba and mother's brother 621

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[1] This term seems more satisfactory than 'cluster' which has a local meaning, or 'group' which suggests an unilineal descent group. It is not intended to give a term indicating a unit with defined boundaries. Childs notes that *imbo* (village) can also be used as a word for a cluster of houses within a village. He also gives the word *[illegible]* for a ward within a village. This word was not known locally.

[2] I have employed inverted commas to indicate classificatory use of terms which for Europeans refer to the members of the elementary family, e.g. matrilateral 'brother'. I have not done so where the classificatory use relates to a term not associated with the elementary family, e.g. mother's brother. In ordinary social life there is no great distinction between a 'true' and a 'classificatory' mother's brother. [601]

[Village of Epalanga]

621 of both Mwehombo and Sapapula. The third grouping was that of Ndjoleya (who was not directly related to Mwhombo or Sapapula) and his kin. Finally there were some people who were linked to Lusase (chief of Gumba 1954–6) who was not and had apparently never been an inhabitant of Epalanga, plus a few individuals who cannot be fitted on to any kinship core.

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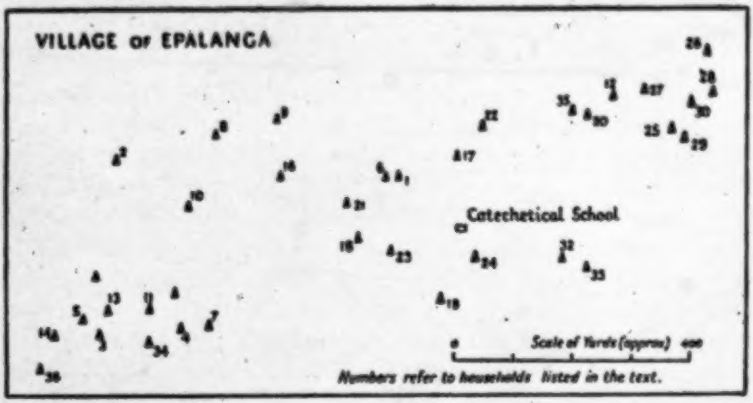
VILLAGE OF EPALANGA
Catechetical School
Scale of Yards (approx.)
0
Numbers refer to households listed in the text.
26
28
12
27
30
35
20
25
29
22
9
8
2
17
16
6
1
10
21
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32
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7
14
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4
36

621 To some extent these differences of origin tended to be represented in the lay-out of the village. Sapapula's kin lived at the end of the village nearest the river, the kin of Mbati and Mwehombo lived in the centre of the village, and Ndjoleya's kinship core was to be found at the end of Epalanga by the Chicunda track. However, comparison of the list given below with the plan of the village show that the correspondence between core membership and the part of the village resided in is by no means total.[8]

In actual social life the differences between the cores to a large extent disappears. People from all cores take part in such activities as dances, funerals, house-building, and hunts, and this is facilitated by the numerous ties of kinship and marriage which exist between members of the different cores. Ndjoleya's

[8] Thus, Sendje, Sapapula's wife's mother, lived at Ndjoleya's end of the village. Ndjoleya had formerly lived at the other end of the village, but had moved. His 'sister', Tjingonene, still lived near his old home.

[Village of Epalanga]

cluster was much more autonomous *vis-à-vis* Sapapula than 621 were the members of the Mbati-Mwehombo grouping through the more numerous and closer kin ties; yet it would be wrong to regard Ndjoleya's kin as isolated.[4] This greater autonomy was a matter of degree rather than kind.

With regard to geographical origin, it is evident that the 166
population had been recruited from over quite a wide area. 592
Of the 36 household heads 7 were born in Cela of whom 6 had come from Cela to Gumba, and 1 had been born in Cela, then come to Gumba, then moved to Menga and then returned to Gumba. 3 household heads had come from Utende to Gumba, and 2 had come from Namba. 12 had come to Epalanga from Cassongue. 7 household heads (including 2 who had subsequently lived in Cassongue) had at one time lived in Katembo (the village associated with Mbati). 1 householder was apparently born in Gumba but had no Katembo link. 2 household heads were from Ndjandju (one having lived in Cassongue after leaving Ndjandju, the other being the catechist) and 1 was from Chicunda. On the origins of 5 household heads I have no information.

My information on Epalanga suffers from a number of gaps. 114 Some genealogical information collected was lost. Too frequently I neglected to ask if a particular relationship was patrilateral or matrilateral, nor did I enquire sufficiently as to whether particular marriages were between kinsfolk or not.

These deficiencies to some extent 'fit' the kinship system. A 602 kinship tie may exist between two people which is significant in the social relations between them, yet they may not be sure as to whether it is patrilateral or matrilateral, or even as to what is the category of kinship involved. Thus a resident of Simbwyikoka's village told me one day that Simbwyikoka was his 'brother', some time later he was a brother-in-law, and after this again said that he was a 'brother'.

There is also confusion over pedigrees. The pedigree which Simbwyikoka gave me in December 1955 differed from the one that he gave me in April 1956. Two people who claim to be

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[4] Ndjoleya once referred to himself as *Osekulu yimbe* (elder of the *imbe*) this being a case of *imbe* used for a cluster within a village. Ndjoleya's folk recognized Sapapula as being head of the village.

[Village of Epalanga]

602 'close' kin may not be able to indicate the set of genealogical[5] links between them and will not be at all surprised or even interested by this; hence it is impossible to draw up a genealogy of Epalanga. I have attempted to show the very complicated 128 network of relationships by a series of charts—one big chart would have so many cross-cutting lines as to be largely unintelligible.

Three charts λ are given to illustrate particular sections of the mesh of kin and affinal ties. They are not intended as exhaustive records of the relationship of any one kinship core or of any single individual. Rather, they are intended to give a general impression of how the proliferation of the strands of kinship [621] and marriage brings about a complicated and formless patchwork in which everybody is included.

2. *Information on Household Heads*

601 621 List I. Residents of Epalanga as of December 1956. Female household heads are indicated by a star against their names. The numbers are used on the map of the village (see p. 50).

Sapapula's Kinship Core

1. Aspirante, sister's son of Sapapula, son-in-law of Wayangu.
2. *Avilo, sister's daughter of Sapapula, 'sister' to Tjingonene (31).
3. Batista, son of Epalata (5) and husband of a sister of Kasosi (7).
4. Bernacio, son-in-law of Sapapula, 'son' to Kasosi (7).
5. Epalata, matrilateral cross-cousin of Sapapula.
6. Ernesto, sister's son of Sapapula, full brother of Aspirante (1) married to a daughter's daughter of Sasamela (see List II).
7. Kasosi, 'grandson' of Sapapula through being sister's son[6] to Wasuka (15). A 'son' to Guilherme and 'father' to Bernacio (4).

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[5] Ovimbundu even traditionally seem to have been little interested in genealogies. (Information from Dr. G. M. Childs.)

[6] According to Umbundu kinship terminology, Wasuka being a matrilateral cross-cousin of Sapapula could call him 'father' and Kasosi could call his mother's brother's (Wasuka) father 'grandfather'.

λ [cf. charts on pp. 91, 96, 97, in Category 116 - Analyst]

[Village of Epalanga]

8. *Natjingendele, cross-cousin of Sapapula, had formerly lived at the other end of Epalanga near her 'brother' Ndjoleya (30). 601 621
9. Patientia, 'brother' of Sapapula's wife Nahoka.
10. Sapapula, sister's son of Mbati, 'brother' of Luanga (21) and Mwehombo, not related to Ndjoleya (30) or Lusase.
11. Saviel, sister's son of Sapapula married to Soko, a daughter of Mwehombo. By an earlier marriage he had become affinally related to Tjingonene (31).
12. *Sendje, mother of Nahoka, Sapapula's wife.
13. Tjamwanga, matrilateral cross-cousin of Sapapula and paternal half-brother of Epalata (5).
14. Tjimbandongo, son of Epalata (5) and therefore a classificatory 'grandson' of Sapapula.
15. Wasuka, matrilateral cross-cousin of Sapapula, and 'brother' of Epalata (5).
16. *Wimbu, a widow, sister's daughter of Sapapula, her husband had been a mother's brother of Luanga (21).

The Mbati-Mwehombo kinship core

17. Armandio, sister's son of Mwehombo (and of Sapapula).
18. Gonçalve, own son of Mwehombo (therefore 'son' of Sapapula).
19. Jaime, son of Mbati—cross-cousin of Mwehombo, formerly married to Soko (daughter of Mwehombo) who was now the wife of Saviel (11), later married to Delfina, a brother's daughter of Ndjoleya.
20. Joaõ, cross-cousin of Sapapula. He tended, however, to be associated with the Mbati-Mwehombo kinship core, owing to his marriage to Paulina, daughter of Mwehombo, and full sister of Gonçalve (18).
21. Luanga, matrilateral 'brother' to Mwehombo (and also to Sapapula) patrilateral 'brother' to Ndjoleya. Luanga's wife Muhongo was a 'sister' of Maria, the wife of Paulo (24).
22. Manuel, sister's son of Mwehombo, his first wife had been a sister (not known if real or classificatory) of Maria, Paulo's wife (24).

[Village of Epalenga]

601 23. *Nahenge, cross-cousin of Sapapula, and sister of Joaõ (20).

621 24. Paulo, 'elder of the catechetical school', sister's son of Mwehombo (and of Sapapula). His wife Maria was a daughter of Mbati.

Ndjoleya's kinship core

25. Augusto, sister's son to Ndjoleya, his wife Luisa was a daughter (by an earlier marriage) of Nalivonga, daughter of Sapapula and wife of Bernacio (4).
26. Costa, 'brother' of Ndjoleya (30), and husband of Nakalende, a cross-cousin of Paulo (24).
27. Cypriano, sister's son of Ndjoleya (30).
28. Ferreira, 'brother' of Ndjoleya (30).
29. Julio, sister's son of Ndjoleya and full brother of Augusto (25).
30. Ndjoleya, one of his wives was a sister (not known whether real or classificatory) of Bernacio, another a full sister of one of Mwehombo's wives.
31. *Tjingonene, 'sister' of Ndjoleya, by another path 'sister' of Avilo. Her daughter Feliciana was a cross-cousin of Nahoka, the wife of Sapapula, and had married Daniel, a sister's son of Lusase.

Persons with kin links to Lusase

32. Bartolomeu, sister's son of Lusase and also of Sapapula, 'son' of Wasuka (15), cross-cousin of Ndjoleya and also of Paulo (24).
33. *Nalundu, matrilateral 'sister' of Bartolomeu.

Other residents

34. *Nasemela, widow of Sasamela. (See List II).
35. Pedro Tjikete Santos, catechist.
36. *Tjambo, 'sister' of Bartolomeu (32), not included with him in the group linked to Lusase, since although she had formerly lived near his house, she moved to be near Tjimbandongo (14), whose 'mother' she was.

List II. Persons not living in Epalanga at the end of 1956, but significant for intra-village ties. 601

Angelo, son of Sasamela (q.v.) and therefore mother's brother to Teresa (wife of Ernesto (6) and daughter's daughter to Sasamela), had married Njamba, daughter (by another marriage) of Nakalende the wife of Costa (26).

Antonio Kasoma, patrilaterally a 'grandson' of Mbati had married three wives, one a daughter of Tjingonene (31), one a daughter of Sapapula, and one a sister's daughter of Guilherme. A 'brother' of his (not known if real or classificatory) had been an earlier husband of Nakalende, the wife of Costa (26). Kapapelo was a matrilateral cross-cousin of his.

Guilherme, sister's son of Kapapelo and Lusase, 'brother' to Bartolomeu (32) 'son' to Wasuka (15), 'father' to Kasosi (7) and 'grandson' to Sahuke.

Jeremias, Protestant catechist of Simbwyikoka village, wife's brother to Gonçalve (18), former husband of Natalia the sister of Aspirante (1) and Ernesto (6).

Kapapelo, 'brother' of Lusase, mother's brother of Bartolomeu (32) and Guilherme, patrilateral cross-cousin of Luanga (21), and matrilateral cross-cousin of Antonio Kasoma. Formerly married to the mother of Pungu, the fiancée of José the son of Paulo (24).

Lusase, chief of Gumba, 1954–1956, 'brother' to Kapapelo and Sahuke, mother's brother to Bartolomeu (32) and Guilherme. Another sister's son, Daniel of Kamupa, had married Feliciana, the daughter of Tjingonene (31), and cross-cousin of Nahoka the wife of Sapapula.

Pedro Nendi, son of Mbati and half-brother of Maria, wife of Paulo (24) and Jaime (19). His mother Wumba had after Mbati's death married Sahuke. Pedro Nendi lived in a hamlet just outside Epalanga. In it also lived his sister's son Cesario who was married to Natalia, a full sister of Aspirante (1) and Ernesto (6), and former wife of Jeremias (q.v.).

Sahuke, matrilateral 'brother' of Sapapula, and cross-cousin of Epalata (5). As noted he was a 'brother' of Lusase and a step-father to Pedro Nendi, also a 'brother' of Sasamela, a sister's son of Mbati and a mother's brother of Bartolomeu (32).

Sasamela, father of Angelo and grandfather of Teresa, the

601/ wife of Ernesto (6). Patrilateral 'father' to Paula (24) and Saviel (11). Affinally related to Mwehombo, a 'sister' of whom he had married.

Wayangu, paternal half-brother of Mwehombo, resident at Epalanga till the end of 1955, wife's father to Aspirante (1) had married a sister (not clear whether own or classificatory) of Lusase.

3. *Kinship and marriage in the village setting*

621/ The foregoing tabulated information and the charts indicate the two main principles of integration in Epalanga, as in other Umbundu villages, the settling of individuals near senior kinsmen and the existence of a number of intra-village marriage ties.

621/ For a clearer outline of village structure to appear, it is
602 necessary to give a brief sketch of the contemporary kinship
system which will be discussed more thoroughly in later chapters. This is cognatic, with little distinction between patrilineal
592 and matrilineal kin, the elementary family being the basic
591 household unit, the individual being permitted to settle with
582 any category of kin, and a high percentage of preferential
marriages.[7]

591/ The right of settling where one pleases, as 'the heart chooses', is recognized even in children. Minessi, the 7-year-old son of Gonçalve (18), used generally to eat at the household of his father's sister Paulina, the wife of Joaõ (20). Gonçalve said about this to me 'He is very fond of his father's sister.'

While the traditional norm by which a man lived in his father's village is still remembered, at least by older men, a

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[7] Childs (p. 56) states that it is permitted to marry a cross-cousin on either side, a sister's daughter, and a father's sister. My informants generally agreed that the marriage with a father's sister was not and had not been permitted. Marriage is not permitted with 'true' kin of these categories. Padre Feltin, the superior of the Bimbe Catholic Mission who knew of the existence of these marriages, told me that very few Umbundu marriages came within the prohibited (a prohibition removable by a dispensation) degrees of kinship laid down by the Catholic Church (that is, up to, and including, third cousins). Such marriages in the past might have been with geographically as well as socially distant kin. Childs quotes a case of a marriage arranged, after the discovery of a kinship tie, between partners living as far apart as Ciyaka (Quiaca) and Ngalangi (Galangue).

father does not exercise great authority over his grown sons 591
even if they live in the same village, nor does their living in [593]
different villages lead to a breach in personal relations. Sapapula who told me that a man should stay in his father's village till the latter's death had four sons, none of whom lived in Epalanga. Two lived in Menga (where Sapapula had lived up 591
to 1946) and maintained friendly contact with their father. 593
One who lived in Cela seemed socially as well as geographically more remote, and the fourth was a labour migrant given up for lost.

The preferential marriages[•] have continued in practice when 582
most of the other institutions of the old kinship system have dis- 621
integrated. Their function is to multiply the relationships between individuals living in a particular neighbourhood, and to limit the socio-geographical range within which marriage partners are selected. Of a sample of 121 existing marriages 87, that is 70.3%, were with cross-cousins, and only 13.7% were with non-kinswomen.[•]

Even some of the non-kin marriages fitted into the general pattern of increasing ties within a limited social field. Thus in Epalanga Jaime (19) had married Delfina, a brother's daughter to Ndjoleya. They were not kinsfolk yet this fitted in with the pattern of kin marriages in increasing links between different kinship cores in the village. Similarly Costa (26) and his wife Nakalende were not agreed (when questioned separately) as to whether they were kinsfolk, but this is not really significant since

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[•] I had been inclined to interpret these marriages as functions of the relations between kin groups. Dr. Mary Douglas has suggested to me that these marriages were in the past not related to any system of kin groups but had, as at the present day, the function of multiplying the kinship ties within a limited field. I do not know of any clear evidence which could at this time settle the point.

[•] I count here as kin marriages those between *sakusejiaale*, funeral friends, who [601]
though not kinsfolk tend to be assimilated to cross-cousins in social usage. 'Cross-cousin' tends to be at the present time a blanket category, and I have repeatedly found asking men about their wife's kinship status that they would first give some other term and then change to 'cross-cousin'. [Epalume]. This explains why under present conditions the percentage of cross-cousin marriages in relation to the total number of marriages seems to be rising. Thus in 56 marriages (existing or terminated) contracted by 23 men who had taken part in the caravan trade, while the percentage of marriages with non-kinswomen was slightly smaller (12.5) the figure of marriages with cross-cousins was very much smaller (42.9) and the figure of marriages with kin other than cross-cousins, sister's daughters, and *sakusejiaale* was much higher (25 %) compared to the contemporary figure of 5%.

512 621 their marriage also fits a general pattern of Umbundu marriage, a choice made within a limited range joining together individuals of different kinship cores.

The multiplication of ties and their concentration within a neighbourhood by this means do not prevent a man from having kin and affines a day or two's journey away. It has earlier been indicated that the population of Epalanga was from quite a wide area. Yet the consequences of previous preferential marriages (thus Paulo and Saviel were related both patrilaterally and matrilaterally) and the trend towards the establishment of new marriage ties had created a complicated mesh of linkages that has been described within a not particularly stable village population, whose senior residents had been there for only ten years. To use again the anthropological metaphor of kinship as a network, the network can have odd strings running out quite a way, but in a village the different ties will be bound up in a knot.

602 166 The long-range ties (with such obvious exceptions as those with kin living in cities) are not the result of the range of kin spreading wider and wider under modern conditions. The evidence of pedigrees indicates that kinship and marriage links between individuals in, and actual migration to and from Gumba and Cassongue, Cela, and Namba, date back well into the nineteenth century. There is far less evidence of connections and migration between Gumba and areas to the south and east. This geographical aspect of social relations persists at the present day.

621 It has been indicated that the high proportion of preferential marriages creates a certain local stability, since many marriages are with people living close to. Yet the basic stability lies not so much in the relative stability of a local population, but in the pattern by which links of distant kinship are changed into marriage ties and new bonds are speedily established among the fortuitously assembled population of a new village.

4. *Headmen and Kinship Cores*

622 I now turn to the other principle of village integration, the settling of individuals near senior kinsmen. In the previous

In the previous chapter I have indicated that the position of headman is today 622 a somewhat shadowy one, and that the headman emerges rather than succeeds by virtue of various grounds; the main ones being official recognition, some tie to the local chief, the presence of a core of one's kinsmen, a claim to be the first resident, and personality. During my stay Sapapula was as much a headman of Epalanga as anyone can reasonably be these days, yet his position had not always gone unchallenged.

In 1954 he had found himself in danger of being displaced 622 by his matrilateral 'brother' Mwehombo. Both men, appar- 665 ently, claimed that they had founded the village, both had substantial cores of kinsfolk in the village, and both possessed strong personalities. Sapapula by holding the ministerial title of Epalanga to Kafelo had had a stronger position in village affairs. This prop to his power was taken away when Kafelo was deposed from the chiefdom, and Luanga and Mwehombo purchased the title of Epalanga from Lusase.

In this partnership Mwehombo must have been the leading personality, Luanga being extremely amiable but not at all domineering or energetic. Mwehombo's idea was presumably to establish himself as recognized headman of Epalanga, and to obtain whatever advantages were to be gained from an association with Lusase. Luanga's aim, from what he told me, was to escape contract labour by having a position as a traditional headman and title-holder. Titles will still be sought after, [554] although the substance of power has gone, so long as they can confer some prestige or protection from administrative labour demands. It was not customary for the role of Epalanga to be held by two people jointly.

Mwehombo died shortly after this. He had been baptized 763 by the name of Simon when dying on January 13th 1955, when his social personality began its posthumous career. At the inquest, which was held according to the old Umbundu pattern in which the corpse suspended in a hammock from a pole held by two men was supposed to answer questions by the way it swung, it was found that Mwehombo had suffered the pro- [554] verbial fate of the sorcerer in being killed by the spirit he had [561] used to kill others.

The role of the questioner was taken by Paulo, sister's son to

763 Mwehombo, and elder of the school, a post he would certainly
have lost had this come to the ears of the missionaries. Attitudes
to the verdict are interesting. Sapapula assured me that
[759] Mwehombo had killed many people by sorcery both sons and
sisters' sons; Luanga did not see the contradiction which I
pointed out to him of his saying both that Mwehombo was good
and that he had practised sorcery; Gonçalve, Mwehombo's son,
appeared sceptical of the verdict, as did Aspirante, Sapapula's
sister's son who was married to a daughter of Mwehombo's
half-brother, Wayangu.

764 The verdict did not prevent Mwehombo having an impressive
funeral. He was buried according to his wishes in the
traditional hammock placed in the circular grave, instead of the
modern coffin placed in the modern oblong grave. As a caravan-leader
he was buried by the track to Chicunda at the point
where the path to Epalanga branched off. A low thatched
[237] covering was erected over his grave with the horns of the beast
killed at the funeral on it. In 1956 Gonçalve and Pedro Nendi,
son of Mbati and therefore a cross-cousin of Mwehombo,
replaced this by a concrete memorial in the form of a cross
with the base inscribed in Portuguese 'Simon Mwehombo
Native of Gumba Great Man died 13th January 1955.'

797 Thus Mwehombo had twice undergone conversion from
pagan to Christian, once as he lay dying and once after death.
754 His posthumous conviction for sorcery affected neither the form
of funeral, nor the continued residence of his kin in the village.
His conviction for sorcery was a reflection of the social strains in
which he had been involved, not the opening of another cycle
621 of conflict. The kinship cores are not segments opposing one
571 another as in a lineage system; they possess no clearly defined
boundaries[10] or continuing existence in time. Their existence is
dependent on the persons around whom the cores have formed,
and on their deaths they lack any integrating principles:
Mwehombo dead, his kinsfolk mostly found no objection in
continuing to live in the village where his rival now lived as
undisputed traditional headman.

621 There is no word in Umbundu for these groupings. The

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[10] For example I have included Joaõ in the Mwehombo-Mbati kinship core, on the basis of association, but he came to the village through a tie with Sapapula.

word 'otjitawila' is given by Dr. Childs[11] as being used for a 621 section of the village; however, I have not found this word known locally.

It may be asked how typical Epalanga is of other villages. In size it is larger than usual, having 36 households. (The average number, using figures from 14 villages, is 18.36 households; the largest, Epalanga, had 36 and the smallest 5.) In structure other villages presented the same picture of ill-defined kinship cores held together by a network of kin and affinal ties, with village headmen emerging by a varying collection of claims, of which the most significant seemed to be a position as the principal focus of kinship ties.

5. *Kinsmen and the Choice of Residence*

When one asks a man why he has settled in a particular 591 village, a common enough answer is that he has settled there 602 because he has 'family' there. When asked who his 'family' (the Portuguese word *familia* is used even by non-Portuguese speakers) is, he will give the name of a senior kinsman, or he may give more than one name. He may even give the name of somebody living outside the village. Thus in Epalanga when I asked Bartolomeu why he had settled there he replied that it was because of his mother's brother Lusase who was not an Epalanga resident. It was therefore not practicable for me, as I had at one time intended, to find which categories of kin are most likely to be settled with, by asking individuals in villages I censused, and obtaining percentages.

It is possible to indicate some of the 'pulls' which affect a 591 choice of residence. In the traditional system, when a boy's father died he would settle with a father's brother. Nowadays, it is generally expected that he will settle with his mother's brother, this being the answer given by informants when asked where he will go. In practice, the pull of the mother's brother's household for a child does not seem to be so strong. In Epalanga, out of thirteen persons under 20 who had neither father nor mother resident in the village, only one was living with a mother's brother.

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[11] See Childs, pp. 36–37.

604 On the village level, however, the importance of the mother's
621 brother tie and of the tie between matrilateral 'brothers'
becomes very apparent. None of Sapapula's four sons had
settled in Epalanga, and his only classificatory 'son' was
Gonçalve, own son to Mwehombo, Sapapula's matrilateral
'brother'. Seven household heads were sister's sons of Sapapula.
This trend for matrilateral ties to predominate is marked also
in Katembo and Mbunga, but less evident at Belem. Indeed,
'neo-matrilinearity' as a principle of village structure may be a
general and not simply a local feature of Umbundu society,
since Mr. C. M. N. White[18] has found that the settlements of
Ovimbundu within Northern Rhodesia are marked by a predominance of matrilateral ties. This is referable to the contemporary kinship system in which the father-son tie is pre-
[593] dominantly a personal one, with a limited extension of attitudes
to classificatory fathers, whereas a man's relation with a
mother's brother seems little affected by the question of genealogical distance. Perhaps the relations between the group of
602 agnatic kin were so closely tied to the old village structure that
178 when it broke up it disintegrated also the wider agnatic ties.
Yet at the same time such matrilineal institutions as matrilineal
inheritance and the non-repayment of loans among matrikin
have weakened or disappeared.

591 Running counter to this principle of settling in the village of
a senior kinsman who is likely to belong to one's matrikin, is
[582] the principle of cross-cousin marriage. 'If you have married
your cross-cousin when your son grows up he will see a cross-
cousin here, a cross-cousin there, and so he will stay.' That is,
a man will stay in his father's village not simply by virtue of the
father-son tie but because he will be surrounded by kinsmen.
[605] The relation between cross-cousins is one of equality and
solidarity, expressed in joking and in burial services. To say that
one stays in a place because one has cross-cousins at hand is to
[602] indicate an ide[illegible]f equal relations with a circle of kinsmen
rather than attachment to the following of an important
kinsman.

591 These two principles co-exist in actual social life. A man will
602 recognize and respect a number of senior kinsmen living in his

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[18] In letters.

neighbourhood and will explain his choice of residence by 591
quoting the names of one or more of these; yet the weaving 602
together of so many strands of kinship and affinity, ultimately
through marriage links, is what gives the local population its [621]
relative degree of stability. It should be emphasized that the 602
integration established within a village by the network of 621
kinship and affinal ties is dependent on the integration created 631
by the same amorphous network which runs through and
beyond the sub-chiefdom. It is this network into which the 60
individual is woven by multiple ties that absorbs the
neo-matrilineal pull apparent to some degree in choice of residence
and keeps the system essentially cognatic.

The use of the word *famllia* reflects this situation. A man may 602
say of a particular senior kinsman 'He is my *famllia*', that is, my
kinsman, my most important kinsman with whom I have
settled, yet also he may say 'My *famllia* is in Cela', that is, the
greater part of my kinsmen live in Cela. When Bartolomeu
explained that he had settled where he did because of Lusase,
he was perhaps combining the two kinds of references. He had [591]
settled in Gumba because he had a large number of kinsmen
there among whom Lusase was pre-eminent. A man explaining
the locality of his *famllia* in the wider sense will associate it with
a particular sub-chiefdom—'My family is all in Menga'—
when he is outside it; when he is in it he is more likely to refer to
a particular village.

Although individuals living in a village may have come there 621
through several kinship sources yet the majority of them will
probably have some kinship or affinal tie with the traditional
headman. This collection of individual ties does not provide the 622
headman with a body of followers, nor is having a large number 602
of dependants a value of contemporary Umbundu culture. If
it were felt that the best thing to be in life is the patron of a
body of kinsmen and followers, headmanship would survive as a
predominant influence in local life despite the collapse of its
political and legal responsibilities. In fact not even old men feel
this way.

The idea of the village as a corporate group with a jural and 621
political personality rather than a residential unit has not 178
survived the break-up of agnatic solidarity, the disappearance

621/178 of the men's house, and the headman's loss of status. The new institution of the catechetical school does not revive village solidarity in this form. The contemporary Ovimbundu do not live in a 'village headman society' comparable to those of British Central Africa,[13] since the concept and manifestations of village solidarity around a headman are so notably deficient. 556 [428] Reference may also be made to the economic ethics of the Ovimbundu with their approval of making money and the belief that all loans even within the circle of the elementary family should be repaid, that is, wealth is seen by all as an end in itself rather than a means of obtaining personal loyalties.

622/178 In the previous chapter it was shown how the traditional headmanship is no longer a significant legal and political institution. In this chapter I have tried to indicate that it lacks sources of authority and prestige within the village.

128 The line of argument has involved reference to the contemporary kinship system of which an outline has been given. This will be more fully discussed in later chapters, when a more detailed comparison of present institutions with the traditional kinship system will be made.

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[13] For an example of these societies see J. C. Mitchell, *The Yao Village*, Manchester 1956.

CHAPTER V

VILLAGE ECONOMICS

The homeland of the Ovimbundu, the Benguela Highland, is 132
mostly over 4,000 feet above sea-level. Rainfall is 50–60 inches [133]
a year, and the rainy season is from September to April.[1] In this season after a downpour there is frequently a cooling of the air, and the most intense heat comes just before the rainy season, during the dry spell that occurs in or about February, and just after the rains. Between the middle of May and the middle of July the nights and early mornings are bitterly cold but the days are pleasantly cool. After the middle of July the temperature gradually rises.

The soil of the Highland is poor; the Ovimbundu industri- 241
ously cultivate beans, manioc, maize, potatoes, and tobacco. [134]
Less frequently they have coffee plants, fruit trees, and sisal. Occasionally wheat is grown but the ground is not really suitable. I am told that rice could be grown in the stream valleys. Four field types are recognized by the Ovimbundu—*otjumbo* (garden), *onaka* (stream-valley garden), *ombanda* (in ground sloping up from a stream), and *epya* (a field away from the streams on level ground).[2]

Umbundu country is well supplied with water in streams and 312
rivers, and the Ovimbundu have built irrigation channels
wherever possible. Cultivation in the stream valleys, that is, of 311
the *onaka* type of garden, has only been practised since the
1870's or 80's.[3] They are planted in August or the beginning of 241
September, and give crops in December and January. The 221

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[1] For an excellent account of Umbundu habitat see Childs, pp. 1–11.

[2] Albino Alves, *Dicionário Etimológico Bundo-Português*, Lisbon, 1951, Vol. I, p. 659 gives ombanda as a synonym of onaka.

[3] Private information.

241/ maize from these beds is for home consumption, and it comes at
221/ a time when maize supplies are running low, and some people
have to rely on manioc. The *ombanda* type is sown in September
and early October. Then the main fields (*ovapya*, plural of *epya*)
are sown in October and November, and only after this is
maize sown in the gardens round the houses. In December and
January the people are busy hoeing the fields and in February
the sowing of beans takes place, continuing into March. This is
followed by the harvesting of the gardens in the village, and by
the gathering of the maize in the fields, the maize then being
placed in field huts to dry. This takes place in March and April,
and with its ending the dry season has come.

221/ The dry season is the time for travelling to see relatives and
for getting married, since the burden of work is much reduced.
May is a good time to clear the bush and then and in later
months there is time to build houses. During the dry season
there was much more chance of finding people at home, and
there were far more festive occasions. This is also a time when
men and women can practise crafts such as basketry, fish-trap
making, pottery, and so on. In July, the maize dried in the
221/ field hut is pounded and brought back to the village, whence it
241/ is taken to the traders for sale. The pounding and carrying is
often the work of parties of friends and relatives who are
[272] rewarded with beer. Occasionally somebody's maize is collected
like this well into September, but most people finish in August.
221/ By August the grass has grown very high, and the firing of it is
224/ the beginning of large-scale hunts in which men and boys from
[628] several villages may join together. Hunts may be undertaken by
individuals or by groups at other times of the year either as a
hobby or to kill a destructive wild pig (in which case the hunt
will be undertaken by a group of people). September is a
221/ good month for fishing. The fire has cleared the stream
225/ valleys which can now be sown, thus starting off the year's cycle
again.

423 There is no shortage of land, and hence questions of land
rights seldom come up in social relations. A village headman
has no rights over land outside his village, and even within a
village there are strips of bush from which a new garden can be
[425] cut. Land is very occasionally sold. For instance a man return-

ing home from labour in October wants cleared fields to sow. 423
If he cannot find any kinsman who would give him a cleared 425
field he will have to buy one, and will have perhaps to pay 200
escudos (£2 10s.). A man retains his rights to fields in a village
he no longer inhabits.

The Ovimbundu keep cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, and fowls. 231/
The cattle are not milked but are used in sacrifices, and for [782]
fines; some have been brought by Ovimbundu from Kwan-
yama Ambo country but they do not seem to thrive in this
neighbourhood. Sheep are few. In my village goats were much
less numerous than chickens or pigs. The traders and European
residents buy cattle, chickens, and pigs.

Fishing and hunting are practised, but despite the ingenious 226
fish-traps, nets, poisons and weirs used for the first, and the 224
popular enthusiasm for, and ritual associations of the second,
neither dominates the actual food supply and ecological back- [262]
ground in the way that maize does.

The Ovimbundu believe that the dry-season grass fires also 241/
help to fertilize the soil by leaving ashes. Ashes are sometimes
spread in a village garden, and dry grass may also be left in a
field for this purpose. Soil beside trees is considered to be especi-
ally rich, as to some extent are the sites of former villages.
There is no idea of crop rotation and a field is worked for as long
as it is fertile, that is indefinitely for an *onaka* and from three to
six years, sometimes more, for a field of the *epya* type. The hoe
is still the standard means of cultivation and the plough is a
rarity.

Coffee-growing on any scale is usually undertaken by people 245
living away from the villages, except for the Protestants who
have been encouraged by their missionaries to plant coffee in
their villages. Coffee, like maize, is bought by the traders.
However, at least two local coffee-growers sold their coffee at
Porto Amboim on the coast to get a better price. Basically, the 241/
agricultural economy of the neighbourhood is based on maize, 361/
grown by methods of shifting cultivation. The frequency with
which villages rise and fall and individuals change from one
village to another is entirely consistent with this type of agri-
culture.

Axe and hoe blades, blankets, cloths, clothing, cutlery, 000

439 Axe and hoe blades, blankets, cloths, clothing, cutlery, drinking-mugs, lanterns, metal plates, pens, pencils, wine, and writing slates are bought from the traders. Axe and hoe handles, 438 buckets, bedsteads, beer, bows and arrows, chairs, fish-traps, mats, mush sticks, pottery, pounding-blocks, stools, tables, and small metal objects such as knives are made by Ovimbundu and may be sold locally. To this local trade may be added the selling of pieces of meat by anyone who has killed a pig, or gone hunting and killed a duiker. Very occasionally somebody who has bought cloths in a town or has some hand-made object superior to the local average may tour villages selling his goods as a pedlar.

439 The only trade which at all recalls the days of the caravan trade is the cattle trade with the Kwanyama Ambo. As in the rubber trade the Ovimbundu make use of their intermediary geographical position. They obtain from Luanda shells called *olomande* (singular *omande*). One of these shells costs 10 escudos [436] (2s. 6d.) at Luanda and ten of them will buy a beast in Kwanyama country. Alternatively 30 rounds of tobacco will buy a beast there. I knew several men who had made, or planned to make, trips of this nature. The analogy with the caravan trade 433 breaks down, however, when the relative importance of the two 182 is examined. The caravan trade determined the economic standards of the Ovimbundu, absorbed a great part of the time of every able-bodied man and youth, and influenced every aspect of Umbundu life from the foreign policy of the kings to accusations of sorcery; the cattle-keeping is relatively unimportant economically since the Ovimbundu do not drink [262] milk, and eat meat, even chicken or pork, very irregularly, nor does the occasional sale of cattle to traders altogether balance their uncertain survival away from their indigenous grasses. The real importance of cattle in the economy seems to be as a [254] form of capital investment for spare savings, an investment which can be liquidated either by sacrifice on ceremonial occasions or back into money by sale. Socially, it may be thought of as marking the survival of the Umbundu capacity and enthusiasm for trading in an age when the economic situation has closed the old routes. Indeed, perhaps the subconscious motive for the Ovimbundu who trade is to show that they can act outside of that economic framework of cultivation

433 182 and wage labour which I have described as affecting the Ovimbundu as a whole.

434 (124) It is not easy to compose budgets of household expenditure and income, partly because they have not yet much of a 'book-keeping' outlook, and partly because they suspect the motives behind questions of this sort. My own opinion is that from agriculture the average household would earn considerably less than 1,000 escudos (£12. 10s.) a year. The Banco de Angola in its Report for 1955[4] gives a budget for an African family at Silva Porto, consisting of father, mother, and two young children, having agriculture as their only source of income. Their total yearly income is given as 7,750 escudos (about £96. 17s. 6d.). Even allowing for the higher prices paid for crops on the railway line, an income of this order is far above anything earned by the average cultivating household, though it might be earned by the few men who cultivated coffee extensively and lived in Portuguese style.

511 Some details of the economic life of individuals may give depth to this chapter. Kambungo, a kinsman of Sapapula living in Menga, was a man of over sixty who had in his youth travelled on the caravans. He had a large house but lived in a village amongst kinsfolk. In June 1955 he had been in Kwanyama country where, with shells obtained at Luanda, he had bought cattle and for 15 of the *olomande* shells he got a sewing-machine. In the year 1955–6 (very roughly from the end of the dry season in '55 to the same period in '56) he had sold ten sacks of maize at 25 escudos each and six sacks of beans for 60 escudos each. He had, however, concluded that maize did not pay and had started to grow coffee. He had sold one beast for 900 escudos (£10. 15. 0), and had also sold ten sheep for 100 escudos (£1. 5. 0) each. He had also sold a coat for 120 escudos (£1. 10. 0).

The principal item of Kambungo's expenditure was a bicycle which he bought for 1,500 escudos (£18. 15s.). He had also bought two beds each 100 escudos, and ten plates 100 escudos altogether. He had bought ten bottles of wine, at 5 escudos each, and had also bought some indigenous rum, price not noted. Ten traditional sleeping mats cost 2½ escudos each, and four

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[4] Quoted by Egerton, pp. 124–5.

511 pairs of shorts cost 70 escudos each. Two kerchiefs for women cost 50 escudos each.

Total income recorded is 2,870 escudos (£35. 17. 6). Total expenditure recorded is 2,255 escudos (£28. 3. 9). It should be noted that Kambungo, while not living in Portuguese style, was considered wealthy for an Otjimbundu and that much of his income, for instance from the sale of the ten sheep, was from exceptional sales which could not be annually repeated. As regards livestock Kambungo had five head of cattle, five chickens, four sheep and two ducks.

More typical would be the year's expenditure of Pedro Musungu, an inhabitant of a Protestant village, who had bought two cloths, each of four metres and each costing 50 escudos (about 12s 6d.) for his wife, and for each of his four children two cloths, one 25 escudos the other 30. He had bought a hoe for 7½ escudos, a book for the same. To this total expendi-
[651] ture should be added the tax (180 escudos) plus the communal fines levied each year for burning the grass and so on which may come to 40 escudos or more. The total expenditure then would be about 555 escudos (£6. 18. 9). It was not possible to calculate his income since he could not remember how many sacks he had sold to the traders. He had, however, raised 200 escudos by selling a pig and had got 40 escudos for two kilos of coffee, though most of the coffee he planted had not produced berries.

A yet poorer household was that of Cypriano, a villager of Epalanga with a wife and two young children. His maize crop in 1956 had gone to pay debts to traders, for the 1955 maize harvest had been very poor. He had got tax-money by making pounding-blocks, and pounding-sticks (for beating out maize), but could not remember how much he had earned thus. Although Cypriano's stock amounted to one sow and one hen,
[292] he and his wife had a set of smart clothes for special occasions, like all Ovimbundu.

Much better off was Luveli, who like Cypriano combined a craft with agriculture. He had sold ten kilos of coffee for 20 escudos each, as well as twelve sacks of maize at 25 escudos each and two sacks of potatoes at 20 escudos each, making a total agricultural revenue of 540 escudos, to which must be added

Luveli's income from bricklaying. The laying of the bricks that 511
form a modern villager's house may bring 100 escudos.

The basic cash need of an Otjimbundu, then, is for money to pay government demands and to provide clothing for his wife and children, who seem more likely than the men to get new clothing every year.[8] Add to this the possibility of other calls (e.g. provision for a relative's funeral) a desirable income even for this low level of consumption would be 400 escudos (£5) and a more prosperous villager might earn and spend double the amount. Exceptional individuals still remaining within the normal conditions of Umbundu cultural and social life, such as Kambungo, may earn from 2,000 to 3,000 escudos a year, perhaps even more, from agriculture. Maize is the foundation of the agricultural economy, but Kambungo's remark that maize did not pay seems to reflect a trend to find other openings such as growing coffee, which is, however, subject to difficulties of climate.

Within the villages there is some trade in handmade objects 438
such as pottery, sleeping-mats, and sticks for stirring mush, and
there are quite a number of bricklayers, carpenters, and tailors 463
(proprietors of sewing-machines) who have acquired European
skills which bring them money. These craftsmen are, on pay-
ment of a fee of 250 escudos (a figure given me by a tailor), [648]
exempt from contract labour.

Many European residents seem to think that the only 434
European products natives desire are cloths, clothing, and wine.
This is not so; villagers wanted me to sell them kerosene for
lamps, D.D.T. powder for their hair, and soap. It is interesting
that the occasions on which an Otjimbundu would accumulate 454
large (for him) sums all fall outside the maize-for-cloth pattern
of trading. These occasions are bridewealth payment (and [583]
counting all expenses this may well come to 800 escudos—£10 or
more), which is a traditional due, the purchase of bicycles
(according to place of purchase from 1,200 escudos [£15] to
1,500 escudos [£18. 15. 0]) which are prestige-giving objects, [493]
and the trading journeys to buy cattle. Kambungo had [437]

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[8] The trader whose opinions I have previously quoted (Senhor Alberto Oliveira Mendes of Chicunda), remarked, 'It is the women who save us. The men make a shirt last for three or four years but the women get something new every year.'

454 Kambungo lad
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spent 10,000 escudos, he told me, in buying shells to trade in Kwanyama country and even if this be regarded as an exaggeration such an expedition will cost at least several hundred escudos.

464 I have not so far discussed labour migration and its economic
consequences. There are three ways of going out to work: being
recruited for 'contract labour', which involves selection by the
[466] chief and government headmen who send people to the post
whence they are directed to wherever they are required; being
recruited by labour-recruiters who visit villages with their
lorries; and travelling, usually on foot, to find work. Contract
labour is for a year, which may be followed by a fortnight's
work at the post to which the *contratados* are returned. The coffee
plantations of Amboim and Seles are important centres for
voluntary labour from Gumba and neighbouring chiefdoms.
Women, and boys from ten years up, go to work there for spells
which may be only two months. However, even in Gumba
whose people have a reputation for backwardness and for lack
of enthusiasm for going away to work, there is nothing at all
surprising in meeting men who have learnt a few words of
English in Johannesburg.

[592] Of the 36 household heads of Epalanga, 9 were women, and
8 were men who for one reason or another (elders, cripples, the
catechist) would not leave the village. Of the other 19, 6 were
absent as labourers during some part of my stay, and this figure
excludes individuals who were not expected home within a year.
[369] In the cities there are large numbers of permanently or semi-
permanently urbanized Ovimbundu, who have largely lost
contact with their home villages. Some people who have spent
years in the towns may come home—in Epalanga there were
at least five women who had visited cities.

Although almost all able-bodied men and many women have
lived outside the context of village life as servants to Europeans,
as labourers on plantations, and as urban workers, it would be
[369] a mistake to think of the rural areas of the Benguela Highland,
as being labour reservoirs economically dependent on the towns.
435 It seems that prices of manufactured goods are lower near the
railway line and in the cities; hence a man returning from wage
labour may buy cloths, a bicycle, a sewing-machine, or a

gramophone in a town rather than at a trader's near his home 435
village. Most of the money paid for purchases at the stores is money raised by selling crops or livestock. Through labour
migration there is, however, some transmission of skills; it is 463
easy to find bricklayers and carpenters of a sort even in Gumba.

Money, rather than barter, is the principal means of exchange 437
among the villages in the selling of local products, and even of meat from pigs. Payment for labour service, such as assistance in house-building and in bringing in maize, is made in beer, except among Protestants who substitute a meal. There is also a custom by which a household which finds, probably at the end of the dry season, that it has not enough maize will make beer to exchange on a particular day for maize.

Ties of kinship and friendship have some economic signifi- 435
cance. A kinsman will help with house-building without ex- 602
pecting payment; likewise a man who has a cleared field which he does not want to use may sell it for 200 escudos (£2. 10s.) but would give it free to a kinsman. A man may make a charge for lending his bicycle, though this varies with individuals; he certainly would not do so if it were lent to a friend. Loans between kinsmen should be repaid, and a tailor with a sewing-machine will make the same charges to relatives as to non-kinsmen.

There are few occasions for groups to work together. The 476
unit of consumption and production is the domestic family.
Even here, the husband, each wife, and the adolescents have [593]
their own fields, though a man may help his wife. Such other occasions of mutual help, in clearing a field, which may occur between friends or kinsmen, will only bring a few, often only two of them.

The Ovimbundu I knew were (with exceptions) not avari- 152
cious or grasping; thus, beer might be given to people who have
not actually worked in house-building parties. It is regarded as 577
a moral duty to pay one's monetary debts as soon as possible.
On various occasions I lent money to people who were pressed 426
and I received back all the money lent. Borrowers insisted that borrowings should be written down, and that the paper on which it was written should be given to them when they paid,
or destroyed. Making money and being rich are regarded with 000

181 Making money and being rich are regarded with

unambiguous approval, though there is a certain undertone
suggesting cunning in the verb *oku lunguka* (to be shrewd)
used about prosperous people. The old suspicion of sorcery
[254] attaching to people who were more successful farmers than their
neighbours[6] seems to have disappeared. While a prosperous
602 villager would be expected to lend money to a poorer kinsman
(provided the latter was not known as a bad debtor) yet,
431 the situation which occurs in other parts of Africa, where, as
Dr. V. W. Turner notes of the Mwinilunga Ndembu, prosperous
Africans 'find themselves increasingly embarrassed by
the demands of their kin for presents in cash and kind'[7],
would not arise among the Ovimbundu, who would regard
such demands as being unjustified, even outrageous.

511 Wealthy Ovimbundu may spend some of their wealth on
clothing and on drink. Cattle-buying has been noted as a form
[454] of capital investment and the same term may be used of small
stock buying. Another way of disposing of money is by building
a house of bricks with the assistance of a bricklayer. A plough
may be, but rarely is, bought by two men joining together
to pool their money. Generally speaking, the agricultural
178 technology of the Ovimbundu has been little changed
241 since 1911 except for the spread of the techniques of coffee-growing.

It has been noted earlier that the Ovimbundu play an
648 important part in the economic life of Angola both as cultivators
and labourers. In this chapter an attempt has been made to
show how at the local level it is the cultivation of cash crops,
rather than migration for wage labour, which incorporates
villagers into the commercial economy of modern Angola.
The main source of money in rural areas is the trader's store,
which is also the main recipient of money, apart from the
administration. While trade both between Ovimbundu and
178 between Ovimbundu and other tribes survives on a minor scale,
182 the social institutions associated with the rubber trade, the
large caravans, the non-repayable loans within the matrilineal
group, and the obligations of wealthy traders to assist their kin,
have disappeared. The contemporary social structure with the

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[6] Childs, pp. 106–8.

[7] V. W. Turner, op. cit., p. 135.

instability of village sites and village populations, the marked 178 emergence of the elementary family, and the non-existence of 182 economic activities and rights associated with corporate groups, is consistent with the growth of cash crops by shifting cultivation.

CHAPTER VI

THE CATECHETICAL SCHOOL

797 Both the Catholic and Protestant missions have, in order to provide religious teaching and leadership at the village level, made use of catechists whose responsibility it is to prepare people for baptism and children for Communion by teaching them catechism, to lead the village people in prayers, and to maintain contact with the missions. There are a number of differences between the roles of the Catholic and the Protestant catechists. As most of the Christians in my immediate neighbourhood were Catholics, I shall deal in this chapter with the Catholic catechists, though I shall indicate some of the differences which the Protestant organization shows.

[166] In the early days large numbers of Christians settled round the missions. The first Catholic converts were slaves purchased from traders by the missionaries and settled in villages near the missions. While the Protestant missions did not do this, they were somewhat embarrassed by the large crowds of converts who settled round mission stations.[1] The missions expanded by sending out catechists who gathered converts. At one time the
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practice was for the Christians to settle in a 'school village', which was in fact a hamlet partially separated from the rest of the village from which its membership was recruited. This is still found in some Gumba villages. In other villages, however, there is no geographical division between Christian and pagan, and the school may occupy a central position in the lay-out of the village. There are as yet no purely Catholic villages in Gumba. These are established by the missionaries when there is considered to be a significant number of Catholic married couples. This pattern is followed even on the outskirts of Nova Lisboa.

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[1] Childs, p. 66.

THE CATECHETICAL SCHOOL

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The catechist is appointed by the mission, though there is a fairly common tendency for him to have relatives in the village where he is catechist. It is often the case that somebody who is already recognized by the mission as qualified to be a catechist, that is, has a good knowledge of the catechism, prayers and hymns, may be asked by some kinsman to come to his village to teach catechism, and his acceptance needs only to be confirmed by the mission. Even in Gumba, notable for the relative strength of its surviving paganism and the relatively slow rate of conversion, every village except the chief's capital and the hamlets had a catechetical school.

The catechist does not receive a salary from the mission. He is, however, exempt from the personal tax, and is not liable for road-work or contract labour. He may be able to persuade his flock to cultivate a field for him, and the school itself, and perhaps a house for visiting missionaries, will be built by the school people. The other representative of the school is the elder of the school, whose responsibility is to arrange for the catechist's settling down in the village, and his getting on well with the local people. This office had particular importance in the days when a catechist might be sent from the mission to a region quite different from his own. Nowadays, when so many catechists have kin in the villages where they settle, the balance of influence between catechist and elder of the school will depend on their personalities. In one village the elder of the school may be pushing and shrewd, and the catechist may be rather under his influence; in another an active, enterprising, catechist may make the elder of the school his assistant. The elder of the school is not exempt from taxes, but is not called on for labour service.

The school people may include both baptized people and catechumens. For both the word *vakwasikola* (they of the school) applies and the former may be called Christians, and these will sometimes object to non-baptized people using Christian names. The period of catechumenate is three years, but people who learn catechism quickly are given baptism in two years. There are a certain number of peripheral school people who may turn up at the school for prayers but who are not actively learning the catechism. There are other people who do not usually come to the school but say they want to be baptized. Many people who would have to be classified as pagans are people with Christian names who at one time attended catechism classes and prayers, and who may very occasionally turn up to some service, for instance the Corpus Christi procession at the Mission.

Adult and adolescent converts may only receive baptism at the mission. The children of Christian parents are baptized by priests on their visits to the villages; it is the catechists' duty to teach them catechism in preparation for their first confession and communion which should take place when they are about seven to ten years old. The missionaries frequently complain of the inadequacies of the catechists as teachers of doctrine. Few of the old pupils of the elementary school at the Bimbe mission become catechists, as there is no pay attached to it. Some, certainly, of the catechists are devoted and intelligent men, and a few have a real gift for speaking in public.

Some catechists attempt to teach their pupils the three Rs; and a catechist ready to teach reading, writing and counting will find a number of boys eager to learn. There are about half a dozen 'rudimentary', that is pre-primary, schools dependent on the Bimbe mission, none of which is in Gumba or Chicunda, and a primary school at the mission itself. Learning to read and write is not confined to Christians; some pagans in [212] Epalanga could write their names, and I was told that among contract labourers on plantations those who were literate would teach those who were not in the dormitories at night.

Apart from religious instruction, the catechists have the duty of leading the people in morning and evening prayers at the school. These prayers are in Umbundu with occasionally a hymn in Portuguese. On Sunday mornings there is a longer set of prayers and hymns, some in Latin taken from the Mass, held about ten o'clock. Only a few people turn up for morning prayers, considerably more to evening prayers, and nearly everybody who can be considered a 'school person' comes to the Sunday gathering.

The evening gatherings for prayers may be used as opportunities for announcing news—e.g. the approaching visit of a missionary. More usually they are followed and sometimes

More usually they are followed and sometimes
preceded by singing, and dancing. There are a certain number 797
of 'school' songs as distinct from hymns, which are semi- or 533
non-religious in nature, which are taught by the catechist and are sung on these occasions with other Umbundu traditional songs. There seems to be little composition of songs by present day Ovimbundu nor do they know popular Portuguese songs.

The school itself, the centre of these activities, is generally 797
built of adobe bricks in the shape of a church. In any village [346]
where there is a fair number of school people it will be the largest building in the village and even in villages of mixed Christian and pagan population the school building tends to be in the centre of the village, a topographical reflection of the social significance of the catechist and the catechetical school. In the school men and women are separated, men on the right, women on the left, a custom also found in some Angolan parish churches.

The catechist's presence is a mark of the identity of the 797
village. The catechetical school is the only institution which 621
groups people of different domestic groups on a village-wide basis, and in which people participate in a wider set of social relations on a village and not on an individual basis, as people are linked to kinsmen, or to the post or to an employer. One can and does associate oneself with a village if one does not belong geographically to it but simply attends its school. Thus Fernando considered himself as belonging to the village of Ngolo Catolica whose catechetical school he attended, although his house was well away from the main village, being much nearer the Protestant village of Vila Graça, where indeed he had kinsmen. When I asked a woman where she lived she replied by giving the name of the village catechist. The only occasions on which a group of people represent one village *vis-à-vis* another are in connection with the travels of missionaries, and in the wedding feasts, which will be described in another chapter.

A missionary on leaving one village for another has his 797
luggage carried by the school people of the village where he 484
has been staying, who will march singing, with perhaps a boy banging on a drum. When they get to the next village they will be greeted at the entrance into the village by the catechist and

797 484 his people, who will be neatly dressed and lined up. The welcoming catechist will deliver a speech in Portuguese, and will conclude with three Vivas one, say, for the Bishop of Nova Lisboa, one for the Mission, and one for the visiting priest. These may be varied—I have heard a Viva for Diogo Cão, the Portuguese navigator who discovered Angola. This formal welcome to a procession seems copied from the welcome given to the party from the bride's village when they arrive at the bridegroom's village; and this welcome has in turn copied elements—speeches in Portuguese and calls for Vivas—from the reception of missionaries. Then both parties singing and dancing will proceed to the house where the priest is to stay. The people of the welcoming village should have taken over his luggage at the point where they met his party—if they have not, his carriers will complain vigorously.

797 [431] It is the catechist's responsibility to get his people to provide the customary gifts of a chicken or two, and possibly eggs and bananas to the visiting priest. He must explain the spiritual state of the school people to the missionary, notably telling him if any of the Christians have married according to pagan custom. It is to him that the priest will direct criticisms on the state of the school building or on the lack of catechetical knowledge of the people. The catechist has also the obligation to visit the mission occasionally during the year—how often depends on nearness, on circumstances and on his own enthusiasm. The most popular times for visiting the mission are Christmastime, the New Year, Easter, and Corpus Christi, when the catechist may go with a number of the school people, though individual Christians also go alone. A catechist will also visit the mission when he has some catechumens who are sufficiently advanced to be tested on their religious knowledge. He has also a general responsibility to report to the mission the activities of diviners, or Christians who have married polygamously. He may also be responsible for referring other disputes to the mission, or for obtaining a letter of commendation to the post in some dispute.

The catechist, then, does not have much authority of his own; his personal role is that of a teacher and leader of prayers. He can, however, invoke the authority of the mission, which

even in non-religious matters has influence with the post, and 797
can through this influence effect the arrest of diviners and baptized polygamists, or intervene on the side of somebody called before the post.

A catechist may be removed from his position by the mission for incompetence, or for moral failings, such as unchastity or rum-brewing on an extensive scale. He may also become involved in quarrels with his people, who may say that he is bad-tempered, while he will say that they are disobedient. Such a dispute will be referred to the mission where an attempt will be made to persuade the two parties to sink their differences. If this fails, the catechist may return to his old village, but may become a catechist elsewhere if the circumstances have not been such as to destroy the mission's confidence in him.

There are other ways in which the catechist represents his 797
village. The post may impose certain responsibilities; thus the 648
catechist may be told to record all live births in the village for the purposes of official statistics. The catechist will try and keep on good terms with the policemen who live at the post and visit the villages. The catechist of Epalanga gave a chicken to a visiting policeman and explained that this was a general practice in order that catechists visiting the post for the annual check on their papers should find a policeman who would be good to them. However, a catechist will object to attempts to associate him with the more unpopular activities of the post. Thus when a policeman came to the Epalanga catechist and asked him to help in recruiting labourers, the latter was rather angry. 'My work is to teach doctrine, not to seize people.' Similarly, when visiting a Protestant village once I asked where the government headman lived and was told in rather an irritated tone, 'No, we have nothing of the post here. We have only the school.'

The sense of responsibility which the catechist feels for his 797
village is sometimes counterbalanced by his lack of effective 571
power. Thus in the dry season of 1956 a bridge near Epalanga which was crossed by the track to Chicunda was broken down. Pedro Chiquete Santos thought that this might bring punishment on the villagers, and accordingly appealed for volunteers to repair it. He also asked Jeremias, the Protestant catechist of

797 571 Simbwyikoka, to help. Jeremias turned up with three of his pupils; Pedro, however, had no response. Returning at night to Epalanga, he complained of the attitude of his people, not so much that they had not been ready to help but that they had spread the rumour that he was going to complain to the post. He insisted that he had not said that he would complain to the post; what he had said was that a white labour-recruiter who had had difficulty with the bridge would complain to the post. The attitudes expressed by the catechist are interesting; he feels a responsibility for the village, he has not a corresponding authority to get people to do something which is concerned with the village, but not with the school, but is indignant at the suggestion that he would be willing to denounce his fellow villagers to the post. Indeed, cases arose, which will be described in later chapters, in which a catechist and an elder of the school took an active part in opposing a domineering government headman.

One evening two Kimbundu men, from a different geographical and tribal area, arrived in Epalanga with an unusual story. They had been travelling in the company of a European employer who had suddenly gone off, leaving them without money. This was at a town on the main Luanda–Nova Lisboa road. They had then set out travelling through the villages relying on the hospitality of the catechists to get to the Missão Católica de Bimbe, where they hoped to obtain money to pay bus fares back home. I do not know why they took this way; perhaps as missionary effort to the immediate north of Umbundu country lacks intensity there were no helpful catechists linking the place where they were stranded to their home. What is interesting is that they could rely on the hospitality of the catechists, although they had no kin or tribal bond to appeal to. Here again the catechist appears as the representative of his village who has particular moral duties. Another example of this was when the catechist of Epalanga took part in a funeral as a funeral-friend, which he was, being a native of Ndjandju, the partner-chiefdom of Gumba. He said that he would not take a chicken, as was his right, since he was a catechist, that is, he had special obligations to be generous.

In general the position of the Protestant catechists and elders

of the school seems considerably stronger than that of their 797
Catholic counterparts. This impression is gained by visits to 571
Protestant villages and to episodes like that just quoted, where
the Protestant catechist had more success than the Catholic in
recruiting volunteers for work on the bridge. The reasons for
this lie in the organization of the Protestant Church, which
owes its origin to Congregationalist missionaries, and in which
the distribution of power differs from that in the Catholic
Church. The white missionaries exercise only a supervisory role
over the work of the Native Church which is responsible for
pastoral activity in the villages. The African clergy of the
Native Church are entirely dependent financially on their
people.

Compared with Catholicism, Protestantism lays much less 795
stress on the sacraments of baptism and communion and much 797
more on Bible-reading and the religious knowledge of the
individual. Hence the teaching role of the catechist is more
strongly stressed among the Protestants. For example, the
Protestant catechists teach girls as well as boys to read and
write. His dependence on the clergy is reduced; indeed, owing
to the lay participation in the Umbundu Native Church he
exercises some control over them. Among the Ovimbundu, as
elsewhere in the world, the 'pyramidal' form of Catholicism is
absent in Protestantism in which the position of the clergy is
weaker and that of the lay leaders strengthened.

The relative autonomy of the Umbundu Native Church 795
vis-à-vis the white missionaries and the disintegration of the 178
traditional system of authority have given judicial powers to 692
its officials. Dr. Childs has written in a recent article:[2] 'In
Angola . . . the breakdown of traditional authority has been so
rapid that the social life of the villages is now very near to
complete anarchy . . . the missions and churches have been
compelled to take over. Church leaders—catechists, deacons,
and pastors—have taken on judicial functions. Church meetings,
both local and regional, have become courts and councils.'
He goes on to describe the legalistic attitudes and casuistical 795
morality which is associated with these developments, and 178
suggests that the lack of opportunity for political activity

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[2] G. M. Childs, *International Review of Missions*, April 1958.

795 confines the pursuit of power to the Native Church with un-
178 fortunate results. It might, on the other hand, be suggested that the Protestants among the Ovimbundu are the section of the population who have come nearest to building up new systems of authority and law. It might also be suggested that Umbundu Protestantism retains certain historical features of Congregationalism—democratic selection of officials with strict discipline binding members of the congregation, industriousness and zeal for education, and a certain consciousness of being a spiritual *élite*.[3]

795 Another factor in the situation is that the Protestants are a minority compared with the Catholics and tend to have the heightened self-consciousness of religious minorities. They also tend to isolate themselves from the pagans much more than the Catholics do, both geographically by moving into separate hamlets and separate villages and by the greater efforts they make to understand and follow European custom. Protestants for instance seem to know more how the Portuguese kinship terms should be used.

777 Ultimately, the position of the catechist, whether Catholic or
177 Protestant, is dependent on his role as a teacher of Christian doctrine, and as being a representative of 'modern' values. It may be said that Christian doctrine and 'modern' values are not necessary identical. It is, however, in this field that the Ovimbundu establish their closest contacts with the Europeans. A Protestant explaining why a kinship usage had been discontinued said: 'We are Christians, we are like the Europeans.'
795 A Catholic catechist arguing the superiority of Catholicism to Protestantism began by saying that the Protestants had no sacraments—then the elder of the school chimed in saying: 'And ours is the religion of the government.' The catechist took up this theme: 'The *chefe de posto* is baptized and married in church, the Governor-General [*sic*] of Nova Lisboa is baptized and married in church.' During my first weeks in Epalanga I was asked by the catechist: 'Are there priests in England?' and replied that in England there were both Catholics and Protestants, on which the catechist commented: 'It's the same
thing in Bimbe?

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[3] For the history of Congregationalism see E. Troelsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, London, 1931, Vol. II, p. 661–6.

thing in Bimbe.' That is, church membership is recognized as 797
giving entry to a world-wide grouping. This sense of being 177
linked to the Europeans by participation in the same sacraments is paralleled on the European side by the custom widespread in Angola of whites standing as godparents to their servants or servants' children. More generally, the missions are regarded as being the cause of that social change which is welcomed by Ovimbundu. Thus the fact that this was 'the time of the school' was given by one of my servants as the reason for such improvements as the decline of sorcery and the increase of cleverness.

Ovimbundu Christians are also aware of the doctrinal 795
significance of baptism—when I asked various people 'Why did you receive baptism?' a general reply would be: 'I want to go to heaven', or some equivalent phrase. The apprehension of Catholic doctrine by the Ovimbundu is a complicated subject. It may be said that the receiving of the sacraments is the aspect of religion that has made most impression on the people. In the conversation previously cited, the catechist began by emphasizing the presence of sacraments as the distinctive mark of Catholicism against Protestantism, and then when the elder of the school pointed to the official associations of Catholicism, the catechist developed this by indicating the receiving of sacraments by those in high office. In the same way a catechist may commend somebody by saying: 'He is baptized and married in Church', as we would say of somebody: 'He is a real Christian'.
The contact of the people with the priests, whether at the mis- 797
sion, or in the villages, usually involves the making of confes- 177
sions and the receiving of communion. Cultural traits particularly characteristic of Portuguese Catholicism are little marked with the exception of the social importance of the godfather-godson tie. Christian ideas of the after-life have penetrated among the pagans, who will say that the soul after death goes to God (Suku) except in the case of bad people who go to hell.

The social relations between Christians and pagans are 795
friendly. The old rites in which the sub-chiefdom as a whole [178]
participated have disappeared, and the rites performed at the capital, a liturgy which like other aspects of chieftaincy is a shadow of its former self, arouse little public interest. Christians

795 and pagans co-operate in weddings and funerals. In certain
aspects of funeral rites, and in commemorations of ancestors the
Christians participate, justifying themselves by arguing that
they are purely social functions and have no religious significance. This differs from their attitude to the major exorcism
[255] rites,[4] which are avoided by Christians, who regard them with
some horror, and towards consulting diviners. Although visiting
diviners is strictly forbidden by both Catholic and Protestant
[791] missionaries, a high proportion of their people do this,[5] but
clandestinely. Thus I was told that there were no diviners in
Gumba; in fact, there were two living in Epalanga. It is
important to remember that there exist nowadays no pagan
'congregations', that is, permanent groups associated with the
performance of ritual.

797 It is, indeed, through the missions that most of the formal
177 teaching of European culture (apart from the instructions given
to labourers and servants) which Ovimbundu receive is given.
To the Ovimbundu the missionaries are the Europeans who
appear in the most favourable light, and even among pagans
the attitude to the missions is without the fear accorded to the
post or the suspicion with which the traders are regarded. The
missionaries alone run schools, and they provide most of the
modern medical services. The missionaries come into far more
frequent contact with the people than do the *chefes*, and their
relationship with the people is not confined to economics as is
that of the traders. The Ovimbundu desire to imitate and learn
from Europeans; it is from the missionaries that they have most
opportunity of learning, and it is in the African clergy that they
have the most clear evidence that this learning from Europeans
will bring them results.

797 The organization of the missions is the form of large-scale social structure with which the people are best acquainted, and with which they are most capable of identifying themselves. A

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[4] These involve drumming and an open invitation to anybody who wants to turn up. The idea is to persuade the tormenting spirit to pass into a small animal or inanimate object. The minor exorcism (*oku likutilila*) also involves sending the spirit into an inanimate object, but without drumming or the headshaking by the patient which is believed to mark the arrival of the spirit and his acceptance of the offering.

[5] Childs, loc. cit. Personal information.

servant of mine explaining how the Mwekalia chose the chief 797
said, giving me a comparison: 'The Bishop of Nova Lisboa
thinks "This priest has sense" and so makes him the superior of
a mission'.[6] The disintegration of the old political system, and 178
the association of its representatives with the ritual values which
are no longer very significant for the mass of Ovimbundu, has
destroyed the old pyramid of authority and prestige. The
people associate demands and punishment, for which they seem 648
to receive very little in return, with the post. Many draw a
distinction between the actual *chefe* and the government, which
they regard as benevolent and ignorant of the behaviour of its
representatives. Despite such expressions of loyalty as the singing
of the Portuguese national anthem at village parties the
'government' is too distant and shadowy for the Ovimbundu to
have much knowledge of it. Nor has the post tried effectively to
build up new types of bureaucratic authority in the villages—
the government headmen are not given sufficient backing or
responsibility by the post to do more than execute its orders.

Hence, the establishment of new types of grouping and 797
leadership at the local level has been the work of the missions, 571
and it is through the missions that these new groupings are
articulated on to the total Angolan social system. The missionaries,
who provide this articulation between the 'civilized'
society and the local organization of the natives, form the section
of the 'civilized' population which most satisfies, in its relations
with the people, the expectations of the Africans.

To use another term, it is within the Catholic and Protestant 795
Churches that Ovimbundu most clearly identify themselves. 156
Baptism identifies an individual by giving him a name, hence
Christians object to non-baptized people identifying themselves
in this way. To an individual baptism is significant since it is
concerned with his destiny. By it also he identifies himself with [554]
the 'civilized' population and achieves a new status superior to
that of the pagans. The newly-born child of Christian parents 795
will be given a Christian name and also an Umbundu name 551
from one already held by a dead kinsman.[7] A few villagers

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[6] Actually responsibility for appointing superiors of missions largely belongs to the superior of the Nova Lisboa district of the Congregação do Espírito Santo.

[7] For Umbundu names, see Elizabeth Ennis, *African Studies* (Johannesburg) March 1945.

795 attempt to take on European surnames. Alternatively, a man
551 may take his father's name and attempt to use it as a surname.
Thus Joaõ Batista Tjindandi, a resident of Epalanga, had
received Joaõ Batista in baptism, and had taken Tjindandi, his
father's name, as a surname. This is, however, not at all a
general trend. Even a village of mixed Christian-pagan population
may be known by the name of its school, identifying itself
by its Christian name.

A man identifies himself also with social change and with
795 progress by 'entering the school'. When a small girl, whom I
554 asked if she had 'entered into the school' replied 'Not at all',
her elder sister's husband remarked: 'She is asleep'. In the
general Angolan society the religious referent is the most
status-giving type of reference that most Ovimbundu can give.
186 There is no very marked feeling in the superiority of one area of
Umbundu country to another nor even is there a marked sense
554 of the superiority of Ovimbundu to other tribes—thus the
Kimbundu will be highly praised for the degree of European
culture they have acquired. The very word Ovimbundu is used
as an equivalent of '*pretos*' (blacks) a word not used of 'civilized'
Africans, since it is indicative of the lowest colour-class. As a
Christian, a man has a status which he shares with Europeans.

797 He can also identify himself not only in a general way with
the Europeans but more particularly with the general church
648 organization. There is much closer contact between the
authority-figures of the church organization and the people
than between the authority-figures of the administration and
the natives. Thus all Catholics in the Nova Lisboa diocese are
confirmed by the Bishop of Nova Lisboa, and have seen him—
similarly many of the Protestant Ovimbundu know of Dr.
Childs, the headmaster of the Protestant secondary school at
Dondi, through having heard him preach at a conference. Some
Christian villagers would know the names of pioneer missionaries.
Little is known by the people about the personalities or
duties of the senior members of their administration, and even
their titles are not properly understood.

795 The religious differences which exist at local level have no
648 marked significance in the relations of natives to the post.
In certain circumstances a pagan may appeal to a Christian

catechist or missionary for support at the post. There is no 795
tendency to confine government appointments to chiefdoms 648
and headmanships to Catholics.[8] However, the Protestant
catechists are, unlike the Catholic catechists, not exempt from
taxes.[9]

The Ovimbundu no longer possess a coherent political 797
system of their own. They cannot, owing to the nature of their 648
relations with the post and their ignorance of the higher 178
administration, regard the Government as being their representative; the only wide-range systems with which they can identify themselves are the missions. It is through them that the individual is promised eternal life, that the village receives a new type of identity and unity, and that the Ovimbundu as a people participate with the 'civilized' population in ritual communities cutting across the boundaries of culture and geography.

The objection may be made that it is only the Christians 797
who could effectively be represented by the missions and that 184
in Epalanga and Gumba generally baptized Christians formed a minority. It has, however, been previously noted how the school may give its name to a village of mixed population. The catechist will represent both Christians and pagans when he is concerned with the post or with the mission. Moreover, the percentage of pagans in Gumba is far higher than in the rest of Bimbe to which they are linked by the Umbundu language and culture, by administrative divisions, and by a wide range of personal contacts.

It may, then, be asserted, that the catechetical schools and
the wider groupings which they build up are the social groups [571]
most significant for Umbundu integration on any scale wider than that of the household.

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[8] In Gumba the chief and government headman were pagan. There are government-recognized Protestant chiefs elsewhere in Umbundu country.

[9] In some parts of Angola the Catholic catechists are not automatically granted exemption but have to have obtained certain other qualifications, e.g. a certain degree of literacy.

CHAPTER VII

KINSHIP

1. *General Aspects*

128 A good deal has been said about the contemporary kinship
system in Chapter IV, where it was discussed from the point of
view of the local organization rather than in its own right.
This chapter must, therefore, to some extent, refer to information
already presented in Chapters I and IV, since there are
three problems to be discussed—the form of the old kinship
[121] system, the form of the present kinship system, and the reasons
for the changes from one system to the other.

The following approach will be adopted: the ethnographic sources for Umbundu kinship will be examined, information will then be given on the kinship norms formerly valid, and an attempt will then be made to give a coherent sketch of the system then existing. After this, reference will be made to the actual operation of present-day kinship norms and the significance of descent and inheritance. Then factors in the transition between the two systems will be brought forward.

611 It has been generally accepted by commentators on the ethnographic material that the traditional Umbundu kinship system is of the type called a 'double-descent' system.[1] 'Descent' is used by British anthropologists to imply membership of a group involving rights and duties.[2] Hence, it can only be claimed that the Ovimbundu possessed such a system if there existed two sets of kin groups, and not simply some combination of matrilineal inheritance and virilocal residence at marriage.

One anthropologist, Mr. W. D. Hambly, and two missionaries

[text continues on p.92]

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[1] For other African double-descent systems see *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, ed. Radcliffe-Brown and Forde (Oxford, 1950), pp. 79, 285–339.

[2] The word seems to have been first used in this sense by W. H. R. Rivers.

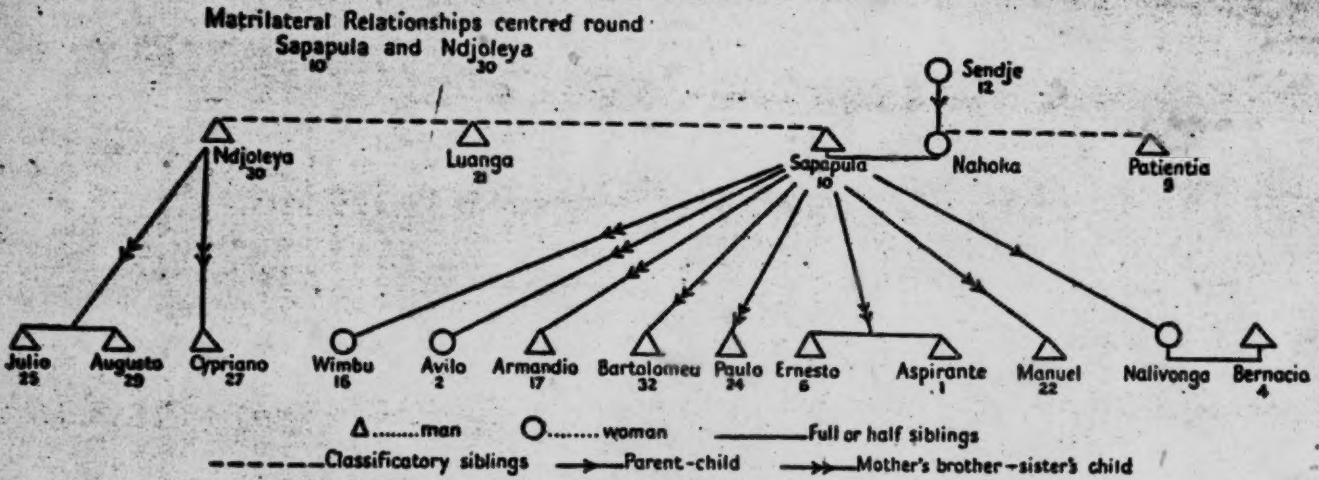
Matrilateral Relationships centred round
Sapapula 10 and Ndjoleya 30
Sendje 12
Ndjoleya 30
Luanga 21
Sapapula 10
Nahoka
Patientia 9
Julio 25
Augusto 29
Cypriano 27
Wimbu 16
Avilo 2
Armandio 17
Bartolomeu 32
Paulo 24
Ernesto 6
Aspirante 1
Manuel 22
Nalivonga
Bernacio 4
Δ........man
O........woman
Full or half siblings
Classificatory siblings
Parent-child
Mother's brother-sister's child

CHART 1. This shows the relationships centred round Sapapula (10) and Ndjoleya (30), the leading personalities of the village. Although they were not directly related there was a link through Luanga (21), who was matrilaterally a 'brother' of Sapapula, and patrilaterally of Ndjoleya. All are living members of the village.

[p. 91]

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114 One anthropologist, Mr. W.D. Hambly, and two missionaries with anthropological knowledge and interests, Dr. Daniel A. Hastings and Dr. Gladwyn Murray Childs, have written on Umbundu kinship.[3] Mr. Hambly's main interest was in material culture and the conditions of his fieldwork were not such as to give him much evidence on the kinship system.[4] Both Dr. Hastings and Dr. Childs recognized the central importance of kinship in Umbundu social life, but have outlined the kinship ties and kinship groups rather than given a detailed analysis.

602 Mr. Hambly states that 'The phrase *Epata Lia Tate* (or *Oluse*) means "family of my father" and includes all relatives on the father's side. The words *Epata Lia Mai* (or *Oluina*) mean "family of my mother".'[5] This could mean that the Umbundu kinship system is bilateral. He states that inheritance is matrilineal and marriage virilocal, a situation consistent with such a matrilineal kinship system as that of the Bakongo.[6]

613 622 Dr. Hastings, whose thesis was completed the year before the publication of Hambly's book, makes it clear that there are two sets of kin groups. 'Over each village is a ruling elder who is the head of the kinship group of that village since all who reside in the village are generally related to him and to each other patrilineally. This elder, greatly revered, is considered the patriarch of that local group. Residence being patrilocal, [591] the office of an elder is hereditary through the male line.'[7] He 613 then goes on to contrast with this, 'the matrilineal sib to which each member is linked, though he may be living in a village away from his sib group.'[8] This group is a clearly defined

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[3] Works cited in footnotes to Chapter I. There is a typescript of Hastings's thesis in the library of the International African Institute, London.

[4] Mr. Hambly spent five months in the country, and used as his interpreter and main informant an English-speaking Otjimbundu. He seems simply to have visited villages without living in them. Dr. Childs and Dr. Hastings had both spent several years as 'bush' missionaries. Dr. Childs had actually taken over from Dr. Hastings work in the area to the north-west of Bailundo in the direction of Bimbe, and had subsequently obtained information in Cassongue. He later obtained a good deal of material from African pastors, teachers and schoolboys.

[5] Hambly, pp. 191–2.

[6] For the Bakongo see the discussion by A. I. Richards, in Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, pp. 213–21. Anthropologists have more than once suggested to the author that the Umbundu system was not of the 'double-descent' category but some combination of virilocal marriage and matrilineal descent.

[7] Hastings, p. 16.

[8] Ibid.

social unit. 'All descendants of the same great-great-grandmother speak of themselves as a group (matrilineally descended), by the term *Imolietu*, i.e. "children from a common source".'[9] Dr. Hastings did not apply the concept of double-descent to this society but regarded it as being matrilineal with patrilineal trimmings. After noting the patrilineal succession to the chiefdom, virilocal residence after marriage, and social preference for patrilineal kinsman, Dr. Hastings states: 'Apart from these apparent indications which might mislead one into concluding that the Ovimbundu are patronymic [*sic*], every other behaviour is obviously linked up as far as social attitudes and relations of the living are concerned within the matrilineal sib.'[10] 613 [611]

The neat tabulation by Dr. Childs[11] of the functions of the two kin groups, when considered in conjunction with the passages cited from Hastings, seems to provide quite clear proof that it is correct to apply the category 'double-descent kinship system' to that formerly prevailing among the Ovimbundu. [611]

2. *Kinship Terms* 601

Tate *So* *Iso*	my father your father his father	Extended to all brothers, real or classificatory, of a father, all men married to a 'mother', and to the father's sister's son, particularly if he has been your father's heir.
Mai *Nyoho* *Ina*	my mother your mother his mother	Extended to all sisters, real or classificatory, of a mother, and to all wives of any 'father'.
Sekulu	mother's brother	Extended to any brother, real or classificatory, of a mother, and to the husband of any *apahai*.
Apahai[12] *Sohai*	my father's sister, his father's sister, your father's sister	Extended to any sister of any father and the wife of any *sekulu*.

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[9] Ibid., p. 85. *Imolietu* actually means 'our womb'.

[10] Ibid., p. 87.

[11] Childs, pp. 45–46.

[12] *Tatekai* (father-woman), used in other parts of Umbundu country for 'my father's sister', is not found in Gumba.

601 The reciprocal of *tate* and *mai* is *omola* (child), usually with the possessive pronoun. *Nungulu* is used for the first-born son, and *kwasula* for the youngest. The reciprocal of both *sekulu* and *apahai* is *otjimumba*. Elder sibling is *huva*, younger sibling is *mandja*, both used with the possessive pronouns. *Kota* seems to have meant formerly the eldest sibling but it is now equivalent to *huva*. *Mukai* is sister, man speaking, and *mume* is brother, woman speaking.

Epalume, pl. *apalume*, cross-cousin
K'oluse patrilateral cross-cousin
K'oluina matrilateral cross-cousin

Makulu[13] is used for 'grandfather' and very often for grandmother, though for the latter there is a separate term, *inakulu*; the reciprocal is *onekulu*.

Nawa brother-in-law, sister-in-law. Extended to all siblings, real or classificatory, of a wife, the husband of any female sibling, and the siblings of such a husband.

Ndatembo father-in-law, mother-in-law;
son-in-law, daughter-in-law.
Ndatembo is used only in reference; to address these affines one uses *tate* and *mai*.

Tjikiwelume[14] sister's daughter's husband, sometimes father's sister's husband. The wife's mother's brother may be regarded as a mother's brother or as a *ndatembo*.

[602] *Tjisoko* (funeral friend) is used as a kinship term both in address and reference. This is an abbreviation of the more correct *ukwatjisoko*, of which the plural is *vakwatjisoko*.

The term for wife is *ukai* (woman) or *ufeko* (girl), the latter being perhaps more frequent. *Vey'yange* (my husband) is used as a term of reference by a woman rather than *ulume* (man, husband). Husband and wife would address each other by name or '*a ukutu*' (O friend). If an individual is both an affine and a kinsman the affinal ties take precedence.

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[13] Elsewhere *Sekulu* is used for 'grandfather'.
[14] Albino Alves, Vol. I, p. 448, gives *Tjikuelume* as sister's son.

KINSHIP

Osanto or *osiala* (namesake) is used as a kinship term, both in 601
address and as reference.

Oluse and *oluina*, which were formerly the words for the 602
agnatic and matrilineal kin group, now mean the patrikin, that
is, all to whom one is paternally related, and the matrikin, all
to whom one is matrilaterally related. A man, describing a
particular tie, may say that it is 'in the matrikin of my father',
that is, the relative is a matrilineal kinsman of his father. The
terms *onele yohondji* ('the side of the bow') and *onele yohumba*
('the side of the basket') are equivalents of *oluse* and *oluina*.[15] The
term *epata* may be used in a general sense for kin but it has very
often a primary reference to the matrikin. *Famllia* (from the [177]
Portuguese) means kin in general but it may mean 'kinsman'
with reference to a single individual: 'So-and-so is (or is not)
my *Familia*.' *Ngandi* (which also means 'So-and-so,' equivalent
to the Portuguese *fulano*) means kinsman and *usitwe* is kinship.

The use of Portuguese terms is now frequent even among 601
those who do not speak Portuguese. The terms most frequently 177
taken into the Umbundu language are *mano* which is used to
mean 'elder brother,' and *mana* which is used to mean 'elder
sister,' both terms being used by either sex, *primo* (feminine
prima), cousin, which is used as an equivalent of *epalume* (cross-cousin), *tio* (uncle), which is now used more frequently than *sekulu*, and *cunhado* (feminine *cunhada*) brother-in-law or sister-in-law, used in the same way as is *nawa*. Ovimbundu villagers talking Portuguese will apply the Portuguese terms in Umbundu style. Thus *irmaõ* (brother) will be used as an equivalent of *mandja* (younger sibling of either sex), and *irmaõ mais velho* (older brother) will be used as an equivalent of *huva* (elder sibling of either sex). Similarly *tia* (aunt) will be used as an equivalent of *apahai*.

The rules about which term may be used in a particular 601
defined relationship (e.g. my wife's mother's brother) are not clearly and exclusively defined. What is more surprising is that a man may not be certain what is the category in which he should class a kinsman with whom he has frequent contacts. Thus Paulo, the elder of the school at Epalanga, often played

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[15] As noted previously in the references to Chapter I these terms do not seem to have referred to descent groups.

601 with Adolfo, the small son of Jaime, his wife's brother, but when asked what relation Adolfo was to him, became confused and said, 'My son, my sister's son.'

601 184 There exist marked variations in terminology in Umbundu country.[16] For instance, *sekulu* seems to be used for mother's brother only in north-western Umbundu country. Elsewhere *manu*[17] is used for mother's brother, and *sekulu* is used for grandfather. At Caconda, where there has been strong Portuguese [177] influence since the eighteenth century, only the Portuguese kinship terms are known.[18]

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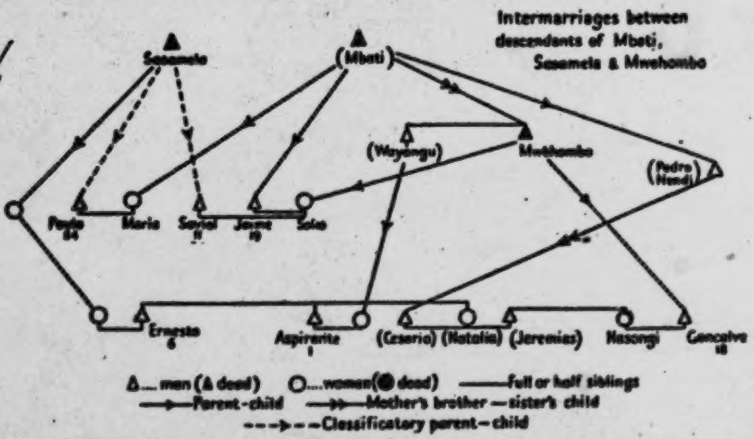
Intermarriages between descendants of Mbati, Sasamela & Mwehombo
Sasamela
(Mbati)
(Wayangu)
Mwehombo
(Pedro Nendi)
Paulo 24
Maria
Saviel 11
Jaime 19
Solo
Ernesto 6
Aspirante 1
(Cesario)
(Natalia)
(Jeremias)
Nasongi
Goncalve 18
△.... man (▲ dead)
○....woman (● dead)
——full or half siblings
——▶——Parent-child
——▶▶——Mother's brother—sister's child
- - -▶- - -Classificatory parent—child

CHART 2. Mbati, Mwehombo and some of their kin. For Mbati (dead, non-member) and Mwehombo (dead, former member) see Chapter III, section 1. For Sasamela (dead, former member) and Cesario, Jeremias, Natalia, Pedro Nendi, and Wayangu (all living non-members) see List II (pp. 55–6). The rest of the individuals named on the chart are members of Epalanga. Paulo and Saviel were 'brothers', both patrilaterally and matrilaterally.

3. *Kinship Norms*

593 In this section I shall describe the relations that existed within the elementary family in the time of the rubber trade. A man

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[16] For other lists of kinship terms see Hastings, pp. 83–85. Childs, pp. 47–56. M. Howse, *Umbundu Lessons* (Dondi, 1955), Vol. II, pp. 195–7.

[17] Etymologically, *manu* seems to mean 'mother-person'.

[18] Private information.

[text continues on p. 98]

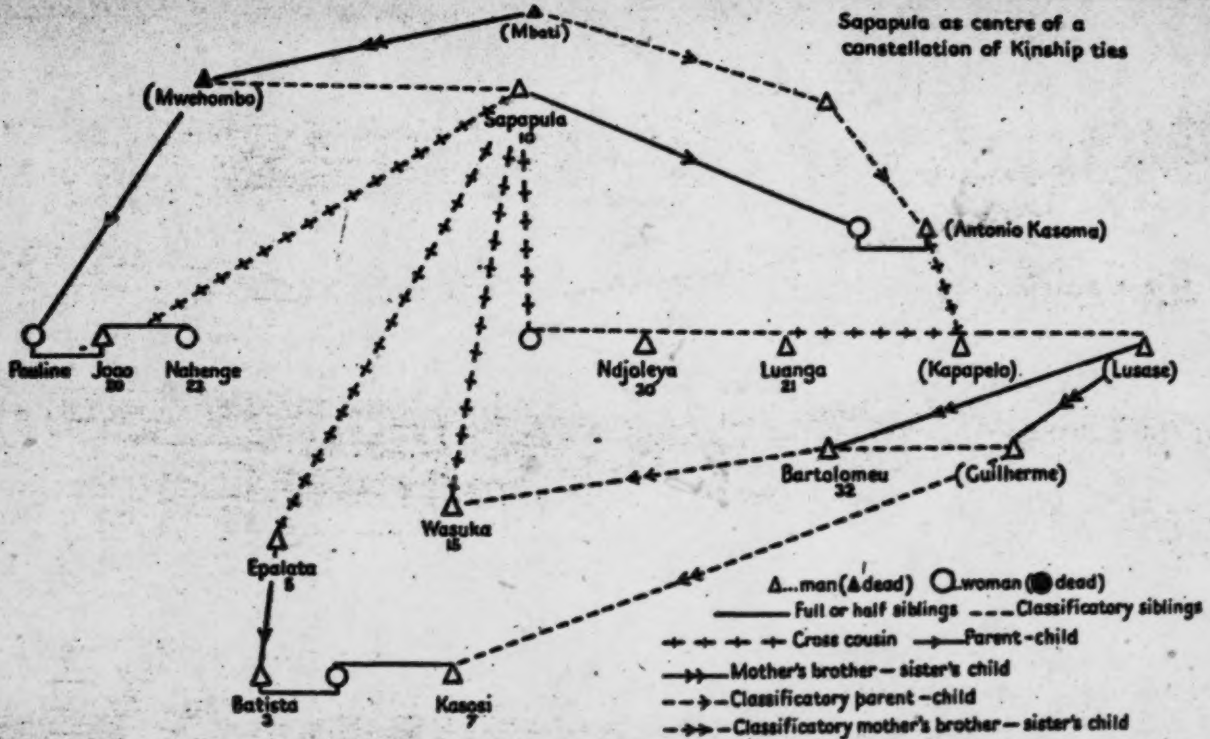
Sapapula as centre of a
constellation of Kinship ties
(Mbati)
(Mwehombo)
Sapapula
10
(Antonio Kasoma)
Pauline
Joao
20
Nahenge
23
Ndjoleya
30
Luanga
21
(Kapapelo)
(Lusase)
Bartolomeu
32
(Guilherme)
Wasuka
15
Epalata
5
Batista
3
Kasoai
7
Δ...man(▲dead) ○woman (● dead)
——— Full or half siblings
- - - Classificatory siblings
-+-+-+- Cross cousin
—→— Parent-child
—→→— Mother's brother — sister's child
- -→- - Classificatory parent-child
- -→→- - Classificatory mother's brother — sister's child

CHART 3. Sapapula as the centre of a constellation of kinship ties. It is interesting to note how, in view of the conflict described in Chapter IX, Sapapula is linked to Guilherme, Kapapelo, and Lusase by several paths. All are living members of Epalanga except for Mbati and Mwehombo (for whom see note to Chart 2) and Antonio Kasoma, Guilherme, Kapapelo, and Lusase. For details on these living non-members see List II, pp. 55–6. Not all ties existing between these individuals have been shown.

Correction. The relation of Bartolomeu and Guilherme to Lusase and of Mwehombo to Mbati should be that of classificatory sister's sons.

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[1874-1911]

A man did not eat or chat with his eldest son or his daughters. Nor did a woman eat or chat with her sons. By 'chatting' I mean a prolonged conversation. It was not forbidden for people in these relationships to speak to one another. Nor could a man eat or joke with his sister (although chatting was permitted) or be alone with her at night. A grown man could not sleep in the same room as his father, except perhaps on a journey, nor could he wear his father's clothes while he was still alive. A grown woman might sleep in the same room as her mother, provided they were far apart.

The reason for these avoidances is usually given simply as 'shame' (*osoi*) although I have also heard it said in explanation of the father-eldest son avoidance 'If you don't have an eldest son you can't have a family', that is, it is the birth of his eldest son which gives a man status as a father. There seems to be no formalized norm of behaviour towards the *Kwasula*, but it is said that the youngest child is the parent's favourite.[10] When I asked what would happen if a man was alone with his mother at night the answer given was, 'Your father would be angry.'

It is evident that these avoidances would limit the role of the elementary family as an associational unit. This was further
575 limited by the institution of the men's house in which the men and boys from the age of seven or so upwards eat together. In this way, a boy was associated from childhood with the body of agnatic kinsmen from whose conversation he received much of his education in matters ranging from table manners to history.

593 The authority of a man over his grown sons does not seem to have been very marked. A father had first claim on the services of his adolescent son in the caravan trade; if his father did not need him a lad could travel with another kinsman and a grown man could trade on his own account. Nor did a father apparently control his son's access to land, since this was allocated by
[622] the village headman. There was, however, one very important service a father could perform for his son, that of ransoming him when the latter's mother's brother wished to sell him as a

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[10] I am not sure if the *kwasula* is the youngest child, either male or female, or the youngest child provided that he is male. I think the latter.

[1874-1911]

slave. Once ransomed a boy could not be sold again. If, how- 593
ever, the father was displeased with his son's behaviour he
could refuse to ransom him. When a man died, his adolescent 768
sons would go to the household of a classificatory father and the
children who did not yet 'have sense' would go with the widow
to her kin, returning to their agnatic kin when they were older.

4. *Analysis of the Old Kinship System*

The ethnography of the Ovimbundu does show that there 611
existed a double-descent kinship system, each individual be- 613
longing to both a local patrilineal group, and a dispersed
matrilineal group, in which movable property is inherited. [422]
So great has been the impact of social change that not only 613
have these groups disappeared but it is practically impossible 178
to gain additional information on them by direct questions
about their nature and functions. The information on kinship
norms does give a somewhat clearer picture.

Within the village there was a very strong emphasis on the 575
unity and solidarity of the men of the village. The men's house
was the main social centre of the village where the men ate,
received guests, and listened to cases. It was about it rather
than about the person of the headman that ritual clustered.[20]
The elementary family was not the unit of domestic consump- 594
tion, and it is clear, from the taboos regarding contact with 575
women kin, and the evidence as to the social life of the man's
house that there was little recreational contact between the
sexes. The concept of *ondjamba*[21] shows that the elementary
family of husband, wife, and children, was morally and ritually
significant, but many of the educational, nutritive, and recrea-
tional functions frequently associated with it were here attached
to the men's house.

The strength of the agnatic ties in this society seems to have 593
lain in the solidarity of the men of the village rather than in the [602]
patriarchal authority of fathers over sons. A son was economic-
ally independent of his father since he could trade on his own
while his father was still living; the most powerful social sanc- [604]
tion in the hands of kinsmen, that of being sold as a slave, was

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[20] For these rituals see Hastings, pp. 73-76, and Childs, p. 39.

[21] *Ondjamba* will be discussed more fully in the next chapter.

[1874-1911]

593 in the hands of the mother's brother, though the father could,
604 if he wished, intervene; and a man could establish a shrine
of his own while his father lived.

613 It is not altogether easy to see how the matrilineal group
maintained its cohesion. It was not the working team on which
the caravan trade operated since a man's father had first claim
on his services, and he could travel with other relatives. Within
it alone loans need not be repaid and accusations of sorcery
were made; with this in mind, it is evident why, as Dr. Hastings
tells us, people tended to avoid the company of their matrikin,
[578] and why most disputes arose in the matrilineal groups.[22] It
613 seems that probably the key to the functioning of the matri-
437 lineal groups lies in the details, not now recoverable, of the
economy of the caravan trade. As everybody, however successful, was in danger at some time or another of incurring heavy losses,[23] an arrangement by which anybody who was in difficulties could call on his kin for help would be generally acceptable. The association of mutual aid of this sort with matrilineal rather than patrilineal kin would spread losses geographically and would exclude conflicts over currency and movable property from village life. Moreover, the dispersal of the matrilineal kin would provide an individual with business contacts over a considerable area.

5. *Contemporary Kinship Norms*

593 Much of this has disappeared. The men's house is no longer
264 the dining-room of the village male population. Men now often
178 eat with their wives and children though attitudes and practice
of this vary between households. People in their twenties knew of the existence of these avoidance rules but it seems that the rules forbidding sons to eat with their mother and eldest sons and daughters to eat with their father are now generally ignored.

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[22] Hastings, pp. 18, 87. Disputes within the matrilineal group could be, and
[692] very often were, referred to the sub-chief and king. The account of legal proceedings in Hastings (pp. 139–51) suggests that a high proportion of the cases heard by the kings were to do with sorcery. In such cases the social extension of the matrilineal group beyond the area of the sub-chiefdom and the wider political integration achieved by the kingdoms 'co-operated' in preserving a range of social relations beyond the sub-chiefdom.

[23] Apropos of losses Childs quotes Magyar as saying that the Ovimbundu traded for excitement rather than gain (p. 204).

KINSHIP

The rules about avoidance at night are still kept. The prohibitions 593 on a man borrowing his father's clothes and sleeping in the same room as his father seem to survive. The prohibition on a child speaking the name of his father or mother reported by 551 Childs is not, and was not formerly, found in this area. It is, however, wrong for a child to address his parents by name.

Children begin to work in the fields when they are about six. 857 Occasionally boys of 10 to 11 go to the coffee fields for two months work, but usually boys do not go out to work until they are about 14 or 15.

A boy going out to work should ask his father's permission 593 to go though this is not always done. Returning from work whether contract labour or voluntary work a boy should bring presents to his relatives. He would be expected to give something, say, a jacket, to his father, and a cloth to his mother, on returning from voluntary work and a shirt to his father on coming back from contract labour. These gifts should be made in kind. Money lent from son to father should be repaid, though it is wrong for a son to enforce payment by appealing to the post for policemen. A father may give money to his son for bride- [583] wealth, and may suggest a choice of bride. He cannot constrain, nor could he in the past, his son and daughter to a marriage they do not wish.

A man cannot be said to have real authority over his grown sons. The stated norm is that a man's sons stay in the same village till he dies. He has no power to make them do so, and they are not condemned by public opinion if they live elsewhere. A man's attitude to classificatory 'fathers' is determined by the 604 age, status, and personalities of those involved, rather than by jural rights and obligations. I have found men unable to tell me what had become of their own brothers' children.

Formerly when the father of an adolescent boy died he would 768 join the household of a father's brother. Nowadays this would be much less likely, as it is common for such a boy to settle with other categories of kin, notably siblings and maternal kinsfolk. A man is free to stay with his brothers if he wishes, or to leave them.

While the tie between full brothers is held to be the strongest, 602 as regards classificatory brothers there seems to be a slight

602 leaning towards matrilateral rather than patrilateral brothers. The classificatory kinship terminology, and the lack of genealogies and kinship groups, means that a man knows a great many classificatory brothers living in his neighbourhood of whom he vaguely recognizes some as 'close' others as 'distant', but with whom his relations are not especially significant. A boy or girl [268] who loses his or her parents is fairly likely, judging from the evidence of Epalanga households, to settle with a full- or half-brother or sister.

602 591 178 Formerly, owing to virilocal marriage, a sister was geographically separated from her brother, and even if widowed or divorced would not necessarily return to his village, but might go to her mother's brother.[24] With this geographical separation went a situation of possible conflict, since the brother could sell his sister's children to recoup his own debts, and the shadow of sorcery fears seems to have touched this relationship.[25] The suppression of the rubber and slave trades and the subsequent disintegration of the kinship groups have removed the economic pressures which made for conflict between matrilineal kin and the residence rules which divided people locally into groups of agnates and their wives. The brother-sister tie has therefore [593] changed its content, since it is released from the heavy pressures formerly active in the matrilineal kin groups.

562 It would be wrong to produce any such generalization as 'a woman must always be under the guardianship of a male relative'. A woman who is widowed or divorced or whose husband is away working will tend, however, to develop a particular link with the male head of some household, her own kinsman usually, except in the case of a labour migrant's wife, when it may be a kinsman of her husband. Thus in Epalanga, Augusto (25) aided the household of his absent full brother Julio (29).

602 Aid is most likely to be given to a kinsman's wife when the two households are close together. The underlying idea seems to be to keep the kinsman's household together rather than any duty of aiding an affine. For a widow or divorced woman or the

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[24] Childs, pp. 23–37.

[25] H. W. Nevinson (*A Modern Slavery*) gives a complicated story which suggests this possibility (p. 101).

wife of a 'lost' labour migrant the tie with the brother or other 602 kinsman will be more important, though the degree to which there is contact between the two households will vary.

It would seem that the present significance of the brother-sister tie is due to the frequency and likelihood of husbands being away from villages as labourers. The strength of this tie gives added significance to the mother's brother—sister's son tie. 593

A sister's son traditionally inherited his mother's brother's movable property, and during his lifetime might borrow from him without need of repayment. Against this, the mother's brother had the right to sell his sister's son as a slave and it was he who was considered most likely, both traditionally and at the present day, to practise sorcery against his sister's son. My informants were divided as to whether the sister's son can practise sorcery against his mother's brother. However, it was stated by Hastings[26] and by my informants that sorcery was only practised between matrilineal kin. It is not easy to see how in the past the relationship between a man and his mother's brothers operated—to what extent a man had particular expectations and obligations to one particular mother's brother rather than to the whole set of senior matrilineal kin. 604 [254]

At the present time the content of the relationship between mother's brother and sister's son seems very fluid, depending on age and personal compatibility. An important difference arises between one's attitude to 'mother's brothers' and to 'fathers'. There is no strong tie with one's mother's own brother, as there is with one's own father; on the other hand, a boy whose father has died is regarded as much more likely to go to the house of a classificatory mother's brother than to the house of a classificatory father, although, as has been noted, children and adolescents may settle with kin of other categories.

Traditionally the relationship between a man and his wife's brother was distant and reserved, the two men being forbidden to eat together or joke. Nowadays the relations between a man and his wife's full or half brother are often very friendly; quite often when one finds two households close together they turn out to belong to men related in this way. 607

A brother-in-law is not regarded as a kinsman—he does not

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[26] Hastings, p. 87.

607 have a kinsman's obligation to lend money in case of need if he has it, and it is said that one should only work very occasionally with a brother-in-law. When I asked which a woman preferred, her husband or her brother, men told me that she liked both equally, and the fact that a man and his wife's brother often live close together confirms that there is relatively little for them to quarrel over. A woman does not establish close ties with any of her affines. Formerly, when a man died 587 leaving a widow (and according to some informants a small child) a patrilateral cross-cousin of his might marry her. My informants, however, denied that a sororate had existed even in the past.[27]

605 Cross-cousins are the relatives with whom solidarity is most strongly felt. When I asked about the relationship between full siblings I was told 'They like each other just as cross-cousins do.' Now that it is no longer customary for agnatic kin to live together, it is often said that it is good to live near cross-cousins.

608 Formerly funeral friendship (*ukwatjisoko*) was part of an alliance between sub-chiefdoms, which were not contiguous. Nowadays, since people move about the country, funeral friendships may be regarded as another category of kinship—when one asks a man his relationship with somebody else this may be given. There is a tendency to regard *vakwatjisoko*, funeral friends, as being a sort of cross-cousins since both per- [764] form funeral services. This survival of funeral friendship, as a tie between individuals and as a haphazard means of supplying undertakers, exists in Gumba. In Ndjandju, which is the sub-chiefdom in which the Missão Católica de Bimbe is built, the *tjisoko* relationship is now established between two neighbouring [628] villages and is apparently the normal means of performing burials, and the permitted theft of small livestock regularly takes place.

606 Between parents-in-law and children-in-law the relation was and is one of restraint. This is most marked in the relations between in-laws of opposite sex, and least between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law.

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[27] See Albino Alves under *(o)miegandje*, for evidence of a sororate in some Umbundu areas.

KINSHIP

6. *Descent, Inheritance and Succession*

There is little interest in genealogical detail among contem- 602
porary Ovimbundu, which is not surprising since there exists
no system of descent groups in which the position of the indivi-
dual may be genealogically defined nor does affiliation to a
particular line of descent give status *vis-à-vis* people of less
eminent descent. Pedigrees are traced (in either line) for only
two to four ascending generations though one man I met could
name ancestors for nine ascending generations.

Despite this vagueness and lack of interest in the articulation
of relationships, Ovimbundu will say that such-and-such a
kinsman is 'close' and such-and-such is 'distant' even though
they cannot fit this into a genealogical framework. 'Closeness'
and 'nearness' are not simply used to refer to geographical
proximity or social co-operation, since there may be much
mutual assistance between kinsmen who are 'distant'. One
might speak of a blurred edge of kinship not clearly defined in
categories of kin but not non-kinsmen. A man may speak of
somebody on this 'blurred edge' thus: 'He must be a kinsman
but I don't know how.' Similarly the *vakwatjisoko*′ are a class of [608]
people who are not definitely kin, and not non-kin.

There is little formalized distinction between patrikin and 602
matrikin. There is a certain matrilateral pull in the choice of 591
residence, a man being, as has been noted, more likely to settle
with a mother's brother than with a 'father'. I had the impres-
sion that a man is more likely to settle with a matrilateral
'brother' than with a patrilateral one, but it would be very
difficult to establish this by quantitative methods owing to the
complexity of the factors affecting residence. As a man tends to
settle where he has a number of kin rather than in the shelter
of one particular kinsman, this trend does not lead to the forma-
tion of matrilineal clusters of kin. The majority of informants 602
still consider that sorcery can only be practised among matri- 754
lineal kin but for various reasons it may be said that the fear
of sorcery is not significant in kinship relations.[38]

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[38] It may be suggested that the disappearance of the matrilineal groups which [178]
imposed a co-operation involving exacting demands has been paralleled by the
decline of sorcery, the mystical reflection of underlying tensions. How is the fact
that several informants told me that sorcery had declined since the days of the

′ [ie., funeral friends -- Analyst]

428 Inheritance of movable goods was traditionally entirely
matrilineal. Today informants are confused as to what ought
[183] to be done. Inquiry about particular cases will reveal that often no movable property was left by the deceased, it having been used to pay for such expenses of the illness and funeral as the purchase of medicines and the buying of animals to be slaughtered at the feasts.

Where there is movable property, the transmission of it to the heirs is carried out in a rather informalized way, as so often happens in Umbundu social activities. The actual division of property is undertaken by a kinsman of the deceased. This should apparently be the most senior kinsman. It may be a cross-cousin or 'brother' or a sister's son.[29] How it is decided who is the senior kinsman, and who are fitted to participate in the share-out is not very clear. Nor does it seem that there is any effective device against the sharer-out giving himself the lion's share, except the general pressures and reciprocities of kinship. The principle accepted in the share-out is that inheritance should be a reflection of the relations which existed with the dead man, and also be a reward of funeral services. Nothing is kept for kin who are away working, and a son who did not keep in contact with his father would be omitted from the share-out.

By inheritance a man can increase his small stock of possessions. He is unlikely to receive anything much in the way of money, and since there is no land shortage, and, as yet, little in the way of valuable immovable property such as brick

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602 rubber trade to be reconciled with the statement by Childs that fear of sorcery
754 was increasing (Childs pp. 57–58)? I suggest that the final disintegration of the old
178 kinship groups may have been marked by particularly sharp social tensions, but that once these groups were in fact dissolved and a new form of social relations established the fear of sorcery may have declined. It should also be remembered that as indicated in Chapter V the present-day economic values of the Ovimbundu do not lead to expectations that a prosperous individual will share his wealth with poorer kinsmen, as was the case in the time of the rubber trade. Hence accusations of sorcery based on disappointed expectations of generosity are unlikely to arise.

Another aspect of the question which cannot be explored here in detail is the
[811] lack of agreement on the causality of classes of happenings or individual events. Thus one informant will say that a woman's pains in childbirth are due to sorcerers among her kin, another will say that they are caused by God (as we would say, are natural).

[29] Hambly, pp. 199–200.

houses, coffee plants and so on there is little likelihood of disputes 428
arising about the inheritance of land claims. A woman's property should be given to her sisters, after her children have had their cut. In one case a man inherited his sister's debts but allowed her children to inherit her property, 'lest they be sad'. A wife's fields return to her husband.

Inheritance is then a process by which the relations of certain [602]
kin, both sons and sister's sons, with the deceased are recognized
by the transmission of his property. As with other aspects of
Umbundu kinship, while the existence of the kinship tie provides 602
the basis on which to found a relationship, its content is determined by the nature of the contacts between the individuals involved and the services given.

Although there is a definite tendency for men of chiefly stock 634
to have longer pedigrees than other individuals there is no chiefly genealogy. When Paulo, the elder of the school of Epalanga, told me that had he not been blind he might have been chief of Gumba, he quoted the names of four chiefs to whom he was related. The chieftancy is not tied to a lineage, but can be held by any individual who can claim links with a
former chief or chiefs. People 'of the blood of the chiefs' in no [554]
sense form a differentiated group of aristocrats significant in social life.

In similar fashion membership of the spirit-linked professions 554
and of certain cults seems to have been a matter of succession of one individual to the role of another.[20] Membership of the hunting and smithing professions descended patrilineally, but if a hunter or smith had no son his position could be succeeded to by a daughter's son.[21]

7. *Kinship in a Changing Society*

From this, and from other chapters, a picture of Umbundu 602
kinship may emerge as something so blurred, confused, and 183
confusing, as hardly to merit the term 'kinship system', yet at

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[20] I.e. rather than admission to a corporate group of hunters. A man can inherit his father's hunting spirit before the latter's death; in Epalanga Batista had received the hunting spirit of his father Epalata.

[21] My informants were not agreed as to whether a sister's son could inherit in default of a son.

602 183 the same time clearly an important part of social life. Kinship norms are confused, as is the correct term to use in a particular relationship. Ritual and jural sanctions are lacking, as are institutions based on the regular co-operation of groups of kinsmen. Yet a man likes to live with kinsfolk and there is a tendency for kin to cluster together in a neighbourhood.

602 621 By the very facts, that so many of a man's neighbours are his kinsmen, and that there is very little marked differentiation between the behaviour towards different categories of kin, kinship is robbed of any great specificity of content. It might be said that it is the quantity rather than the quality of kinship ties that makes kinship significant in establishing a 'sense of community' in a neighbourhood, in that the multiplicity of local kin ties creates some identification between a man's range of kin and his neighbourhood. At the same time a kinship tie provides a basis on which a closer relationship may be built by reciprocal services. It appears that the inheritance of property 602 428 recognizes kinship in this way by recognizing claims not on the basis of strict genealogical proximity but on the quality of the relationship.

128 A discussion of marriage and the household must be left to the next chapter. The outline given of the present kinship system is sufficiently clear to begin an examination of the reasons for the changes. This must rely to some extent on speculation, owing to a lack of information on the actual working of the kinship system while it was in transition to its present form.

613 178 The key change is the disappearance of the kinship groups. These, it seems, disappeared because of their high degree of dependence on the particular type of economy existing before 1911. It has already been argued that the distinction between the patrikin and the matrikin is an attempt to isolate economic claims and conflicts from village and political relationships, and that the giving of loans without right of repayment within the matrikin was called for by a trading system in which credit played an important part. With the end of the trade the wealth passing through Umbundu hands declined sharply, and there was neither need for funds to meet trading losses nor currency to provide them. A man obtained money either by growing crops

helped by his wife and children or by going out to work. Neither 613 means of making money involves regular co-operation with a 178 body of kinsmen. The occasional co-operation needed in situations of financial crisis or mutual help for some particular job can be provided by those of a man's numerous kinsfolk with whom he has established ties of amity above the mere recognition of relationship.[32]

The disappearance of the matrilineal group was a logical consequence of the disappearance of its *raison d'être*. With the disappearance of the matrilineal group, there was no longer any need to preserve the distinctive nature of the agnatic group. It is quite possible to suppose that the village might have preserved its patrilineal base if other factors had come into play. Such possible factors would be a shortage of land, danger of attack from enemies, or the use by the headman of his political power to keep control over his patrikin.[33]

A question of some significance arises from the differences of 602 attitude to a man's 'fathers' and to his 'mother's brothers' 178 which has been noted earlier on. From the literature it might seem that the link between agnates was very strong, and that it is surprising that it should have broken up so completely. It may be suggested that the unity of agnatic kin was expressed in the idiom of relations between villagers rather than of relations between kin, and that within the village there was not necessarily much greater solidarity between siblings than between distant agnates. The solidarity of paternal siblings was then, granting this hypothesis, a reflection of the wider solidarity of the village. When the village disintegrated the close ties between brothers disintegrated also.

The unity of the matrikin was perhaps expressed to a much greater degree in a kinship idiom.[34] This is perhaps one of the

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[32] The amount of aid an individual can mobilize in case of need depends to a very great extent on personal factors. It should be emphasized that it is personal co-operation over a number of years rather than any genealogical nearness that inclines a man to be helpful. While helpfulness to kinsfolk is a norm of Umbundu ethics, it is possible in practice to provide excuses for non-co-operation. [476]

[33] The rapid disintegration of the indigenous system of authority after the middle thirties may reasonably be linked with the decay of agnatic ties of residence.

[34] 'When an Ocimbundu speaks of his family (*epata*) in the sense of a large and widespread organization with a recognised head in some elder, it is generally his *oluina* to which he refers.' Childs, p. 44.

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reasons behind the 'neo-matrilineal' pull in residence, the other being the new relationship between brother and sister, with its consequent influence on the mother's brother—sister's son relationship.

In this chapter on the kinship system the preferential marriages have not been discussed at length, but without them the contemporary kinship system would not tie up as it does with the local organization. The next chapter complements this one.

CHAPTER VIII

MARRIAGE

1. *The Significance of Preferential Marriage*

Informants say that it is permissible to marry a classificatory cross-cousin, are divided as to the permissibility of marriage with a classificatory sister's daughter, and generally disapprove of marriage with other kin categories, or with true kin of these two categories. Indeed, kinsfolk who marry seem usually not to have any traceable common ancestor.[1] Up to recently,[2] a man marrying a kinswoman had to pay an indemnification of, say, 20 escudos to 'cut the blood'. This changed the kin relationship into an affinal one. 582

It has been previously stated that preferential marriages have an important social role to play in keeping kinsfolk together and multiplying the ties of kinship and affinity. If this is to be proved, it is necessary to show what the people themselves think of preferential marriages, what proportion of the marriages are between kinsfolk, whether this proportion has decreased under modern conditions, and how it relates to the contemporary kinship system. [582]

Several reasons may be given for choosing a cross-cousin bride. The bridewealth is likely to be lower, the girl is more likely to stay and not run away, if one cannot find another girl there will always be a cross-cousin to marry, and, old men point out, one will not be fined if a cross-cousin bride dies.

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[1] This statement does not depend simply on my own information. Padre Feltin, superior of the Bimbe mission, who knew of the existence of these marriages told me that very few Umbundu marriages were between kin within the degrees of kinship prohibited (a prohibition removable by a dispensation) by the Catholic Church. Marriage with a first cousin is not infrequent both in Portugal itself and among the white Portuguese in Angola. [115]

[2] About 1949.

582 Another explanation, which I have quoted earlier, is that if one marries a kinswoman, one's children, when they grow up, will not leave, since they see 'a cross-cousin here, a cross-cousin there'.

All these reasons are no doubt to some extent valid. There are no fixed limits for bridewealth and no doubt some bride-
[583] wealths paid in a cross-cousin marriage are higher than some paid in marriages between non-kin; however, it is generally held that a kinsman is less demanding over the question of bridewealth than a non-kinsman. There is some evidence that cross-cousin marriages are more stable than those with non-kinsfolk. The high proportion of cross-cousin marriages naturally leads to an individual tending, when considering the possibility of marriage, to think of his female kin, even though there is no individual girl whom he is expected to marry.

768 The custom of fining a man whose wife had died was noted among the Ovimbundu a hundred years ago by Ladislau Magyar; in recent times it seems to have disappeared from most of Umbundu country. Its survival in Gumba up to the last few years may be related to the links existing between Gumba and the northern non-Umbundu peoples, who apparently practise it to this day.

582 The last of the explanations given may be translated thus, 'Cross-cousin marriage means that the children will have the same individuals as both patrikin and matrikin. They will remain in their father's village, where he is living with his kin and will not be inclined to return to their matrikin.' This line of argument comes close to the 'observer' explanation previously offered that preferential marriage greatly increases the number of social relations within a neighbourhood. The Ovimbundu do not see this aspect of cross-cousin marriage, and this fits their
[829] lack of any 'model' of their own society as a whole, which is in turn a consequence of the rapid social change they have experienced. However, they do see cross-cousin marriage as increasing the number of ties which exist for an individual in his village and neighbourhood.

602 The diagrams and information contained in Chapter IV have already indicated how individuals are linked by marriage ties, and in Chapter VII the way in which brothers-in-law may

live next to each other has been noted as a new development, 602 impossible in the days of agnatic residence groups. It will be remembered how in listing the kinship cores of Epalanga, Joaõ was placed among the kin of Mbati and Mwehombo with which he had become associated through his marriage to Paulina, although he had come to Epalanga through his relationship to Sapapula.

I have earlier described the preferential marriages as giving 582 'stability' to the kinship system and as providing a limit on 602 the spread of affinal ties. In what does this stability consist, and how far is there really a limit?

The stability given by the marriage system is not the sum of the stability of individual marriages. Nor is it more than partially a local stability; marriages are not limited to a small geographical range, although the network of marriages between kin is very significant in local relations and even 'long distance' marriages which renew links with Cela and Namba reflect long-standing contacts of marriage and migration. The stability lies in the 'pattern' by which new preferential marriages are constantly being made.

The socio-geographical range over which wives are found does not differ appreciably from the socio-geographical range over which kin ties exist, which, as has been noted in Chapter IV[a], links Gumba strongly to Cassongue, Cela, and Namba, rather than with areas to the south and east, and this range does not seem to be expanding under modern conditions. Migrant labourers do not return to Gumba with wives from other areas. The only definite exception I knew to this rule was provided by Sawaisi, a traditional village headman, who had travelled on the caravans and had subsequently been a soldier. Stationed at Luanda he had there married three Kimbundu women with [648] whom he returned to Gumba, where they were still living with him during my stay.

The preference for kinship marriage is not a limiting factor on marriage in the way that a rule of endogamy is, since a number of marriages occur with non-kinswomen. It is a limiting factor in the way that it gives an additional significance to kinship, since in the choice of a wife the distinction between kin and

[a] See p. 58.

582 602 non-kin, which is not marked in ordinary social life, becomes important. Kinship marriages transform 'distant' kin ties into close affinal ties which will in the next generation become close kinship ties.

It is extremely difficult even to guess how this system operated in the past. Did the high rate of preferential marriages have the same function formerly as now? Or has the institution continued in being, while its function relative to the total society has changed? The testimony of that informant of Dr. Childs who told him that formerly all marriages were kin marriages and that patrilaterally one only married on 'the side of the basket' and matrilaterally only on 'the side of the bow'[4] [114] has led Professor Barnes to suggest[5] that the preferential marriages functioned as links between descent groups. Both Dr. Childs and myself, however, have found that 'the side of the bow' and 'the side of the basket' are simply synonyms for '*oluse*' and '*oluina*'.[6] Moreover, my informants did not confirm his statement since they denied the right of marriage with a father's sister, and the quantitative information shows that even in the past some marriages were with non-kinswomen, and that others were with categories of kin theoretically forbidden, so that, then as now, the preferential marriages were with distant kinswomen rather than with a specific category of kin.

If, however, kinship marriages in the past operated as they now do, it is difficult to see their relation to the patrilineal and matrilineal groups. A clue to a solution is surely given by the custom of 'cutting the blood', which destroyed kinship to begin affinity. Marriages were arranged, it may be suggested, with those people who were still just kin, and who probably often were also geographically as well as socially distant so that the number of ties outside the sub-chiefdom might be increased, a matter of importance for long-distance traders. Later, Portuguese rule made travel no longer dependent on such long range contacts. Meanwhile the disintegration of the agnatic residence

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[4] The exact words are 'Formerly people never married unless they were related, that is to say unless they touched the blood together. If in the mother's kin (*k'oluina*) only on the side of the bow (i.e. male line). If in the father's kin (*k'oluse*) only on the side of the basket (i.e. female line)'. See Childs, pp. 53–56.

[5] Review of Childs in *Man*, 1950, pp. 126–8.

[6] Dr. Childs was speaking to me apropos of Barnes's interpretation.

582 602 groups began to make the socio-geographical function of these marriages no longer the renewal of ties with distant kin but the holding together of the local community no longer held in the firm framework of the old local organization.

582 Several explanations can therefore be given for preferential marriages. From the point of view of the man making such a marriage there are economic advantages in the probably lower bridewealth and, formerly, the avoidance of the fine payable on the death of a non-related wife. The marriage itself is more likely to be stable, and a man's children are more likely to stay with him if they have other kin close at hand. The local mobility of the Ovimbundu to some extent assists marital stability, since a bride arriving in a village may well find there other kin than her husband and his relatives, and may find such relatives helpful to her.

From an observer's view-point, preferential marriage is important on the village and neighbourhood level by multiplying social links within them. Its importance for the kinship system lies in its giving significance to the distinction between kin and non-kin and in keeping kinsfolk together without either localization of kinship groups or villages with strong headmen.

2. *Husband, Wife, and Household*

836 684 Traditionally the Ovimbundu lived chastely till marriage, and there existed sanctions in the form of fines, alterations in the marriage ceremony, and mystically caused illness, against unchastity.[7] The force of these sanctions has weakened in modern times;[8] however, many Ovimbundu remain chaste until marriage.

582 The age of marriage is about twenty-two for a man, and about eighteen for a girl. In Gumba there is some tendency to marry younger at about 16–17. Villagers in Epalanga ascribed this to contract labour, that is, to the necessity of a contract labourer having to have someone to cook for him. This is a point which will be considered later in reference to the wife's services to her

[7] Hastings, p. 121. Childs, p. 113.

[8] Childs, loc. cit., and fieldwork.

582 husband. Another explanation is that this is a northern practice which has spread into Gumba.[9]

584 A young man who wishes to marry approaches the girl of his choice and asks her to marry him. He then asks her parents for their permission. The consent of both partners and of their parents is required now as in the past, though parental consent may often be evaded by running off to the towns and getting married there. After that negotiations are conducted with a senior kinsman as intermediary. Before the marriage can take 583 place, bridewealth must be paid over. It is this that gives the right to claim damages for adultery. When asked why bridewealth is paid, informants are likely to say that it compensates the father for the expense of the bringing up of his daughter.

[178] The amount of bridewealth paid has been rising. Two informants said that four yards (metres) of cloth and a bottle of rum formed the bridewealth in the time of the rubber trade. Others suggested as the bridewealth of that period a hoe and a few sleeping-mats. Alternatively seashells or even Portuguese coins, which were not then used in transactions among the Ovimbundu, were employed. These bridewealth objects were obtained from outside Umbundu country and had a certain rarity value, unlike the other objects which were very common. In the early thirties Hastings also mentioned the bridewealth as consisting of four yards of cloth, a bottle of rum, plus a kerchief given to her father's sister.[10] Money seems to have come in as a regular part of bridewealth about 1940.

When Cypriano married in 1949 Rosa, a sister's daughter, he paid 200 escudos (about £2. 10s.), a black cloth to her mother, and a small pig to her father. When Pedro Epalanga Chimbalanya married, near the Bimbe mission, in 1955 he paid 400 escudos, one cloth of six metres, a head cloth, a woman's blouse, and a bottle of rum. When in 1956 Daniel married Feliciana, a sister's daughter of Ndjoleya and his cross-cousin, he paid 400 escudos, whereas when Jose the son of Paulo married in the same year he paid 300 escudos also for a cross-cousin.

The bridewealth should be paid to the father. If however, a man has four daughters he will receive the bridewealth only for 583 the two oldest. The mother's brother will receive the bridewealth for the third sister and a brother for the fourth. If the father is dead, the payment is made to a mother's brother or a brother real or classificatory. To some extent the size of the bridewealth is a reflection of the status of the girl—thus on the railway line 1,000 escudos (£12. 10s.) might be paid for a girl who could read and write. In my own area a Gumba man might pay more for a girl from Ndjandju than for a Cela girl because Ndjandju is regarded, owing to its proximity to the mission, as being more civilized. There exist also counter-gifts. Ndjoleya, who as mother's brother received the bridewealth for Feliciana, gave a pig to Daniel, and it is customary for a pig to be given [431] to the husband by his wife's father on the birth of their first child.[11]

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[9] Explanation given by Padre Feltin.

[10] Hastings, p. 95.

The Umbundu word for marriage *oku kwela* is applied both 585 to customary marriage and to Christian marriage. To dis- 184 tinguish between the two, Portuguese words are taken over, *amigar* (originally, to live in concubinage) being used for the customary marriage, and *casar* (to marry) being used for marriage in church. The use of *amigar* of a particular marriage implies that the people making it are pagans, or Christians who have omitted the church ceremony for one reason or another. In Gumba the church marriage, while it gives status among Christians is not an important occasion in the local milieu, and people who have been through the church marriage but who have not made the *uvala*, the traditional wedding feast, are not permitted by their senior kin to cohabit. Around the mission the church ceremony is regarded as the important thing, and the *uvala* seems to be thought of simply as a party. Traditionally and usually at the present day the *uvala* is held in the dry season.

In the wedding feast there are a number of variations 585 between one occasion and another, but a general outline can

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[11] Hastings, p. 110, states that a year or two after the birth of the first child [606] another pig is given which is called the pig of cutting off. The giving and the accepting of this severes all responsibilities between the families. The women can no more be returned to her father's people for misdemeanour—only in the case of the death of her husband will she be taken back.

585 be described.[12] The bride, if she belongs to another village, will arrive in the evening accompanied by some girls who are kin to her. She sits down on the bed in the house of the bridegroom with her companions. A crowd of people of the village and neighbourhood dance in and about the hut and people come in to talk to the bride. The bridegroom may also come in and sit on the bed with friends, but he will not take any particular notice of his bride. The dancing will go on till well into the night. This usually happens on a Saturday night so that the main part of the festivity will fall on the Sunday which all Ovimbundu, Christian or pagan, observe as a day of rest.

On the Sunday morning little will happen, though there may be some dancing and the bride and her companions will comb one another's hair. In the afternoon (usually about four), the time being told by the sun, comes the procession and the feast. For the procession bride and bridegroom walk together, both dressed in as European style of clothing as can be obtained. The procession advances dancing and singing, with the exception of the bridegroom and bride whose sedateness is striking. On the way an archway may be erected, made of branches. Under this, concealed in a blanket, will be lying the father's sister or other senior kinswoman of the groom to whom he will make a present of money. Continuing, the couple will arrive at an enclosure built for the purpose with a wooden framework covered over on the sides with branches with leaves on and mats, where a table is laid in European style at which the customary Umbu-
[213] ndu food, mush made from maize flour, and relish (that is almost anything, meat or vegetables, which is not mush) is served. Others besides the bride and bridegroom are allowed into the enclosure—this is not a private rite. It is at this point that *oku fwikisa* takes place, that is, the feeding of affines to break down avoidances. Food is served to the guests on basket plates, one plate per village represented. The actual serving will be done by kinsmen or friends of the bridegroom. After the meal will come further dancing.

The next day a party of kin and fellow-villagers may set out

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[12] For accounts of the traditional marriage ceremony see Hastings, pp. 94–101 and R. K. Evambi. 'The Marriage Customs of the Ovimbundu', *Africa*, 1938, pp. 342–8.

for the bride's village. Here they may be greeted with formal 585
speeches of welcome in Portuguese, a usage copied from the
reception of missionaries.

One only turns up to a wedding if one has been invited, and not everybody who is a kinsman living in the neighbourhood is invited. Nor is there any marked distinction between kin and non-kin in the ceremony, except for the ending of avoidances and the recognition of the father's sister, who is recompensed for her services as nursemaid. Village membership is significantly recognized in the distribution of food, and the sending of the party to the bride's home to represent the bridegroom's village.

Umbundu marriage is virilocal, although a certain number of 591
marriages are within the village. Apart from such marriages, it
seems to be rare to find a man settling in a village because his
wife has kin there.

Although during the early months of the marriage the bride- 592
groom's mother may supervise the bride's work, the individual
household is essentially an independent unit[13] and was not even
in the past merged with other household units to form a 'grand-
family'. This independence is not isolation. I have only a very
few times seen houses with any sort of compound about them.
Much of domestic life, eating, working, resting, talking, may
be done out of doors in front of the house. Paying visits is a great 594
feature of village life especially when the day's work is over,
although there is also a term *oku pasula*, to visit in the morning,
referring to what are usually just short calls, involving the
exchange of greetings. Perhaps the opportunity of calling and
being called on is one of the factors maintaining the village as a
social unit. The idea that a man should not eat with his wife 264
still survives to some extent so that questions on this topic re-
ceive contradictory answers. Observation shows that even
among the men who travelled on the caravans, eating with one's
wife is the general practice.

One of the most striking features of Umbundu domestic life 593
is the close companionship which exists between husband and 178
wife and which is unquestionably a modern development.[14]

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[13] See Magyar, pp. 281–3.

[14] The role of the *Ondjango* as described by Childs and Hastings indicates that a man's normal companions both for eating and recreation were other men.

593 178 Going round the houses at night one meets in one house a man and his wife sitting together talking, in another a group of men and women sitting round a fire. This is a very definite change from traditional pattern of social life in which men and women sat in separate groups, a pattern which is still observed at funerals.[15] A man who has a case at the post is likely to take with him his wife as a witness. 593 A husband has the right to beat his wife, and she should show respect to him. In fact wife-beating is rare, and the relationship seems from observation to be often one of mutual affection and close companionship. Informants were divided as to whether one can joke with one's wife—some people may fear that she will cease to respect her husband if he jokes with her—but conversationally an Umbundu wife often seems to enjoy an easy familiarity with her husband. A wife may occasionally go and stay with her relatives, and in the neighbourhood she may pay calls on kinsfolk, friends, or co-villagers, without her husband. This contrasts with the way the white and mulatto wives of traders follow the custom of rural Portugal by staying more or less permanently in the house.

The wife has her own fields, and her own granary. If the marriage is polygamous, each wife has her field and granary. [241] Her husband may help her in her fields, although he also has fields of his own. [434] The maize in the husband's granary is sold to produce money to pay tax and to buy clothing for both husband and wife, and the maize in the wife's granary is used for food. If her husband is away a woman will buy her clothes from her own granary. The cooking of maize has not only a nutritive importance but also a social one since it is considered the service, which is specifically wifely. Thus, the explanation I was given 582 for the lower age of marriage emphasizes this—I should explain that people returning from contract labour are sent first to the post at which they were recruited and may have to do an additional fortnight's work there. 'It is because of the hardship.[16] In the past one married only when one was fully grown. Now it is necessary to have somebody who will send food to the post when you come back.' 'Perhaps,' I suggested, 'your mother

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[15] Childs, pp. 32, 35.

[16] *Okali*, a word often used with regard to administrative demands.

could send food.' 'Perhaps your mother is dead, and she has to 592
think of your father.' A man should not cook for himself in a village, by a rule of convention which has no sanction attached, 462
although he may do so when away working.

Clearing fields, house-building, and thatching are men's work, as are brick-making, fishing, hunting, mat-making, sewing, and woodwork. Beer-brewing, cooking, maize-pounding, and water and firewood gathering are women's work. Men and women can work together in most forms of agriculture, sowing, hoeing, harvesting, feeding small stock and treating tobacco. The division of labour is based on ideas of what is natural and fitting, not on any sanctions, mystical or otherwise. Nor is the division always strictly observed. A man may fetch water if his wife is ill, or simply away visiting relatives, and I have seen an adolescent boy pounding out maize on a pounding-block.

A man should look after his sick wife. There is a song which 593
is sung about the married couples of the village, each being named in turn, which tells how the husband went to the post and his wife climbed a tree to get some fruit down. She fell down and hurt herself and then wailed because there was nobody to look after her. A woman who is ill for some time will return to her kin to get better.

The husband does not attend his wife's funeral, but washes 764
himself all over, and then has to lie down asleep, or as if sleeping, during the funeral. Grains of maize and other crops may be, but are not always, even at pagan funerals, thrown over a woman's coffin as it is taken to the cemetery. A man should leave his old home when his wife dies, although this rule is [768]
neglected nowadays, certainly by the owners of brick houses. After a year or two, a widower should *oku wonga*, pile up stones on his wife's grave, a duty which has behind it a vague mystical sanction of illness. The widow of a hunter should be buried beside her husband even though after his death she has married again.[17]

A widow may marry again about six months after the funeral. 587
The exception to this is the *inakulu*, the chief's main wife. Formerly, it was permitted for a widow to marry her husband's

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[17] A case of this occurred during my stay.

587 patrilateral cross-cousin, the reason for this being apparently
to enable him to look after the children. Other marriages of a
widow with her dead husband's kin were and are forbidden
[684] under pain of mystical sanctions. Thus, marriage with one's
dead wife's sister would lead to the latter's death through her
sister's spirit. Illness or death was suggested as the penalty for
marriage with a mother's brother's widow, although I know of
two cases of such marriages happening. The reason for this
prohibition against any marriage by a widow or widower with
the kin of a deceased spouse is given as being that it is wrong to
mix the blood.

684 Adultery is subject to mystical sanctions in the illness called
ondjamba which seems to involve swelling of the legs. This
afflicts not the guilty party but the other spouse (whether
husband or wife) and the children.[18] I was also told by some
informants that this illness affected the other spouse if there
were no children; if there were children adultery would endanger
their lives and the life of the innocent spouse. Some
[183] people do not believe in this nowadays; however the line
between believers and non-believers cannot be equalled with
that between pagan and Christian or old and young. It is of
course impossible to say how frequent adultery is in any community.
Informants complain of the frequency of adultery. It
should be noted that public opinion seems to condemn it
strongly, and men who have discovered their wives being
unfaithful usually send them away. The adulterer has to pay a
heavy fine, assuming that he does not move away. The usual
figure given for a fine was two cattle and a big pig, though in
practice the fine would be smaller; in one case in 1948 it was
200 escudos (£2 10s.) and a pig. The word for the man who
commits adultery with one's wife, or who marries one's ex-wife,
is *tjikwelume* (he of jealousy) a word already referred to in the
account of the kinship terminology. There is a rule against
eating with him and if one goes to his funeral it is said that one's
own death will soon follow. There is a similar rule against a
woman eating with the wife of a man with whom she has committed
adultery.

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[18] For a detailed discussion of this concept, see Hastings, pp. 111–25. It is not nowadays believed that it afflicts people guilty of pre-marital sexual relations.

Marriages may also be ended by the wife leaving her husband. 586 This may be the consequence of quarrels; however at times a woman may just run off without any apparent reason. Her husband may go to her kin and bring her back or may just get married again—such an episode may occur after many years of a marriage which has previously appeared happy. People 587 who have been married previously can be married again according to the pattern described previously. Middle-aged and elderly people would leave out the festivities and would just have the meal together, or simply count themselves as married by the payment of the bridewealth.

There does exist a formal ceremony of divorce in which 586 maize flour is smeared on the upper part of the face by the husband, and this will take place in the presence of representatives of the wife's kin. A man will do this when his wife has shown herself disrespectful to him or has quarrelled with his kin or her co-wife. As the Ovimbundu regard marriage as 581 being for the procreation of children, a barren wife should be, 842 they say, sent away but often in practice this is not done, if the wife is otherwise satisfactory.

Legally, the Portuguese administration recognizes both the 582 customary marriage and the Catholic marriage ceremony. The Catholic missions report to the post people who, having been married in church, then make customary marriages, and these may be subjected to such sanctions as being sent to contract labour. The Protestant church marriages are not apparently legally recognized but they are subject to the authority of the Protestant church courts which grant divorces on certain grounds. The *chefe de posto* on his annual visit to take the check on the census may get angry with polygynists, but in fact no very effective administrative action exists with regard to indigenous marriage.

The motives given for polygynous marriage are the desire 595 to have many children and (in the case of a chief) the need to have cooks to provide hospitality for guests. Large-scale polygyny is thought to be rather funny; I was told, as something amusing, that the former chief Mbati had 17 wives. Kafelo, the former chief of Gumba, had 6 wives, the highest number of continuing polygynous marriages I found. In Epalanga out of

595 17 married men, 5 were polygynists. It is a common practice for a man with two wives to keep one in one village, another in another. Relations between co-wives are expected to be somewhat strained, as the very word for co-wife, *osepekai* (she of the jealousy of women) indicates. When I asked if a woman would help a co-wife who had run short of grain I was told that she would not help but would jeer at the other woman. There is no defined division of duties between wives in a polygynous household. It is interesting to note that the missions are not criticized for imposing monogamy—indeed the Catholic catechist of Epalanga thought he had found a good argument against the Protestants by accusing them sincerely but inaccurately of allowing polygynous marriages. The idea of Catholic marriage as indissoluble is difficult for many Ovimbundu converts.

592 While the most common form of household is that of the elementary family, the fact that not all widows or divorcées are absorbed into such households leads to the appearance of households under women heads of which there were 9 (out of a total of 36) in Epalanga. Such a household may be two- (mother, children) or three-generation groups (grandmother, daughter(s), grandchildren). Of these 9 households 2 were composed of a grandmother, who was effective head of the household, her children, and the children of a daughter; 1 was similarly composed but with the grandmother rather pushed into the background as in households with male heads; 3 were composed of women and their own child, or children; 1 was composed of a woman and a grandchild; and 2 consisted of women living alone. The adolescent sons of such a household will tend to become associated with the house of some male kinsman, probably a mother's brother. It is not always clear to what extent individuals associated with a particular household in fact participate in its activities. Thus it is not infrequent to find the elderly mother of the husband or wife living in a hut of her own behind the main hut or huts of the household, and in Epalanga there were four of these attached mothers. They do not exercise any authority over their sons, or sons-in-law.[19]

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[19] Tumbu, the mother of Maria, the wife of Paulo (24), and of Jaime (19) lived in a hut near both households, and it would have been difficult to say to which she was attached, to her son's, or her son-in-law's.

At the other end of the age-scale it is not easy always to tell 592
to what household a child is attached. Small children may often 264
eat with kin other than their own parents if they like them and thus share in the lives of two households. Children and adolescents may go on visits to kin and this may lead to permanent residence. This familiarity with other households is not confined to children. Although, as has been stated, eating with one's wife is the usual practice, it is by no means uncommon to see two or more men eating together, either because the wife of one of them is away or simply to be sociable.

This right of children to move about, coupled with such 591
other factors[20] as the relatively high divorce rate, tends to bring about quite a high proportion of children who live with kin other than their own parents. Out of 70 under 20's in Epalanga (out of a total population of 148), 34 had both parents living in Epalanga,[21] 23 had one parent living in Epalanga and 13 had neither parent living in Epalanga. Of the 23 who had only one parent living in Epalanga, 7 lived with their father and 16 with their mother. Those 7 living with their father were all over 14, thus confirming the norm given by informants that young children on the death of the mother go to their mother's kin until they 'have sense', that is, are about 12 or 13, when they return to their father. Of the 13 who were living with neither parent, 2 (boys) were living with a cross-cousin (father's sister's son, for whom the term 'father' can be used), 1 (boy) with a patrilateral 'father,' 2 (1 girl, 1 small boy) with a mother's mother, 4 (3 boys, 1 girl) with a sister's husband, 1 (boy) with a paternal half-brother, 1 with a fiancé's father, 1 (boy) with a mother's brother, and on 1 (girl) I have no information.

These figures are too small to base any very strong argument on them. It is, however, notable that only 1 of the 12 children on whom information was obtained was living with a mother's brother, whereas 4 were living with a brother-in-law. This seems to conflict with statements made earlier as to the present-day trend of individuals to settle with their mother's brothers.

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[20] Childs notes about the traditional system that the sending of children to stay with kin or friends for a year or two was common (pp. 104-5).

[21] This figure includes one case where although both parents lived in Epalanga they were separated.

604 This strong pull towards the mother's brother is, however,
marked on the level of village relationships as has been already
noted. It is possible that with regard to co-operation on the
[607] domestic plane the tie between a man and his wife's full or half
siblings is stronger than that with his sister's children. This
607 argument would claim that the tie created by marriage be-
tween a man and his wife's full or half siblings is one of the
strongest in the Umbundu social structure, and as a further
proof (albeit not quantitively assessed) may be quoted the
frequency with which two households close together turn out
to belong to a man and his wife's brother.

582
602 In the first section of this chapter it was argued that the high
rate of preferential marriages greatly increased the number of
social ties between individuals in a neighbourhood, and brought
a renewal of ties with distant kin. In this section various aspects
593 of the relationship between husband and wife have been ex-
amined. Husband and wife co-operate economically and out-
side working hours may pass their evenings together. In a dis-
pute taken to the post a man is likely to take his wife as a
witness. Mystically sanctioned obligations do exist between
husband and wife. While the elementary family is the main
592 domestic type, households headed by women are also found and
there is a certain amount of mobility of children between
households. The tie of a man with his wife's siblings, particu-
[607] larly when they are children, is significant for the domestic
organization of households.

582
602 Marriage is indeed the pivotal institution of the Umbundu
kinship system. The preferential marriages do not link descent
621 groups to one another; rather they bring about the local con-
centration of kin which makes out of many vague and insecure
links a strongly-woven community in which both husband and
wife can live with relatives near at hand.

593 Of the personal relationship between husband and wife it
would be impossible to say as an anthropologist has of another
African people, 'Here people looked for little in marriage. A
man would turn to his sixteenth cousin twice removed before
he turned to his wife.'[22] A man shares with his wife his work and
leisure, is linked to her by mystical obligations which are not

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[22] Elenore Smith Bowen, *Return to Laughter*, London, 1954, p. 117.

ended by her death, and can rely on her testimony in a case. 582
Even though adultery is reputedly frequent it is deplored and,
as will be shown in a discussion of disputes, a man's hostility to [837]
another will be ascribed to thwarted lust for the latter's wife.
The conjugal bond is the closest social relation that can exist between adults, and therefore the very type of personal enmity is provided by the adulterer or would-be adulterer.

I am here emphasizing the factors which strengthen the 582
conjugal bond; at the end of the previous chapter I emphasized
the strength which the brother-sister tie possessed under changed 602
conditions. The balance between these two ties is to be seen in 178
the way in which a man and his wife's brother are often next door neighbours and the best of friends. It may be suggested that this balance reflects the part-peasant part-proletarian condition of the Ovimbundu, the emergence of the conjugal family with its importance as the working team for the cultivation of cash crops, and the 'reshaping of' the brother-sister tie with the absence of husbands as labourers. It seems probable from the example of the substantial coffee-growers that had the Ovimbundu become full-time cultivators there would have been a strong trend towards isolated households and the weakening of the 'neo-matrilineal' pull which operates in the villages.

It is then the marriage tie which holds the vague, amorphous, kinship system together; it is against this vagueness that the marriage bond appears as the closest and most definite relation that can exist between two adults; and the change-over from trade to an economy based on wage-labour and cash agriculture has been accompanied by a transition from a double-descent kinship system to one in which the emergence of the elementary family co-exists with a certain pull towards matrilineal kin.

CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL CONTROL

1. *Introduction*

121 626 In this chapter I shall describe and analyse three disputes which reveal the working of social control in present-day Umbundu society. The first dispute is between an elder of the school and a government headman, the second is between a traditional headman and a villager with the intervention of a local self-styled *assimilado*[1], and the third arose from a quarrel between an irregularly installed chief and a traditional headman.

[178] The points which it is hoped will arise from the analysis of the material are the disappearance or extreme weakness of the traditional institutions of social control, the way in which the Ovimbundu appeal to the members of the 'civilized' community for decisions or support in cases, and how kinship ties affect the relations between persons involved in a dispute.

2. *Guilherme and Paulo*

578 The parties principally involved in the first dispute were Paulo (24. See List of Epalanga residents), the elder of the school at Epalanga, and his cross-cousin Guilherme (see List II, p. 55), a government headman then living in Epalanga, Francisco, a son of the former chief Mbati and wife's brother to Paulo, and Sapapula (10), the headman and reputed founder of Epalanga. The sequence of the dispute is first a quarrel between Paulo and Guilherme. Guilherme then attacks Paulo through his wife's brother Francisco. This brings about a general attack

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[1] The fact that Justino was not actually an *assimilado*[2] is not relevant, since he used the belief of the local people that he was.

[2] [assimilado is an African possessing Portuguese citizenship -- Analyst]

by the people under Paulo's leadership on Guilherme's position. 578 Guilherme counter-attacks by using his relationship with the post but finds himself forced to seek a reconciliation with the people of Epalanga.

The quarrel had begun with the proposed marriage of Anna, a step-daughter of Guilherme, and a member of his household, to Luciano, a son of the former chief Simbwyikoka and an inhabitant of the latter's village. Guilherme had no effective religious affiliation but Anna had been baptized as a Catholic, her godmother being Maria, the wife of Paulo. Luciano on the other hand was the elder of the Protestant catechetical school in Simbwyikoka village. Paulo therefore intervened to stop the marriage in accordance with the rule made by the Catholic [582] missions against marriage with non-Catholics. Guilherme, angry at this, decided to pick on Pedro Nendi (see List II, p. 55) and Francisco Lyonjanga, sons of Mbati, and therefore wife's brothers to Paulo. Pedro Nendi had been at one time a Catholic catechist but had since been dismissed. Francisco was at the time of my arrival in Epalanga moving out of his village to s[illegible]le near Pedro in a hamlet near the village. He worked as assistant to Abel Pinheiro, an African carpenter, who lived a little further along the road to Chicunda and who was employed by a white living elsewhere. Guilherme accordingly reported to the post that the two brothers had never gone to [648] contract labour and got a policeman to come with an order for them to be brought to the post for contract labour. The policeman arrived and got Francisco, but Pedro was away visiting relatives at Nova Lisboa. Francisco then claimed that he was in fact employed by a white and was therefore exempt from contract labour. At that time Antonio Pires, an African priest from the *Missão Católica de Bimbe*, was visiting Epalanga as part of a tour through the villages. Accordingly, on the morning of the 16th January 1956, Francisco came to my house where the priest had been breakfasting with me, and stated his case. This action brought the dispute between Guilherme and Paulo for the first time within the sphere of a representative of the civilized community. The priest told Francisco to get a letter from his employer to the post. Francisco duly arrived at the post with a letter, but forgot to bring his

578 pass[2] and was sent to contract labour. The *chefe* apparently informed his employer that he could get other carpenters from the post.

Paulo, then acting in his official capacity as elder of the school, had intervened in a projected marriage in which Guilherme had received the bridewealth. Guilherme, acting in his official capacity, had attacked Paulo's wife's brothers Francisco and Pedro. The dispute had now been brought within [797] the sphere of the mission (as represented by the priest Antonio [648] Pires) and of the administration which had ordered the recruitment of the two men. The conflict between Guilherme and Paulo was now to widen out to include several other people.

On the 21st January the strain between Guilherme and Paulo showed itself again in violent quarrelling, from which I learnt about the broken engagement of Anna. Paulo said that he would refer the matter to Antonio Pires when the priest came back.

On the morning of the 24th the question was brought before Antonio Pires, the catechist Pedro Chiquete Santos (35), Paulo, and Guilherme all speaking in turn. Then other people raised their grievances. Sapapula declared that Guilherme was the enemy of everybody in the village. A man called Kasosi (7), a sister's son of Wasuka (15), stepped forward to claim that Guilherme had attacked him and injured him. Apparently [273] Guilherme, while having illicit rum in his own house, had beaten up Kasosi for possessing rum. Both Maria, Paulo's wife, and Nahoka, Sapapula's wife, joined in the argument. The only man who seemed in any way favourable to Guilherme was Kapapelo (see List II, p. 55), a mother's brother of his, who was also a 'brother' of Lusase (see List II, p. 55). Antonio Pires came down heavily against Guilherme, at which the latter declared that he owed obedience only to the post and ran off.

Towards the end of the argument Luciano (the former fiancé of Anna) and Jeremias (the Protestant catechist from Simbwyikoka) came to the priest to ask for the repayment of the bridewealth.

On the 25th Lusase, the chief of Gumba, happened to visit

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[648] [2] The legal obligation for natives to possess passes is not enforced with the zeal which applies in South Africa.

Epalanga. Told what had happened, he said that he would 578 keep out of it, and that he had advised Guilherme to live elsewhere. In the afternoon of the same day, as heavy rain was falling, a number of people ran up and bounded on to my veranda. These included Anna, another girl (I think a sister of hers) both rather frightened, Simbwyikoka, Luciano, Paulo and some others. Anna said that Simbwyikoka was a sorcerer[3] and [254] would kill her, and sooner than be killed by sorcery she would [762] jump in the river. Simbwyikoka and Luciano had come to [583] Epalanga to try and recover the 250 escudos which had been paid over in bridewealth. The catechist tried to intervene saying 'The catechist is the chief[4] of everybody in the village', but nobody paid any attention to him. Eventually, as the girl continued to threaten to jump in the river, I contributed 200 escudos, and so those involved left satisfied.

Early the following day I heard that Guilherme had returned 578 from the post with two policemen to arrest various people. 148 Those arrested were Sapapula, his cross-cousins Epalata (5), and Wasuka, and the latter's son Kuseka, Kasosi, Paulo, Pedro the catechist, Bartolomeu (32), Paulo's assistant in school matters, and his son Eugenio. Eugenio and Kuseka were arrested for not paying taxes and their fathers were arrested presumably for their supposed responsibility. Epalata was arrested for a similar alleged offence on the part of one of his sons, who was away as a labourer.

When I came to Guilherme's house a lengthy wrangle was 578 going on from which I select some themes. Guilherme denied that he had planned to burn the catechetical school, the anthropologist's house, and his own house. (These charges were almost certainly invented.)

Paulo said that he had baptized a dying son of Guilherme, who, despite this, had not shown him any respect. He also denied that he had committed adultery with Guilherme's wife. (This would in any case be most unlikely owing to Paulo's blindness, resulting from an eye disease.)

Sapapula declared angrily: 'I gave Guilherme land here but

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[3] This accusation was regarded simply as the product of fear and nothing more was heard of it.

[4] He used the word applied to chiefs of Gumba and other sub-chiefdoms.

578 Guilherme isn't grateful'—(then to Guilherme) 'I did no harm, I gave you everything, and you beat me.' This arguing eventually died down.

A little later another quarrel sprang up between Wasuka, and Kapapelo, Guilherme's mother's brother and witness. Wasuka declared that Kapapelo had committed adultery with his wife and must be killed. Kapapelo indignantly denied this.

The same day the catechist went to the mission to find the priest Antonio Pires to ask him to support the case against Guilherme. He returned to say that Padre Pires had been moved to the Bailundo Mission, but that he had been given a letter from the mission to the post setting out the case.

Guilherme in the evening came to my house to pay back the 200 escudos which I had paid to Simbwyikoka for the bridewealth given for Anna. He had raised the 200 escudos from Paulo (his cross-cousin) and from Bartolomeu (his 'brother'), both of whom were under arrest (although free to walk about the village) through Guilherme's actions.

The following day (27th January) the policeman moved off with Guilherme and the others, Bartolomeu, Eugenio, Epalata, Wasuka, Kuseka, Kasosi, Paulo, Pedro Chiquete Santos (the catechist) and Sapapula.

About noon the next day I found that Paulo and the catechist had returned to Epalanga and heard from them what had happened. On the way Guilherme had declared that his violent temper was to blame in having so many people arrested, apologized, and promised to go to another village. He pulled
[762] out a knife and threatened to commit suicide if this proposal was not accepted. This appeal was directed mainly to the catechist, and was reinforced by Guilherme's wife, who also threatened suicide and appealed to the catechist's feelings by pointing out that she had had two of her children baptized. This was accepted, and accordingly all turned back to the village except for Guilherme, Bartolomeu, his son Eugenio, and Wasuka's son Kuseka. Eugenio and Kuseka had been arrested
[648] for not paying taxes, a matter of more interest to the *chefe* than the village brawl for which the others had been arrested. Eugenio and Kuseka were considered by the *chefe* not to be yet old enough for payment of tax, and Guilherme produced some

story to explain the non-appearance of the others which satisfied 578 the *chefe*.

The catechist was somewhat criticized for not having pushed 627 on with the case, and thereby perhaps getting Guilherme landed in jail. Guilherme did move out of the village in February and settled near the outskirts of the Protestant village of Kalungwengwe. Kapapelò also set about moving out of Epalanga.

In the conflict which has just been described, there are three 578 disputes, the question of the bridewealth which involved Luciano, Simbwyikoka, Guilherme, and the anthropologist, the quarrel between Paulo and Guilherme, and the subsequent uprising against Guilherme which takes its signal from Paulo's reference of the dispute to the priest.

The question of bridewealth repayment is subordinate to, 627 indeed enclosed within, the main dispute. It does illustrate one point central to the problem of Umbundu social control, the absence of any court machinery. Jeremias and Luciano had tried to recover it by appealing to the priest; later Luciano and Simbwyikoka attempted to get it back by coming and demanding it, that is by self-help. Another extremely significant aspect 578 of the social structure is revealed by this 'enclosed' case. 602 Guilherme after a bitter dispute with Paulo which has ended in the arrest of Paulo and Bartolomeu borrows 200 escudos from them as a kinsman. This indicates that kinship ties can survive and function despite a quarrel which they do not check or prevent, a point which will be developed later in an examination of how kinship affects and is affected by a dispute.

The conflict cannot be viewed as simply a dispute between 578 individuals, nor as a dispute between the holders of opposed 571 roles. Guilherme was generally regarded as lacking 'sense' [577] (*olondunge*), the quality, greatly admired by the Ovimbundu, of good judgement and decent social behaviour, and he confessed himself to be at fault. Yet he could not have acted in the way he did unless he had been a government headman, nor would the uprising against him have taken the form it did had he not held an office dependent on the post. There is, however, no necessary conflict between a government headman and the catechist or

578 elder of the school in the sense that there is no sphere where
571 their duties overlap and where they must compete.

571 The roles of government headmen and of officials of the
622 school are complementary. It is through the chief and the
government headman that the Ovimbundu pay their taxes and
fines, are recruited as contract labourers and are called to road
service, are arrested for crimes and misdemeanours and are
entered on official records. It is through the catechists and
571 elders of the school that the Ovimbundu find the expression of
797 village unity by which at the same time they are linked to the
whites and to the rest of the world on the religious level. The missions bring the Ovimbundu closer to the whites than does the administration, without the administration's predominant interest in making demands.[5]

571 While at the level of the total Angolan political system the
797 administration is more powerful than the missions, the position
622 of the catechist or elder of the school is stronger at the local
level because the catechist and the elder represent the catechetical
school which is the only social grouping existing on a
village basis, whereas the government headman in fact represents
no social group but is simply an executant of the orders of
the *chefe*. Hence the catechist owing to this representative role
627 and to his contact with the mission (which is much closer than
797 that of the government headman) can lead the people and
622 invoke the aid of the mission against abuses on the part of
571 chiefs or government headmen. This would not be the case if the
post gave firm backing to its local agents and turned a deaf ear to communications from the missions. Opposition to an overbearing government headman is then likely to be led by the leaders of the 'school', who can count on the backing of the mission, if they have a good case, to intervene for them at the post. The relative importance in a village of the catechist and elder of the school varies according to such factors as personality. The way in which the catechist was ignored when he tried to intervene in the dispute over the bridewealth shows that the catechist cannot claim authority in disputes as a matter of course.

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[5] The missions impose fees and a yearly levy on their adherents which are small compared to the official taxes.

SOCIAL CONTROL

The transformation of the dispute between Guilherme and 627
Paulo into what amounted to both a trial of, and an uprising 797
against, the government headman is not purely accidental but 622
is a natural consequence of the principle latent in the social 571
organization by which the 'school' leaders complement and
can check the chief and government headman.

The case also indicates the limited nature of their roles. Both Paulo (by preventing Anna's marriage) and Guilherme (by getting Francisco sent to contract labour) can strike at the other through the lawful exercise of their authority; any real attack on the other's position involves an appeal to either mission or post, and hence brings about a trial of some sort. Guilherme finding that the quasi-trial before the priest went against him, tried to bring the case before the post, but realizing that this also was likely to go against him came to terms with his enemies. That is, any determined attempt to solve a dispute is likely to involve at least the threat of a reference to the post or the mission.

The power of the priest to intervene in the actions of the 627
agents of the post is limited. Thus Antonio Pires did not 797
intervene in the case of Francisco but advised him to get a 571
letter from his employer. It is, however, notable that the
missionaries are not simply appealed to by Catholics. Protestants
like Jeremias and Luciano, and pagans like Kasosi and
Sapapula, were ready to appeal to the priest although the
initiative came from Paulo. That this is so is a convincing
argument for the claim which has been made that the catechetical
school represents the whole village, although it could
also be claimed that it reflects rather an aspect of 'civilized'- [648]
native relations in the total Angolan system, clientship, as the
typical form of relations between the two groups, with the
missions being the patrons *par excellence* to whom all natives are
at least potentially clients. The general well-being of all natives
is the concern of the missions, who are therefore liable to be
appealed to in such cases as this.

In particular cases where there is another patron to appeal 627
to his aid will be sought. This patron-client situation will crop 148
up again in the account of subsequent disputes. Its origin 571
historically lies in the history of attitudes to employees and to

627 servants in Portugal and Angola;[*] sociologically it reflects the
648 lack of any system of bureaucratic administration at the local
571 level and the isolation of the *chefes* from the people. The uncertainties of taking a case to the post are such that it is thought desirable to have some backing (such as the letter the catechist got from the mission) from a representative of the 'civilized' community and in the absence of any other 'civilized' person the mission becomes the patron of all natives, whatever their religious allegiance.

578 The importance of this case, then, is its illustration of what
627 may happen in a conflict between a catechist or elder of the
571 school and a government headman. The limited nature of their powers, and the fact that their roles are not competitive, make a conflict between them, so long as it is not extended to pull in other people, necessarily confined to indirect attacks. If either party wishes to bring down the other he must appeal to the post or to the mission. The government headman can pull people in by accusing them at the post of not paying taxes or creating a disturbance, or by recommending them for contract labour. His position is not so strong as his dependence on the post might suggest, since the intervention of the mission, at the request of the villagers, can bring him down.

Within this main 'political' dispute is the quarrel over bridewealth, which is illuminating both in indicating the absence of legal mechanisms at the village level, and in showing how kinship ties continue to function at the height of a bitter quarrel. Both these points will be noticed again in the accounts of later disputes.

3. *Kapapelo and Sapapula*

578 The next case involved Sapapula and Kapapelo and was
627 again to end in an averted appeal to the *chefe do posto*. On the 21st of February Sapapula, Sahuke (see List II, p. 56), Wasuka, Luanga (21), and others went from Epalanga to the house of Justino, who had called them there to settle a dispute. Justino

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[*] An inhabitant of Lisbon, wishing to emigrate to Canada, wooed the maid of a former official of the British Embassy. Discovering that this would get him nowhere, he transferred his affections to the maid of one of the staff of the American Embassy. The implications are interesting.

was a man of fifty or more, who lived in Portuguese style making 578
money from coffee and other crops. He claimed to be an 627
assimilado (African with the status of a Portuguese citizen) but in actual fact he was not one. He had employed a man called Kusumula, who lived in Epalanga and was the brother of Kapapelo's wife.

To appreciate the point of Justino's complaint, it is necessary 578
to explain the significance of certain terms indicative of ethnic 554
and social status. Otjimbundu is the singular of Ovimbundu, a [101]
people defined by the use of the Umbundu language. It is also used to refer to any black person (thus I was often asked whether there were Ovimbundu [i.e. Africans] in England), and is therefore equivalent to the Portuguese *preto* (black), which when used of a person has a rather pejorative sense like 'native' in other parts of Africa. Livingstone, writing a hundred years ago, remarks of one area in Angola; 'The people under him (the chief) are divided into a number of classes. . . . They are also divided into gentlemen and little gentlemen, and, though quite black, speak of themselves as white men and of the others, who may not wear shoes, as "blacks".'[7] Justino's complaint was that Sapapula had referred to him as a *preto qualquer* or in Umbundu (Sapapula did not speak Portuguese), *otjimbundu tjango*, a mere black.

Justino delivered a speech when the people from Epalanga 578
had settled on the veranda of his house in which he declared 627
with much force that he was not an Otjimbundu '*Ame siitjimbunduko.*' This accusation was based on information given him by Kusumula, who alleged that Sapapula had said to government headmen that Kusumula could be recruited for road work, as he worked not for a white (a term applied also to *assimilados*) but for a mere black.

I give the main lines of the ensuing argument. Sapapula denied that he had called Justino a black. Kusumula claimed that Sapapula was always picking on him. Sapapula declared that he had founded the village, and that Kusumula wanted to break it up. Kapapelo said that he had at one time given medicine to a girl and Sapapula had told Jaime to kill him because he might have seduced her. Kutenga Lusase, the chief

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[7] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches*, p. 411.

578 of Gumba who had also turned up, intervened and denounced
627 Kusumula for not wishing to work for the post, and then brought the case back to Sapapula's alleged slander of Justino. The latter intervened again here to say that he had been slandered. Sapapula, by now very excited, denied this and said that Kusumula and Kapapelo wanted to break up the village. This was followed by three people trying to talk at once. Justino strolled round to the back of his house. Sapapula and Kapapelo wrangled.

Justino was not the only person to find this tedious. Paulo suggested that we should go. Kapapelo complained that Saviel, a sister's son of Sapapula, had made advances to his wife. Sapapula continued to declare that Kapapelo must not break up the village. Kutenga Lusase criticized Kapapelo for not working for the post. Gonçalve (18) intervened to refer back to the visit of the priest, Antonio Pires, and said that he had left with the words (i.e. he had come to a decision). Gonçalve was a pagan. The wrangling continued until Justino returned, told Sapapula not to insult him again and not to be angry with Kusumula. Sapapula said that Kusumula had left the village (Epalanga) and so would not be needed for the post again (that is, Sapapula would not be any longer responsible for him), and that he had never been angry with Kapapelo. Nahoka, Sapapula's wife, said that Kapapelo was not *ukwafeka* 'a man of the country'. Justino then dismissed the gathering, telling Sapapula to buy a bottle of wine for the elders who had come with him.

Kapapelo and Kusumula were not connected with the post as Guilherme was, nor with the mission as Paulo was. Kusumula was the employee of Justino and had thus an opportunity to appeal to him by accusing Sapapula of denying his status. It is not particularly significant whether Sapapula had actually said this or not. The accusation is important since it is a reflection of a common Umbundu way of attacking one's enemies, by accusing them of some offence against a 'civilized' person. Thus, to refer back to the earlier dispute between Paulo and Guilherme, the latter found it necessary to deny that he had planned to set fire to the catechetical school and the anthropologist's house, charges which were intended to weigh heavily with the *chefe*. Hence, when a quarrel between natives comes to a civilized

578 627 person, it is likely that the details will be re-organized to gain his attention and support.

627. It is also notable that Sapapula was ready to accept Justino's right to hold a case on the matter. The acceptance and even readiness (as appears later) on Sapapula's part that Justino should hear cases is partly again a result of the lack of any legal machinery on the village level, partly an aspect of the 'patron-client' situation which has so often marked 'civilized'-native relations in Angola. No doubt much in Justino's behaviour arose from the taste he showed at times for settling cases, which led to a certain number of local cases being referred to him, and his readiness to settle them may not have been particularly common among *assimilados*.

578 627 Much of the actual case consisted of accusations and counter-accusations between Sapapula and Kapapelo with other people intervening. There is a kind of attempt to establish a balance of wrongs, Kusumula claiming that Sapapula was always picking on him when there was a call for labour from the post, Kapapelo accusing Sapapula of inciting Jaime to kill him and Sapapula's sister's son Saviel of planning to seduce his wife. Sapapula had accused Kusumula and Kapapelo of trying to break the village. Lusase intervened rather against Kusumula and Kapapelo, who was his 'brother'. As previously, the demands of the post for labour are regarded as being used by their local executants in a discriminating way.

578 [262] [554] On the evening of the same day, as I was calling round the village, I found Kapapelo at the door of Sapapula's kitchen. Apparently he had arrived drunk and had threatened to kill himself. Sapapula was greatly enraged at this, as were his women folk, Nahoka, his wife, Wumba, his daughter, and Nayangu, his 'sister', who vigorously abused Kapapelo. They warned Sapapula not to accept food from Kapapelo, lest the latter use it as a means of sorcery. Kapapelo complained that Nahoka had called him a slave thus expanding the hint contained in her previous enigmatic remark that Kapapelo was not a man of the country.

627 On the next day, Wednesday the 22nd, Sapapula had intended to go again to Justino's to settle his case with Kapapelo, but there was a funeral to which a large number of people went.

627 Moreover, Justino did not want to bother any more with the case, and said that anybody who went on with it was just vindictive. It had been proposed to hold a moot at Sapapula's house, but this was impracticable as Kapapelo would not come. Accordingly, on the afternoon of the 23rd February, a number of people gathered at Kapapelo's house. The gathering at first consisted of Sapapula, Sahuke, and Kafelo (the former chief) who sat close together joined by the anthropologist and his interpreter Pedro Chimbalanya Epalanga, two men from Menga, one of them a son of Sapapula, Nahoka, Nayangu, and Wumba respectively (as previously mentioned), Sapapula's wife, 'sister', and daughter, Lusase the *de facto* chief of Gumba, Ngombe the Mwekalia at his court, Alexandro a son of Mwehombo, temporarily visiting Epalanga, and four people from Ndjoleya's end of Epalanga, Augusto (25) (grandson-in-law of Sapapula), Costa (26), Ferreira (28), and Filemeno, who later moved to Belem. Other people turned up later, including Ndjoleya (30) himself. My point in quoting these names is to show that the crowd which turned up to the moot was not composed either of Sapapula's kin or of his co-villagers as exclusive groups.

Lusase was not received with any great respect, but bowed low to Kafelo. Ngombe explained that he had been invited as a guest.[8] Sapapula explained to Ngombe what had happened at Justino's. By this time Epalata, Luanga, Paulo, and Wasuka had arrived. Sapapula alleged that Kapapelo had wanted to seduce Nahoka, but that she had refused, and that Kapapelo had then wanted to kill him so that he could then obtain Nahoka. The conversation between Kapapelo and Nahoka had been in the woods so that he had no witnesses. Sapapula, who was now very angry, finished his speech by declaring that he had given land to Kapapelo. Meanwhile more people arrived.

Ngombe now spoke discussing the evidence and summing up very much against Kapapelo. Lusase spoke, avoiding the

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[8] On another occasion, three elders from Gumba (one of them [illegible]) were invited to Chicunda to arbitrate a case. Ngombe's appearance here in fact was not significant, except perhaps as showing the discrepancy between ideas about cases and the reality.

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question of Kapapelo's intention towards Nahoka, but criticized Kapapelo for reopening his quarrel with Sapapula. Kapapelo (who did not strike me as particularly intelligent) was wandering about more or less ignoring the criticisms which had been made of him, which greatly annoyed the assembly. At length, Kapapelo, urged to speak by Lusase, did so.

[624]

Kapapelo stated that he had committed adultery with Nahoka, Sapapula's wife, and asked to be fined for adultery. This created a fresh uproar. Nahoka got up and said that the question was within the competence of Lusase since he and not Kafelo was now the chief. She denied that she had committed adultery. As evidence against this, she pointed out that Kapapelo's wife had visited her house to eat mush, and that Kapapelo's conduct when he came to Sapapula's kitchen showed that she had not committed adultery. Antonio Kasoma (see List II, p. 55) said that it was necessary to decide how much Kapapelo should pay.

Kapapelo's wife joined in to support her husband's confession, saying that Kapapelo had given Nahoka soap. Sapapula declared that Kapapelo was worthless, and had received everything he had from Sapapula. Some people called on Kapapelo to work sorcery. Kafelo suggested that Kapapelo should pay 150 escudos (£1. 17s. 6d.). The meeting now broke up, some people saying that the post should be informed and that Kapapelo had (illicit) rum in his house. One of the Menga then said that in the past even attempted seductions were punished. Sapapula demanded a payment of 500 escudos or a big pig, for Kapapelo's offences of not showing respect to Sapapula, and attempting adultery. He seemed more inclined, however, to take the case to the post, since (he claimed) Kapapelo was threatening to kill him. Kapapelo refused to pay.

The argument now swirled round, Kapapelo wavering between paying and not paying, Sapapula wavering between going to the post and being ready to accept a fine. Kafelo and Lusase both favoured a payment. People said that Guilherme was responsible for this. Paulo, Kusumula and Ndjoleya all urged Kapapelo to pay. Sapapula had now moved off, and was eventually followed by everybody else. Various wrangles continued over the question of paying a fine or having recourse

627 to the post. Somebody said to me 'Lusase wants a fine to be paid so that he can get something from it' (the chief traditionally
[681] having a right to commission on a fine paid in a dispute which he had settled). Eventually the dispute did not go to the post, as Kapapelo paid a fine, and the matter dropped.

A great deal of detail has been given here, but it can be shown that consistencies can be extracted from what seems complete confusion.

578 Kapapelo had, no doubt, as was said, under the influence of drink, decided to carry on his conflict with Sapapula after the gathering at Justino's and had arrived at Sapapula's threatening to commit suicide. The threat of suicide was here
[762] used as Guilherme had used it to put an opponent in a difficult position, but it infuriated Sapapula, who decided that he must try and get another hearing. He therefore turned again to
627 Justino, although the latter had previously decided against him; thus implying that even a possibly unfavourable judge is acceptable, rather than let a squabble continue indefinitely.

Eventually, owing to Justino's refusal to hear the case, what I have called a 'moot' was got together, a body which lacked any deciding, dominating figure, but represented the local community. This became concerned with the question of the
578 relation of Kapapelo and Sapapula as affected by the action of Kapapelo in respect of Sapapula's wife Nahoka. As has been mentioned in the chapter on marriage, the relation between a
[837] man and his wife's lover is one of mystically manifested hostility. Sapapula by accusing Kapapelo of desiring to seduce his wife was indicating a very serious state of hostility between the two men; and one can only explain Kapapelo's confession to something of which he was not guilty as a mark of his hostility to Sapapula. Kapapelo was accused by Sapapula of attempting to do him a grievous wrong, and Kapapelo claimed that he had in fact done this wrong. Nahoka denied that she had wronged her husband, and produced evidence of her assertion. Before considering her arguments, it must be noted what were the interests of the other people involved in the case.

627 It might be suggested that Kafelo, Lusase, and Ngombe had to some extent the function of judges or at least arbitrators, and Sapapula had indeed invited Ngombe to give his opinion (I

do not know how Kafelo and Lusase came to hear of the case). 627
In practice, their role was that of any other spectator in trying
to bring about a settlement, although a chief has, as was noted,
the right to a commission on any indemnification. The right of
spectators to intervene is not based on any particular relationship
to those involved nor on any reputation for wisdom. There
is in fact no organized routine for determining who may and
who must turn up and who may and who must speak. Spectators
and speakers are simply members of the neighbourhood
community, some related to Sapapula, some simply fellow-villagers,
and it is natural that in present Umbundu society, [571]
lacking clearly-defined social groups, the crowd that assembles
on such an occasion should look like a chance gathering. Its
lack of recognized procedure, of accepted leadership, and of
specific criteria of recruitment are all typical of the neighbourhood
community among the contemporary Ovimbundu.

Despite the 'unorganized' character of this gathering, there 627
exists evidently a set of generally accepted symbolic values, 183
which are accepted by Christian and pagan, by young and old. 837
Thus Nahoka claimed as evidence that she had not committed
adultery her meal with Kapapelo's wife, and the latter in turn
offered as evidence that adultery had been committed a statement
that her husband had made a gift of soap to Nahoka.
These actions provide presumptive evidence of innocence or
guilt since an adulterer or adulteress may not eat under apparently
mystical sanctions with the spouse of the person with
whom he or she has committed adultery, and the giving of
gifts by a man to a woman implies a sexual relationship. These
actions were presumably recognized as convincing evidence in
the days when there existed a formal court system, and continue
to be recognized as such at the present day.

The nature of contemporary social relations, as being the 578
end-product of a series of acts between individuals rather than 571
as the content of jural norms defined by status, is also revealed in [671]
the dispute, particularly in the episode at Justino's. Sapapula
does not complain that Kapapelo had not behaved as a villager
should to his headman, but that he had not been grateful for
having been given land. Kapapelo's complaint that Saviel,
Sapapula's sister's son, had attempted to seduce his wife was,

578 like his accusation that Sapapula had incited Jaime to kill
571 him, an attempt to portray himself not as an ungrateful recipient of Sapapula's goodness but a much suffering victim of his malevolence.

627 Although the moot reflects the existing social structure and
178 values there are occasional reminiscences of the former social system. Thus Ngombe seems to have been acting according to a traditional but non-effective pattern in giving a long, judicial, summing up, which had no practical effect. Again, when Sapapula accused Kapapelo of wishing to break up the village it is probable that he was thinking of the old villages socially defined by the agnatic tie and physically enclosed by a stockade rather than the physically and socially amorphous villages of the present day. Values such as these survive in the minds of individuals when the associated social forms have disintegrated. They are brought out on occasions analogous to those in which they were formerly used, but are not nowadays decisive in the way they would have been.

627 The quarrel between Kapapelo and Sapapula is different from the other cases, since the meeting held to discuss it is held without the presence of a 'civilized' person and it pivots about a question of adultery or rather attempted adultery, a subject which has hitherto appeared marginally as a subject for insults. The case is held without the presence of a 'civilized' person, and this is from necessity, not from choice. Sapapula had tried to have the case heard by Justino, and Kapapelo was eventually brought to terms by Sapapula's threat to refer the matter to the post. While the moot shows us the community acting to uphold social control, such action is regarded as an unsatisfactory substitute for a decision by somebody who could, as Gonçalve said of Antonio Pires, 'leave with the words', that is, settle the case.

578 Adultery has previously occurred as an accusation thrown in
837 during a squabble that has begun with something else. Thus Guilherme accused Paulo and Wasuka accused Kapapelo of adultery because they were angry with them; they were not angry with them because they thought they had committed adultery with their wives. It is parallel to the suggestions that Kapapelo was a sorcerer, an insult not an accusation. It now

occurs, whether in intention as declared by Sapapula and 578
Nahoka, as accomplished as claimed by Kapapelo, as the sub- 837
stance of the conflict between the two men.

To sum up, Kapapelo had originally been aligned with his 578
kinsman Guilherme against Sapapula, who had then shown 627
hostility to Kapapelo, and especially to his wife's brother Kusumula. The latter had counter-attacked by accusing Sapapula before Justino, and there the matter might have rested if Kapapelo had not tried to attack Sapapula again, by making the threat to commit suicide at his kitchen door. This led to the moot at which the charge of attempted adultery was made, and at which Sapapula intended to, and succeeded in, taming Kapapelo.

4. *Lusase, Sapapula, and Luanga*

In this case, individuals previously met, notably Sapapula, and Lusase reappear, this time as enemies. The principal scenes are first an attempt by a kinsman of Lusase's to recover a debt from Sapapula, secondly an attack by Lusase on Sapapula, thirdly a decision by the *chefe de posto* in favour of Sapapula, fourthly a fresh complaint to the post by Luanga against Lusase, fifthly a post decision in favour of Luanga, sixthly and finally reconciliation of Luanga and Lusase.

This chain of disputes had begun actually before the episodes mentioned in the last case. On the 19th February, Ndonga a kinsman of Lusase (whom he had helped to power), arrived in Epalanga and tied up Sapapula, as a result of the latter not paying a debt. I produced the money and for the present no more was heard of it. Lusase said that he did not know what went on in the villages, when the matter was mentioned to him.

On 13th May, Simbwyikoka, a former chief whose village was 578
near Sapapula's, was holding a ceremony in which a bull had 631
been killed. Sapapula had taken part in the ceremony and had
been responsible for sending a leg of the bull (the chief's [231]
traditional prerogative) not to Lusase but to Kafelo, who, although he had been deposed in 1954, had the advantage over Lusase of having passed through the royal rituals, and

578 631 having been elected according to traditional rules. Lusase was angry at this, turned up at the ceremony, and attacked Sapapula.

627 The following morning Epalanga buzzed with indignation. Gregorio, the chief of Menga, and Mandumba, Sapapula's son, had arrived at Epalanga to express their support, and Gregorio asked me[9] to write a letter to the Mission to get its support against Lusase at the post. I said that I would go to the chief's village to persuade Lusase to seek a reconciliation. The elder Wasuka, a cross-cousin of Sapapula, declared that even if Lusase offered five cattle in compensation they would not be accepted, and Sapapula's supporters portrayed him as a much injured man, repeatedly the victim of the Guilherme, Kapapelo, Lusase, Ndonga clique. My offer to go to the chief's village fell through when we heard that Lusase was now no longer there, but near, apparently at Simbwyikoka's.

I suggested that the moot should be held at Simbwyikoka's since the case had begun there; the others said 'No, let him come over here.' The crowd settled down in the open space before my house. News was then brought to us that Lusase refused to come over and insisted on the people coming to him, declaring that he ruled all, and did not obey the anthropologist but only the *chefe*. Accordingly everybody got up and walked over to Simbwyikoka's. Here we leant that Lusase had fled. Kambungo[10], an elder of Menga and kinsmen of Sapapula, declared that somebody who behaved like this could not be chief. Gregorio the chief of Menga became involved in an argument with Ndonga, who he said was responsible for installing Lusase. This Ndonga denied. This, incidentally, [134] was the first time that I had heard that Lusase was not properly elected. As previously noted on the fall of Kafelo, Lusase had arrived at the post and announced himself as being the new chief. The Gumba people did not protest about this for fear of possible reactions from the post.

It now became known that Lusase could not be found.

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[9] It may be suggested that my interventions were not in accordance with anthropological etiquette. It is difficult to see what else I could have done; it is, after all, [123] the local custom for 'civilised' persons to provide letters of recommendation, and a refusal on my part would not have been understood.

[10] He has been mentioned in Chapter V.

People said that he had fled to the house of his sister's son 627
Guilherme en route for the post; Gregorio now said to me that Lusase had made advances to Nahoka, trying to seduce her by saying that Sapapula was old.

On the same day Sapapula left for the post with, as his 648
witnesses, Nahoka and Wasuka carrying a letter of recommendation from me. At the post the *chefe* took his part and told Lusase 'Sapapula is your father' and made Lusase kneel down to seek pardon. Sapapula said that he wished to move across the river into Menga, where he had formerly lived. The *chefe* told him to stay at Epalanga (because of the anthropologist's presence there), but transferred Epalanga administratively [631]
from Gumba to Chicunda. This settlement pleased the Epalanga people. It may be added that had Sapapula actually crossed over, a number of householders, including Paulo, would not have followed him.

Despite the *chefe's* acts it was not certain whether the change was to be given effect immediately or only after the *chefe's* annual visit; hence some more wrangling took place over the question of where Epalanga was situated for such purposes as the payment of fines for rum-brewing.

Luanga, who shared with Sapapula the title of Epalanga, 578
came to my house on the night of the 27th June to ask for a 631
letter to the *chefe de posto*. He told me that Lusase wanted to 648
take away his title of Epalanga and send him to contract (non-voluntary) labour. I suggested that we should go together to see Lusase at his village on the following day. The next morning he decided not to go to the chief but to go straight to the post with his wife Adriana. He told me that when Lusase became chief in 1954, he and his 'brother' Mwehombo had bought the [634]
title of Epalanga (held under Kafelo by Sapapula) which they held jointly. Luanga had paid for this two pigs equal to 1,000 escudos (about £12. 10s. in British currency) and other things as well. Luanga's motive was not political power (which the present-day chief lacks and of which his ministers have even less) nor prestige, but because he would thus be exempt from contract labour. Luanga said that he did not mind going to contract labour, but insisted on having back what he had paid to Lusase. I said I would write a letter to say that he should not

578 631 148 go to contract labour and accordingly he left for the post with my letter.

Luanga returned quite satisfied a few days later, the *chefe* having decided in his favour. Two days later he went to the 578 chief's village to complain of Lusase's actions. With him came 631 Bartolomeu and Paulo. Ngombe, as Mwekalia, and thereby responsible for the relations between chief and people, acted as the presiding figure, more chairman than judge, although he spoke for some time on the case. Lusase defended himself by saying that it was not he but somebody else who had recommended Luanga for contract labour. This explanation was accepted by Luanga. Bartolomeu and Paulo received small sums of money from Lusase for acting as witnesses, and later Luanga left with Lusase for another village. Here they effected the succession of a man to his father's title of Mbesi (another ministerial position). Luanga was much pleased with his share of the fee.

578 Not only the personalities but many of the features of previous cases reappear here. Of the ways of acting which people choose, 627 Ndonga and Lusase use self-help, Ndonga to recover a debt, 648 and Lusase to uphold his prestige. Against Lusase, as against Kapapelo, a moot was formed. Lusase like Guilherme insisted on his responsibility to the post alone, when the opposition seemed to be using a 'civilized' person of a different category. Final decisions are obtained by appeals to the post but the risky nature of such procedures is shown by the desire to get a letter of recommendation. Luanga believed that Lusase had got him sent to contract labour just as Francisco believed (correctly) that Guilherme had got him recruited. Ngombe as Mwekalia is more successful here as arbitrator than in the moot at Kapapelo's. Finally we see the contrast again between the survival of formal recognition in symbol of the prestige of chieftancy (the episode of the bull's leg) and its actual impotence [634] caught between *chefe* and people. The specific issue in this dispute turns on a conflict between a chief and his people, and it shows how a chief can be defeated in the same way that the first dispute showed a government headman being defeated.

627 648 Lusase's opponents had, as previously, other means of influencing the post. Gregorio had proposed getting a letter from the

mission to give Sapapula's case, and, as things worked out, it 127
was the anthropologist who was made the 'civilized' focus for 648
the opposition to Lusase as Antonio Pires had been made the
focus of the opposition to Guilherme. Lusase, like Guilherme,
reacted by saying that he owed allegiance only to the *chefe de
posto*, and running off to the post.

Luanga's case shows how desire to get out of contract labour
may give a new reason for taking a ministerial title, and also [634]
once again how sending someone to contract labour is regarded
as a means of injuring those whom one dislikes.

I have spoken of the conflict between Lusase and Sapapula 578
as being a conflict between a chief and his people, and this is 634
true in so far as it shows how opposition forms against a chief
and how he can be checked. It is therefore of importance
as indicating the position of the chief in the contemporary
social system. The people themselves interpreted the dispute
as being essentially one between individuals—Lusase's behaviour
was attributed to his lust for Nahoka, and Gregorio
entered the dispute not as the ruler of the neighbouring chiefdom
of Menga but as a friend of Sapapula. The interpretation
of what is a political conflict as a quarrel between individuals
may be explained as being due to the relatively limited nature
of the role of chief (Lusase) and of traditional headman [622]
(Sapapula) which therefore do not predominate in the social
status of the individual. (In this particular case, had I got
Lusase's viewpoint he would probably have said that he was
defending his dignity as chief, whereas Sapapula did not regard
Lusase as being really chief.) The lack of a formal court system 627
or even of an articulated political system at the local level has 178
brought into desuetude the old legal and political idioms and
the Ovimbundu have not yet learnt new terms from the
Portuguese.

5. *Social Control and Social Structure in the Disputes*

I now return to the points mentioned at the beginning of this 178
chapter. It is hardly necessary to underline the decayed state 634
of the traditional system of authority. Lusase had, at the time
of the quarrel between Guilherme and Paulo, expressed his

178 634 intention of staying out of the dispute, just in the same way as he said, when Ndonga's action was reported to him, that he did not know what went on in the villages. That is, Lusase disclaimed any general responsibility for maintaining law and order in the sub-chiefdom. He had turned up at the case before Justino and at the moot by Kapapelo's house, when Nahoka had pointed out that it was he, and not Kafelo, who was effectively chief. The very fact that such a remark could be made indicates a weakness in Lusase's position, and his lack of authority is further illustrated by his being but one of a crowd of would-be conciliators.

It was, indeed, Lusase's position with relation to Kafelo that brought about his quarrel with Sapapula. Lusase, on meeting Kafelo at Kapapelo's, had bowed to him, and must have been uneasily aware that public opinion held that Kafelo 'had finished', had completed the cycle of chiefly rites, whereas Lusase was just 'the *chefe de posto's* boy'. It is unlikely that there would be among the Ovimbundu developed forms of the situation reported from some colonial areas by which one person acts as chief or headman *vis-à-vis* the government while another is the real chief or headman with effective power over the people, if only because so much of the content of chieftancy today is simply post work. Yet a chief differs from a government headman precisely because of the surviving prestige which clings to the capital village, the skulls of the dead chiefs, the titled ministers, and the drums, and it was such an expression of prestige which Sapapula gave to Kafelo and denied to Lusase. Not surprisingly Lusase reacted to this sharp evidence of the weakness of his position. In acting as he did, he made things worse; since he lacked any local means of imposing his will by force, or mobilizing moral support, he had to fall back on the post.

178 127 [623] This weakening of the chieftancy is, of course, only part of the general disintegration of the old social system. Sapapula, in personality and prestige, was the equal of any traditional headman in the neighbourhood, and was consulted by the chief and government headmen when fines or roadworkers were required from Epalanga. Yet it was Paulo and not Sapapula who launched the attack on Guilherme, an attack speedily supported

by other villagers. Nor does residence in a village or sub-chief- 178
dom compel or limit participation in a dispute. Neither 627
Ndjoleya nor any of his kin participated in the dispute between
Paulo and Guilherme. Gregorio came from Menga to support
his friend Sapapula against Lusase, acting as a private indivi-
dual, and not as the chief of Menga intervening in the internal
politics of a neighbouring sub-chiefdom.

The social institutions participated in exclusively by Ovim- 627
bundu (i.e. the system of kinship and marriage and the local 648
organization) do not provide machinery for resolving disputes.
Therefore, binding decisions must be obtained from a repre-
sentative of the 'civilized' society, and much importance
attaches to setting out the details of the case in such a way as to
gain the interest of this representative. It would seem likely
from this that all cases will pass into the hands of the *chefe*, and
that those 'natives' who are most closely linked to the post—the
chief and the government headmen—will therefore be the
most influential people in indigenous society. In fact, as the
disputes show, this does not happen. Cases are taken to other
'civilized' persons—the priest Antonio Pires and the *soi-disant*
assimilado Justino—and Lusase, instead of making up on the
bureaucratic roundabouts what he has lost on the traditional
swings, falls heavily off both.

The willingness of villagers to submit their cases to Justino and the mission rather than to the post is a result of the much closer personal contact which exists with them, and their lack of direct punitive sanctions. Any case referred to the *chefe* is thought liable to produce uncertain consequences. It was because of this that the people of Gumba did not dare to complain to the post about Lusase's usurpation; for this reason, too, Guilherme, knowing the *chefe* trusted him no more than any other native, sought reconciliation before getting to the post. The chief and government headman neither enjoy official confidence nor control access to the post.

On the level of the total Angolan society the State is obvi- 627
ously more powerful than the Church. On the local level the 648
chief and government headmen have more executive power[11] 797

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[11] The capacity to give orders backed by force; but this only applies to orders received from the post.

627 648 797 than the catechists and 'elders of the school'; yet the weakness of the agents of the post before a local opposition led, not by such traditional figures as Kafelo and Sapapula, but by the school functionaries, has been demonstrated. The post accepts intervention by the mission in supporting disputants, and the mission is ready to help not only its disputants but any native who has a strong case—that is, it has a generalized relation of patronage to all natives.[12] Hence, since in a serious dispute people look round for a 'civilized' patron, the mission is the one most likely to be appealed to, and these appeals usually go through its local agents.

148 571 While the symbiosis of two societies, one ruling, the other ruled, is a common feature of modern Africa, the extremely limited nature of the role delegated by the administration to the native authority, the 'patron-client' tie linking 'civilized' persons to the natives, and the opportunity given to patrons to intervene in cases before the *chefe*, seem to be distinctive features of Portuguese colonization.[13]

578 602 The third aspect of the social structure mentioned in the introductory section was the role in disputes of kinship ties. It has been earlier noted that Sapapula's supporters regarded him as a victim of a concerted alliance by Guilherme, Kapapelo, Lusase, and Ndonga. In fact Lusase had avoided getting involved in the dispute between Guilherme and Paulo, had supported Sapapula against Kapapelo, and had disclaimed responsibility for Ndonga's act. The present social structure is not one in which groups of kin habitually co-operate;[14] and it is possible that this belief in a coalition against Sapapula reflects memories of the old social structure.

Kinship ties between individuals seem neither to restrain them from quarrelling nor to be liable to permanent disruption as a result of quarrels. By August 1956 Kasoei was once again

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[12] It is felt in administrative circles that the advancement of the African is mainly the responsibility of the missions.

[13] Anybody who knows the Portuguese well will acknowledge the importance given to personal influence (cunha) and the lack of esteem for bureaucratic (in the Weberian sense) procedures.

[14] See Chapters IV and VII for details on the kinship core and on general aspects of kinship. The support which Sapapula received was not confined to his own kinship core—thus Gregorio who enthusiastically supported Sapapula was not even a kinsman.

on good terms with Guilherme, who was a 'father' of his, and 578
even earlier in June part of the celebrations which marked the 602
marriage of Paulo's son Jose to Pungu, a girl from Namba, whose mother had at one time been married to Kapapelo, took place at the latter's house. Most strikingly of all, as has been noted, Guilherme could borrow money from Bartolomeu and Paulo at the height of their quarrel. The kinship bond exists outside of and, it might be said, at a deeper level than, the quarrel, and the rebukes hurled at an adversary reflect this. Paulo did not complain that Guilherme was a bad cross-cousin; instead he complained that Guilherme was not grateful to him for having baptized his dying child. The motive for co-operation or conflict in everyday life is to be found not in the tracing of genealogies but in the tally of reciprocal services and grievances between two individuals.

It may be claimed that this portrait of the kinship system 602
which emerges from the disputes as being loosely structured and lacking defined obligations, but providing an underlying continuity, is very similar to that given in Chapter VII, which was based on questioning and the observation of everyday life.

The significance of the conjugal bond appears both positively 573
in the way Luanga and Sapapula both take their wives to the 578
post as witnesses, and negatively in the way the hostility of Kapapelo and Lusase to Sapapula is interpreted as being inspired by lust for his wife. Even the accusations of adultery
so readily hurled about in disputes reflect the stereotype of the [837]
adulterer as the arch-enemy, and likewise the arch-enemy of the moment as at least a potential adulterer.

One question remains to be answered: Was Epalanga a 578
particularly rebellious, squabbling, divided, village, because 626
of the presence of an unusual number of aggressive individuals?
It is not possible to estimate the number of disputes per village, 178
and the disputes which have been described were the most important of which I had personal knowledge. They were touched off by personal antagonisms rather than by structural contradictions. Yet they tie in with what has been said of the Umbundu social structure in earlier chapters to such a degree that they seem to reflect the lines along which any case of the sort would proceed. The weakness of the chiefs, stripped of

578 traditional sanctions and lacking official confidences, the power-
626 less prestige of the traditional headman, the lack of defined
178 village unity, the role of the catechetical school and its officials,
who have come to represent the village as a whole, the loosely structured yet stabilizing kinship system, all described in earlier chapters, have re-emerged as parts of a reasonably effective system of social control within which people quarrel and by which their quarrels are settled. It is possible for the villagers by appealing to patrons to check tyrannical behaviour on the part of chief and headmen and to get a fair hearing at the post. Within the local community disputants, once their anger has blown over, may be reunited by the ties of kinship and affinity.

CONCLUSIONS

The phrase 'A Study of Social Control and Social Change among the Ovimbundu' implies an analysis of the working of the social maintenance mechanism in a period of social change. The concept appears almost paradoxical since it seems that effective maintenance machinery[1] would prevent social change, and rapid social change is often associated by anthropologists with a situation of individual and social demoralization and disintegration.[2] At the present time the Ovimbundu of the area where fieldwork was done have undergone very rapid social change and have a reasonably effective system of social control, which, however, differs considerably from the traditional system. To confirm these statements, I briefly summarize the material provided in previous chapters. 105 121 [128]

In the time of the rubber trade (1874–1911) there existed a number of Umbundu kingdoms. The king, assisted and checked, as elsewhere in Africa by titled ministers, was responsible for external relations, undertook certain rituals, and provided a supreme court of appeal where trials were conducted by set rules of procedure. The real unit of law, as regards Gumba at least, seems to have been the sub-chiefdom, with its few thousand inhabitants, governed by a chief who like the king had to administer justice together with his councillors. 105 175

This body of councillors included the village headmen who were the heads of bodies of agnatic kin. They had general legal and political responsibility for the village. While the disputes arising in village relations were kept within the patrilineal kin group, the problems arising from the inheritance of movable goods and particularly from the highly important caravan trade were dealt with in the matrilineal group. Owing to the dispersed nature of this group and to its commercial preoccupations the sanctions operating within it must have differed somewhat from those found at the chief's court or village men's

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[1] For this term see S. F. Nadel, *Theory of Social Structure*, London, 1957, p. 55.

[2] e.g. G. and M. Wilson, *Analysis of Social Change*, Cambridge, 1945.

105 175 house. Wealthy members who did not assist their kin were liable to be accused of sorcery. A mother's brother had the right to sell his sister's son as punishment for the latter's misconduct or to pay his own debts, a sanction counterbalancing the rights of the poorer matrilineal kin to receive loans without the obligation of repayment. As the matrilineal groups existed apparently across sub-chiefdom boundaries they formed a means of social control in those trading activities which provided the major focus of Umbundu interests and which flowed over the boundaries of the political groupings whose smallest unit was the patrilineally based village.

105 178 The disappearance of the matrilineal kin groups must be associated with the collapse of the old economy, and to judge from my difficulty in getting information about them their disintegration must have come about fairly rapidly after the end of the trade. Authority within the sub-chiefdom and village remained at a level fairly near the traditional norm till about 1935. After that social change has rapidly dissolved most of the traditional institutions.

The existing system of social control depends on political, local, and kinship systems very different from those previously operative. Cases are very often taken to the post without being previously taken to the chief. The latter's position is a combination of executive of the orders of the post (a role he shares with the government headman) with the surviving prestige represented by the skulls of his predecessors and the ministerial titles allocated to his kinsmen and associates. While the chief and government headmen may settle minor cases, they do not operate any system of courts by which disputes can be regularly and satisfactorily settled.

Judicial power has been effectively transferred from the indigenous society to the 'civilized' community and for a dispute to be brought to a settlement a decision must be obtained from some 'civilized' person or a negotiated arrangement may be made under threat of referring the matter to the post. Considerable importance therefore attaches to the mobilization of ties with some 'civilized' person who may be an employer but is most frequently the mission, which to some degree acts as a patron for all natives. Hence the local representatives of the mission, the catechist and elder of the /105 school, tend to become the guardians of the public interest /178 against arrogance on the part of the chief and government headmen.

In the conflict between the local representatives of the post and of the mission the latter are likely, if they have a good case, to win since they have a closer link with the mission than the chief and government headmen have with the post. While the policy of the administration of dissolving the indigenous political system has been highly successful it has not created new bureaucratic institutions at the local level, and the chief and government headmen have just sufficient power to do what the post tells them to do. The traditional headmen, while they still act as focuses of kin ties in a village have prestige rather than power; a prestige, however, sufficient to rally considerable support for them in a dispute. The catechetical school and its officials, represent the village to the outside world and provide what is nowadays the only institutional grouping on a village basis.

The role of the missions in social control is threefold; the establishment of new social groupings and forms of leadership at village level, the decision of disputes and the influencing of the *chefe's* decisions, and the giving of a feeling of approximation to the 'civilized' population. It is the missions rather than the chiefs and headmen who provide the main social bridges between the 'civilized' and native populations, since both groups participate in their institutions and values.[9]

The kinship system, whose operation must form an important part of any system of social control, has also undergone very great changes. The old kinship groups have disappeared, and the system is now cognatic, with little distinction between patrilateral and matrilateral kin although there is a certain matrilineal pull in choice of residence. Kinship norms have

[9] This does not deny the importance of the administration and the economy in linking the 'civilized' and natives together; yet this administrative and economic integration does not provide the sense of community which to a limited degree is given through the missions, which also provide the only opportunity for individual natives to have influence in a social sphere beyond the range of kin and neighbours; in the Catholic missions by the provision of an influential patron, in the Protestant Native Church by participation in Church councils and courts.

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become confused and vague; the existence of a kinship tie provides an opportunity to build a social relation rather than a jural obligation to fulfil certain duties. With the disappearance of the commensality which marked the patrilineal kin, and the economic co-operation characteristic of the matrilineal groups, the elementary family has emerged as the primary domestic and economic grouping.

In this rather amorphous system, coherence is given by the marriage tie. The very high rate of preferential marriages creates a great number of affinal (and subsequently kinship) ties within a limited area, and it seems to be from this that the neighbourhood community derives its cohesion. At the level of the individual marriage (as opposed to that of the total structure) the relation between husband and wife is a very close one, with, conversely, the relation between a man and his wife's lover being the archetype of hostility.

It is now necessary to see how the description of the two systems of social control relate to the problems of the social changes which have intervened to turn into the other. Obviously social change has been very great. It is not perhaps possible to point to any one factor responsible for the speed of the process. The old political system would not have disintegrated if the administration had used it as the intermediary between it and the natives. However, the hostility of the administration to the chiefs has not succeeded in all parts of Angola in breaking down traditional authority.[4]

Economic change has certainly affected very considerably the social structure. In other parts of Africa a cash economy gained by selling crops and working for wages has replaced a subsistence economy where exchanges were made by barter and gift exchanges. The Ovimbundu were experienced traders used to a currency and with a business-like, rather grasping outlook.[5] Through the matrilineal groups this commercial activity was fitted into the kinship system. The disappearance of the trade brought a sharp fall in the Umbundu standard of living and destroyed the need for developed credit facilities. Instead of the gaining of wealth by means involving extensive economic co-operation among the Ovimbundu themselves, money was earned in an individual relation to a particular European whether planter or trader. 105 178

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[4] Among the Ngangela of the area round Vila Artur de Paiva the chiefs retain their authority.

[5] See Serpa Pinto, pp. 169-71 and F. S. Arnot, Garenganze, London, 1889, p. 128.

It must be recognized that the relation between economic change and the continuation or disintegration of kinship groups is a yet unsolved problem of anthropology,[6] particularly as it is seldom possible to isolate the economic pressure. I emphasize the readiness of the Ovimbundu for change, their willing acceptance of the role of clients to the whites.[7] It may be suggested that this attitude was established in the period of the trade when the Ovimbundu were ultimately dependent on the whites for trade goods and that this attitude of imitation and receptivity lies behind the disappearance of so much of the old social structure and the lack of any myth of, or even interest in, the past.[8] [121]

I have claimed that the present system of social control is effective.[9] This may be granted empirically for the reasons already given, the absence of serious crime or prolonged conflict involving the whole community, the effective checks on the functionaries of the post, and the failure of squabbles to tear the network of kin and affinal ties. If a working social system is a proof of an integrated society, then contemporary Umbundu society qualifies for this description. This is not the only possible way of looking at it. It may be claimed that under present circumstances the Ovimbundu are no longer integrated by their tribal system but are held together by the Angolan 105 182

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[6] For various comments on this problem see A. I. Richards, in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, p. 251, M. Fortes, 'Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups', in *American Anthropologist*, Feb. 1953, M. Douglas (review of Mitchell's *The Yao Village*) in *Africa*, July 1957.

[7] Cf. the Ngangela name for the Ovimbundu, the Ovimbali, a term traditionally applied to *Africans* living in close contact with the whites. The Ovimbundu accept this stereotype.

[8] 'A lack of history is correlated with the amorphous character of the society.' E. Colson in Colson and Gluckman (ed.) *Seven Tribes of British Central Africa*, Oxford, 1951, p. 100.

[9] Other quarrels of which I heard while in Epalanga: a messenger from the mission sent to intervene in a marriage dispute was attacked; the chief of Chicuanda summoned to the mission for a telling-off after beating up one of his people; a man from Canuha refusing to go to a funeral in Chissengue of a man whose death he was thought to have caused by sorcery.

105 182 Government,[10] which has deprived them of all legal and political autonomy. The present Umbundu social system deprived of any form of public life ticks over, as a man who has been paralysed may continue to live. The cultural barriers and structural gulf between the post, the basic unit of the administration, and the people, are to a certain extent bridged by the mission. This task throws a considerable strain on the organizations set up by the missions, to which they are far from equal.[11] The common values shared by 'civilized' and native, whose introduction was ascribed to the missions, give the Ovimbundu psychological compensation rather than a genuine participation in the culture of the ruling group. The stability which marks social relations in the area is passivity rather than integration.

105 178 182 The most truthful approach would seem to be a synthesis of the two arguments. The disintegration of the old legal and political institutions and the attitude of dependence and passivity towards Europeans cohere with a stability provided by the pattern of kin and affinal ties and the continuity of local relations. It has been argued that the range of marriages (and hence the range of kinship ties) has not noticeably expanded in recent years, and that the links which orient Gumba to the north and west rather than to the south and east date back to the nineteenth century. Such other factors as the poor local communications, the limited economic development of the area, and the absence of resident whites in Gumba may also have helped to preserve the continuity and security of the 'private' life of individuals.[12] In other areas of Umbundu country, especially near the railway line, where communications are easy, Europeans and *assimilados* are numerous, and there are more marked differences of wealth, this 'coherence' of change and continuity may have very much less empirical efficiency.

In one part of Umbundu country in 1955, a contra-accultura-

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[10] Putting it another way; there is no Umbundu political system, and hence the nearest approach to Umbundu politics are the squabbles of Chapter IX.

[11] The missionaries complain of the poor calibre of many catechists, and the catechists complain of the lack of obedience of their people.

[12] The relations between two individuals may remain friendly, even though the form of their relations changes.

105
178
[868]

In one part of Umbundu country in 1955, a contra-acculturative movement arose which combined features found in cargo-cults and anti-witchcraft campaigns,[13] social activities usually regarded as products of a malaise in the relations between Europeans and an indigenous society.[14] The Ovimbundu whom I knew were not ready to take the initiative in their dealings with the 'civilized' population; but it would be wrong to regard the system of social control that I have tried to describe as being true for much more than a very small area of Umbundu country and a very limited extent of time.

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[13] The movement began at Bela Vista on the railway line and spread over south-eastern Umbundu country into the Ngangela area. Its leaders were men and women who called themselves saints and claimed to have died and come to life again. They announced that all sorcery would cease, and those who continued it would die in an unusual way. They forbade the wearing of black clothes and ordered the killing of black livestock (fowls and pigs). They also forbade the growing of maize for sale. It was stated that rain would come from heaven to kill the whites (according to some accounts only the bad whites) and the blacks would then have their goods. This movement was spread through the catechetical schools. It was eventually repressed by administrative action. Private information. Also article in *O Apostolado*, Luanda, Oct. 27, 1956.

[14] See A. I. Richards, 'A Modern Movement of Witchfinders', *Africa*, Oct. 1935.

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